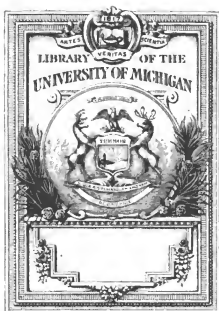


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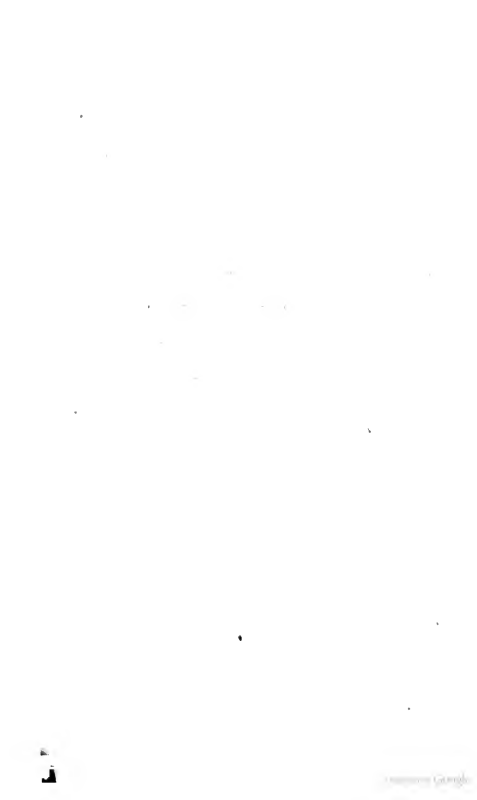
A. J. P. 1838.

Percy James Croft  
from his friend  
Emilius Bayley  
July 1838.



*necessary of heart  
beauty  
poetic smile*

THE  
**POETICAL WORKS**  
OF  
**JOHN MILTON,**  
WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS.



THE  
**POETICAL WORKS**

OF

**JOHN MILTON,**

**WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS,**

*Principally from the Editions of*

THOMAS NEWTON, D.D. CHARLES DUNSTER, M.A.  
AND THOMAS WARTON, B.D.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

NEWTON'S LIFE OF MILTON.



By **EDWARD HAWKINS, M.A.**  
FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE.

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VOL. I.

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## P R E F A C E.

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I. OF THIS EDITION OF MILTON'S POEMS. II. OF THE LIVES  
OF MILTON.

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THE editions of Milton's poetical works by Dr. Newton, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, which have long been held in general esteem, have been made the basis of much the greater part of the present publication. His prefaces are therefore subjoined; and the reader is referred to them for a full account of his design and authorities, and the assistance which he received from several of his contemporaries. It may be stated generally, that his purpose was to print the text of Milton with accuracy from the original editions, and to supply such a body of notes, critical and explanatory, from various commentators, as might meet the wishes, as far as possible, of all the different classes of his readers.

And in his edition of the *Paradise Lost*, Dr. Newton is admitted to have been very successful in the attainment of this purpose. The *Paradise Regained*, *Samson Agonistes*, and *Minor Poems*, however, he published at a subsequent period, when his time was occupied with more serious pursuits; and his notes on these poems are neither so full nor so accurate as those on

the *Paradise Lost*. It was thought desirable, accordingly, that some additions should be made in the present work to this part of the commentary from the editions of Mr. Dunster and Mr. Warton, the principal annotators who followed Dr. Newton.

The Rev. Charles Dunster, who was formerly of Trinity College, Oxford, and died in 1816, Rector of Petworth in Sussex, published the *Paradise Regained* in 1795, with a very copious commentary, in which he incorporated most of Bishop Newton's notes, with large additions of his own. His design however was similar to Dr. Newton's; but he appears to have been more familiar than his predecessor with the earlier English poets, and has often illustrated his author with much success from that quarter. Altogether he was a man of taste, and of considerable attainments in polite literature; but his notes are often extended to a very disproportionate length; and although many of them are introduced into the present publication, they have been in general compressed into a much smaller compass. Mr. Dunster received little assistance except from one individual, to whom he acknowledges the most extensive obligations; but the name of this friend, I believe, I am not at liberty to communicate to the public.

In 1785 Milton's *Juvenile Poems* were edited by the Rev. T. Warton, whose merits are generally known, and of whose life and writings indeed an account was published in 1802, by Dr. Mant, the present Bishop of Down and Connor. Mr. Warton's principal object was to illustrate these poems from Milton's other writings, from the older English poetry, and from the popu-

lar superstitions and romances, with which Milton was familiar, but many of which are now forgotten. As this was a new line of criticism, and was first struck out, if I mistake not, by Warton himself in his *Observations upon Spenser*, his own account of it is extracted from his preface, and subjoined to those of Dr. Newton. Another part also of his preface is given, containing his observations on Milton's Latin poetry, which he was the first to illustrate with notes, and most of these notes are adopted in this edition. His arrangement too of the Latin poems has been followed instead of Dr. Newton's; and the Epigrams ix. x. and xi. are inserted from Warton's edition, Dr. Newton having only given the last of them, which he introduced into the *Life*. The portion of Mr. Warton's preface which has not been reprinted contains a lively attempt to sketch the gradual progress of Milton's juvenile poems to celebrity, till "the school of Milton rose in emulation of the school of Pope:" but so many inaccuracies have been pointed out in his account by Mr. Todd and Mr. Godwin, that it did not appear deserving of republication. It appears upon the whole that these poems rose into repute at an earlier period than Mr. Warton supposed.

To the proofs which Warton has adduced of Milton's familiarity with the works of Joshua Sylvester, the translator of *Du Bartas*, a few more might perhaps have been added, had I procured a copy of Dunster's *Considerations on Milton's early reading*, before the notes were printed. There was much more need of retrenchment, however, than of additional matter, in this part of the work; for although in many of his illus-

trations Warton is extremely successful, he is occasionally seduced into a somewhat ludicrous display of antiquarian learning, fancying resemblances where none are visible, and filling whole pages with obsolete authorities for words, some of which were no doubt at that time, and are even now, in common use and circulation. His notes of this kind are considerably abridged in the present edition; but I retain enough or more than enough of them to gratify the literary antiquary, and to direct the reader to the favourite authors of Milton's earlier years. Where a parallelism appeared striking or satisfactory, and might be supposed to interest the general reader, the passage has been given at length; in other cases references are supplied for the sake of the few who possess abundance both of curiosity and of leisure. A similar principle, indeed, has been usually observed throughout this publication, except in the case of references to Milton's poetical works, for every reader might be conceived to have these at hand. Many of Warton's notes, however, are critical and explanatory, and they are frequently just and happy; but he also runs out into a variety of remarks, upon Milton's sentiments and character, which are too often partial and splenetic. His regard for the Poet has a continual struggle to maintain with his acrimonious dislike of the Puritan and Republican. Warton's name however ranks sufficiently high to excite some curiosity about his criticisms and opinions, even when they are unjust or erroneous. Hence, notwithstanding the rejection of many of his notes, and the abridgment of most of them in this edition, it has been intended that the spirit of his work, as a work, should still be

retained. Many of the faults of his first edition were animadverted upon with severity, but with justice, in an anonymous letter addressed to the Editor in 1785; but he did not avail himself of these remarks, so much as he might have done, in his second edition of the *Minor Poems*, which he left at his death completely prepared for publication, and which appeared in 1791 with considerable alterations and additions.

Warton had projected an edition of the *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* in a separate volume: in the second impression of his original notes, accordingly, all those were omitted which he had occasionally introduced on various passages of these poems. Both these editions were made use of for the present work, and such of these occasional remarks, as were judged worthy to be retained, have been inserted in their proper places. The same plan has of course been observed with respect to those remarks upon the *Paradise Lost* also with which both Warton's and Dunster's commentaries were interspersed.

Very few notes have been introduced into this edition from other quarters. The work could scarcely fail to be too voluminous as it was. Now and then, however, I inserted a parallel passage which occurred to my recollection, or adopted an occasional remark from some writer of distinction. Dr. Symmons's *Life of Milton* supplied a few notes upon the *Sonnets*, and *Latin poems*; and it might have furnished me with two or three more upon other parts of the work, had not these been printed before I read his remarks. Sometimes also translations have been introduced of parallel passages from authors which had not appeared in a good

English dress in the time of Bishop Newton. The excellent translation of Persius, for instance, by the Rev. F. Howes, has been made use of for this purpose. It was no part of my design to introduce any original remarks of my own. If I have hazarded a few observations, they were inserted very sparingly, not only because the edition was already swelling to an inconvenient bulk, but because it was originally intended to be anonymous; and that idea was not abandoned till the greater part of the notes had been printed. For the same reason, and because I desired to combine in this publication all that would probably have been regarded by the three principal editors of Milton's poems as most valuable in their respective editions, it will of course be understood, that I do not always consider every illustration important, or assent to every criticism, which nevertheless I have retained, without expressing any objection to them. *Valeant quantum valere debent.* And the reader will surely desire to exercise his judgment as well as the Editor. In general indeed it was a sufficient reason for retaining any notes that they would be acceptable to some classes of the readers of Milton. And after all it should not be overlooked, that no edition upon the plan of Bishop Newton's can, from the nature of the case, be universally approved. It is professedly addressed to the wants and tastes of various classes of readers; the same notes cannot be needed and relished equally by the uneducated and the scholar, the critic and the antiquary. And the more popular the subject of a commentary of this kind, the more unavoidable is this fault, if it is to be called a fault, in an edition designed for the public at large.

But besides selection and compression in the employment of Warton's and Dunster's commentaries, and the omission of many of their notes upon Shakespeare and other writers, with whom we were not at present concerned, Bishop Newton's commentary has not been printed without several omissions, and a few alterations.

Some of the notes in his edition have been altogether discarded; and in particular the greater part of Dr. Bentley's. I need add nothing to the impartial account which Bishop Newton has given of Bentley's edition of the *Paradise Lost*. But it is almost time that the errors of so great a critic should be forgotten. Yet, not to disappoint altogether the curiosity of the reader, a few of Bentley's earlier notes have been retained; too many, perhaps, in an age whose morbid appetite for ridicule and severity needs no additional gratification. Some of Dr. Pearce's notes are given, where those objections of the critic, which they were originally designed to answer, are omitted; but they appeared useful as well as ingenious, and others might be misled by one cause or other, where Bentley was drawn into mistakes by a perverse principle of criticism. I have had pleasure in preserving some of Dr. Bentley's remarks which were really just and valuable. Several of Mr. Sympson's proposed emendations in the notes on the *Paradise Regained* have been discarded, because they were of much the same stamp with Dr. Bentley's. I have also omitted some of Bishop Warburton's notes in praise of Pope's imitations of Milton, as they seemed irrelevant, and not very impartial; and occasionally, but very rarely, a note of Dr. Newton's which appeared puerile or incorrect. And a later editor has always the



advantage of rejecting notes which his predecessor did not approve, but yet inserted out of complaisance to his correspondents.

But without omitting, or even altering in their general form, some of the notes in Dr. Newton's edition, not a little space was gained by merely dropping the conversational phrases with which it was the fashion with writers of that day to give a polite air, as they imagined, to their comments. The Editor's avowals also of obligation to others, frequently to ingenious persons who did not wish their names to appear, and of accidental coincidences in sentiment with one or other of his correspondents, have been often discarded. It was due to his own character that Dr. Newton himself should specify every particular in which he was indebted to his coadjutors or former writers ; and it may be well to remark, that in this point he seems to have been scrupulously faithful, since Warton, who often flings about his sarcasms with a wanton carelessness, has insinuated something to the contrary.

These omissions and alterations, however, have not been so numerous, but that the public is still presented with far the greater part of Dr. Newton's commentary.

Addison's critique upon the *Paradise Lost*, Dr. Newton prefixed to his edition, as a separate Essay, with the omission only of a few remarks which could be easily detached from the rest, and which he inserted under the passages to which they applied. These remarks have been generally retained, but the criticism itself, which is in every body's hands, has been omitted. It is contained, I need scarcely observe, in the Saturday's papers in the *Spectator*, from No. 267. to No. 369.

I purposely abstained, indeed, from introducing into this edition any of the detached criticisms upon Milton's poems which are to be met with in our Essayists or philological writers, (in the works of Monboddo and Blair, for instance, in the *Tattler*, *Rambler*, and *Observer*,) as I conceived that most readers would have greater pleasure in reading them in their original situations as opportunities presented them. Johnson's criticism on Milton's poetical works, annexed to his *Life of Milton*, may also be regarded as a separate Essay; but whoever desires a complete enumeration of all the occasional works of this kind, will find it in the ample list of editions, translations, and commentaries, appended to Mr. Todd's *Life of Milton*.

As this edition is founded to so great an extent upon Dr. Newton's, the notes which have no signature will be understood to be his; with the exception only of those upon Milton's Nuncupative Will, which Warton first published, and those upon the Latin Poems, which, as was observed before, are almost all from the pen of Mr. Warton. My own notes or references are signed with the letter *E*; all the others, whether introduced for the first time in this edition, or adopted from those already mentioned, bear the signatures of their respective writers.

The text and punctuation, except in a very few cases which are accounted for in the notes, are given from Newton's edition. But the spelling is modernized in conformity with the practice of Mr. Ellis, Dr. Nott, and the most approved editors of the popular works of our earlier writers. And their practice has been defended by reasons too well known to need repetition

here. Dr. Newton seems to have considered, that he printed the poems according to the spelling approved by Milton himself; but in this he appears to have been often mistaken. Milton, however, did not always observe the same mode of spelling; although with regard to some particular words he seems to have laid down for himself certain principles of orthography, which he caused to be exactly regarded even in the editions of his works printed when he had become blind. (See *Richardson's Remarks*, p. cxxvii—cxxxviii.) As Dr. Newton's notices, however, of these peculiarities were intentionally retained, the Corrector of the press conceived that the spelling of these words in the text also should not be modernized like that of the rest. So minute a circumstance might have been left unnoticed; but it affords me an opportunity of stating, that although my own avocations prevented my discharging this part of an Editor's duty, the task was devolved upon much more experienced hands, and the public is probably a gainer by the circumstance.

It was not thought necessary to give any other verbal Index than that of Cruden, which Dr. Newton printed at the end of his edition of the *Paradise Lost*. The other Indexes are also printed from Dr. Newton's editions.

Although a work of so unpretending a character as this cannot be put in competition with Mr. Todd's edition of Milton's Poems, yet as both editions proceed to a certain extent upon the same plan, and are built in great measure upon the same foundations, I had no right to take advantage of his labours. The present commentary therefore was formed without any reference

to his; but as I took occasion, when the greater part of it was completed, to examine the corresponding portions of his work, I can bear testimony to his great industry and accuracy. Many of his additional notes also are learned and sensible, and would no doubt have been acceptable to the public, if I could with propriety have adopted them, and if the present edition had not been too voluminous without them. The only use, however, which I was entitled to make of his edition was in two or three places, where I had treated some subjects concisely, to refer my readers who desired fuller information to his preliminary Essays. His *Life of Milton*, since it had been published in 1809 as a separate work, I was of course at liberty to consult freely.

Upon comparing *Newton's Life of Milton* with the previous authorities, and with the various lives which have since appeared, it seemed sufficiently good to be reprinted. It is, indeed, faithfully built upon the best authorities, with very few and trifling inaccuracies, and comprises almost all the information which we possess on the subject; as a composition it is simple and unpretending, but not unpleasing; and perhaps in the good sense and impartiality with which it treats of Milton's character and sentiments it is not inferior to any of the lives of this eminent man which are yet extant. It was not without concern that I found it necessary to injure the general effect of Bishop Newton's performance by subjoining a considerable body of miscellaneous notes, not always in harmony with the *Life* either in style or substance. But the growing curiosity of the public on this subject, and the disputes which have arisen since

the time of Bishop Newton on some minor points of Milton's life, appeared to call for some additional observations, which were, however, of too heterogeneous a character to be thrown together into an Appendix. In a word, I was desirous to state that there was no point of any interest connected with Milton, which was not touched upon, or at least referred to, either in the Life itself or in the notes; and I examined for this purpose nearly all the numerous Lives of Milton. Mr. Warton collected a great variety of curious collateral information, but relating rather to Milton's friends than to the Poet himself; on which account, not to break the thread of Bishop Newton's narrative unnecessarily, Warton's notes of this description have been left, as they were, attached to the minor poems; and references only to them subjoined to the Life. A few particulars also respecting Milton's life have been added in the notes from his Prose Works; for the reader would be pleased in some instances, especially where these passages were more ample than Newton's text, or differed in any respect from it, to hear Milton speaking for himself.

And, lastly, *Milton's Nuncupative Will*, which Mr. Warton was the means of bringing to light after it had been forgotten for above a century, is adopted from his edition, and annexed to the Life; as it is a great curiosity, and discovers some particulars in Milton's manners and circumstances which were before unknown.

The immediate purpose of the Preface is sufficiently answered by the preceding statement of what has, and what has not, been done in the present edition. But the Lives of Milton are become so numerous, and have

been composed upon such different principles, that a brief account of them may not be without its use. It may also gratify some of Milton's admirers, who may not have leisure to wade through his Prose-writings, to be furnished with a list of references to the principal parts in them which relate to his personal history, feelings, and appearance.\* From the continual references, indeed, which some of his biographers have given to these passages, an inattentive reader may imagine them to be much more numerous than they really are; but the following are all the most interesting and most considerable of the kind. I refer to Dr. Birch's edition of the Prose Works, in 4to. 1753.

The preface to the second book of the *Reason of Church Government*, vol. i. p. 60—65, declares Milton's dislike of controversy, and his sense of the necessity laid upon him to engage in it; and it contains his famous promise of some great work, in English and in verse, at some future period. In the *Apology for Smectymnus*, vol. i. p. 114—119, ("Thus having spent—needless hearing,") he repels the calumnies thrown out against him of having led a riotous youth, and having been expelled from the University, and gives a general account of his studies from his youth upwards, and of his early love of chastity and virtue. In these two passages traces of the author of *Comus*, of *Samson Agonistes*, of *Paradise Regained*, and *Paradise Lost*, may easily be discovered. Some lofty thoughts respecting his style and his hopes are scattered in the Preface, and in the Postscript to the *Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*, vol. i. p. 236, p. 239, and p. 256, and in the Dedication prefixed to *Tetrachordon*, p.

258—262. In the conclusion of his *Reply to an answer against the doctrine and discipline of Divorce*, p. 339, 340, he accounts in some measure for his severity against a mean adversary, and declares his willingness to listen to any candid and serious objector. In the *Defensio Secunda*, vol. ii. p. 365—368, he gives reasons for his not having taken up arms with the republican party against the King, and glories in his writings in the cause of liberty; p. 373—377, (*Veniamus nunc ad mea crimina—condonare*) he describes his personal appearance, and states his reflections upon his blindness. From p. 383, to p. 386, (*Nunc quoniam iste—ultrò nominarent*), we have a concise history of his life and works to the period of his reply to Salmasius; and p. 393, 394, (*me interim—fecerit*) an account of the reception which his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* met with abroad and at home. These passages, together with his *Letters to his friends*, particularly those to C. Deodati, H. Oldenburgh, P. Heimbach, and L. Philaras, exhibit almost all the materials for his personal history which his Prose Works contain.

And of these passages, as well as of a few hints of the same kind to be found in his poems, his biographers have made ample use; but not always, it may be observed, with sufficient discrimination. Where facts are concerned, Milton's reports of them may no doubt be safely followed, for he did not want enemies enough to detect a misstatement. But his biographers not unfrequently forget that the language of a poet, especially of a youthful poet, is not a very safe criterion of the sentiments of the man; and forget, what is still more important, that the character and sentiments of a man

who thinks for himself, as Milton assuredly did, by no means remain the same for sixty years, and must not be determined in a general way from the language even of his prose writings at some particular period. The interest, for example, of his *System of Divinity*, which Mr. Sumner is about to present to the world, will greatly depend upon the period of Milton's life to which it is to be assigned. (See note *a*, p. lxxxii.)

Of the relative value and authority of the various *Lives* of Milton some idea may be formed from the following account; and it is given in a chronological order down to the period when any accession of original information concerning him ceased to be probable.

*A. Wood*, in 1691, laid the foundation of all the *Lives* of Milton in his *Fasti Oxonienses* for the year 1635; (fol. 880. ed. 1691. or part i. fol. 480. ed. Bliss, 1815.) Wood was evidently strongly prejudiced against Milton, but he gives a pretty accurate outline of his history, partly drawn, as it should seem, from the *Defensio Secunda*, partly from some sources of which I am not aware, and in part from the notes of his friend *Aubrey*, who derived his account from Milton's brother and nephew, and from his own personal acquaintance with the Poet. *Aubrey's* notes have lately been printed, from the original preserved in the Ashmolean collection, in the second volume of the *Letters from the Bodleian*, and in the Appendix to Godwin's *Lives of E. and J. Philips*. They will still be read as a literary curiosity; and they even supplied me with one or two additional particulars for this edition, but nearly every thing deserving of notice had been extracted from them before. I call Wood's the earliest *Life* of Milton; for E.



Philips's notice of Milton in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675, is extremely slight and superficial, and Langbaine's account, written in 1691, is unworthy of notice. There is said to be a copy of Langbaine with MS. notes by Oldys preserved in the British Museum, to which reference is sometimes made; these notes I have not seen, but I made some slight use of some notes by Oldys in Malone's copy of Langbaine, which is now in the Bodleian Library. But in 1694, *E. Philips*, the eldest of Milton's nephews, prefixed an interesting account of his uncle's life to an English translation of Milton's State Letters. It was published indeed without the name of the author, but it appeared to be written by Philips according to a note in the copy which Dr. Birch made use of, and which Philips himself had given to a friend of his, and Mr. Godwin remarks that Toland ascribed it to the elder Philips whilst his brother was still living. This account of Milton's life, however, is often inaccurate, apparently from the carelessness of the writer, who was an author by profession; and it does not afford so many particulars of Milton's private life as might have been expected from one who knew him so intimately. Bishop Newton has incorporated in his *Life of Milton* almost every thing that is most valuable in Philips, and usually in the very words of the author. *Toland*, in 1698, published Milton's *Prose Works* with a *Life of the author*, in which he attempted to do more ample justice to his subject than it had hitherto received. He professed to derive his information from Milton's own writings, from a person who had been his amanuensis, from his daughter, and a letter written by his widow, from the papers of one

of his nephews, and conversation with the other, and with such of Milton's acquaintance as could then be discovered. Toland was the first who endeavoured to illustrate Milton's character and sentiments by extracts from his Prose Works. His own dislike of the Church and the Clergy, indeed, led him to select some passages against them and against the Liturgy, full of sophistry, coarseness, and spleen ; but upon the whole Toland's Life was calculated to give a more just idea of Milton than had hitherto been published. And both this publication and that of Philips were rendered more valuable in the first instance by the insertion of some of Milton's Sonnets not before published. Toland's Life was reprinted separately in 1699 ; and again, by the care of Mr. T. Hollis, in 1761. *Bayle* in the first edition of his Historical and Critical Dictionary published a short, and caustic, but very inaccurate account of Milton's life ; but this was enlarged in the second edition with a supplement and various notes taken professedly from Toland's Life of Milton, though there are a few satirical touches from the pen of Bayle himself. There was also an abstract of Milton's life in the journal of M. de Beauval for Feb. 1699, but this I have not seen. *Elijah Fenton*, in 1725, published his well-known and elegant sketch of Milton's Life ; it is clear, sensible, and candid, but is chiefly founded upon Toland, and adds little or nothing to the stock of information concerning Milton. In 1734, the elder *Richardson* published some interesting *Remarks* on the Life of Milton, passing rapidly over the facts, but dwelling minutely upon his character and manners, which he illustrated by all the anecdotes he could collect, and by numerous

quotations from Milton's Prose Works. Toland for the most part selects passages to exhibit Milton's religious and political sentiments, Richardson to delineate his personal history and feelings, his private rather than his public character; and together they exhibit almost all the passages of either description which appear in the later biographers. *Rolli*, in the following year, prefixed to his translation of the *Paradise Lost* into Italian verse a respectable account of Milton's Life. He drew upon no new resources indeed, and gave no new information, but his observations are his own, and some of them ingenious. And this Life as well as Bayle's derives an interest from the circumstance that the writer was a foreigner. *Dr. Birch*, however, who gave an account of Milton in the General Dictionary, and again with his edition of the Prose Works in 1738, added a little to the information already extant, from his own acquaintance with Milton's widow, and from Professor Ward's conversations with Milton's daughter, Mrs. Clarke. These Lives indeed I have not examined, because *Dr. Birch* afterwards published another with his second edition of the Prose Works in 1753, and this is one of the most complete and accurate accounts at present extant; it may not be written in a very engaging style perhaps, but it is sensible and impartial, and has the merit of specifying minutely his authority for every circumstance. *Peck's New Life of Milton*, in 1740, contains very little, if any, original information concerning Milton's life, being chiefly occupied with critiques upon his poems. It gives indeed some curious particulars about books, editions, pictures, &c. but Warton's notes contain every thing that

is valuable of this kind ; and Peck does not appear a person whose authority is to be followed implicitly.

From all the most considerable of his predecessors, *Bp. Newton* introduced into his narrative nearly every thing that was most deserving of notice. And it will have already appeared, that the lives by Wood, Philips, Toland, Richardson, and Birch, (with the addition indeed of one or two circumstances from Elwood's account of his own life, and from Kennet's Historical Register,) and some passages in Milton's works, which would undoubtedly have been contradicted at the time, had they been incorrect, furnish all the authentic materials for the Life of Milton. *Bp. Newton* indeed conversed with Mrs. Foster, the grand-daughter of Milton, who was alive till 1754; but her information was exceedingly inaccurate; and Milton's last surviving daughter died in 1727, and his widow in 1730. With the latter indeed the author of the accurate Life of Milton in the *Biographia Britannica* (A.D. 1760,) professes to have been acquainted; but this account so much resembles the Life by Dr. Birch, that it might almost pass for his production, if the severe remarks on Milton's character in several of the notes did not indicate a different hand.

From this period, at any rate, we have only to expect that species of novelty in the accounts of Milton's life, which will continually result from the different points of view in which his works and character will be regarded by men of various feelings and parties. *Johnson's* Life of Milton is sufficiently novel from this cause. It cannot indeed be denied that he supplies several observations not less just than forcible; but he

is sometimes sophistical, usually harsh and caustic ; praise seems extorted from him ; and his view of Milton's character is upon the whole prejudiced and unjust. His account will always be read, however, not only for its own merits, such as they are, but because scarcely any succeeding Life is without allusions to it. The edition of the *Lives of the Poets*, published in 1794, supplied me with one or two useful notes upon the Life of Milton. An anonymous writer, usually understood to be Archdeacon Blackburne, wrote his *Remarks* professedly upon the Life by Johnson ; and although they are full of asperity, and written ad hominem, yet they frequently disprove Johnson's attacks acutely and thoroughly. *Mr. Hayley* is exceedingly anxious also to advocate Milton's cause, but is not a little perplexed in his endeavours to eulogize at once both the poet and his biographer. Hayley's mind, indeed, was not sufficiently powerful to enable him to decide on Milton's character either as a man or as a poet ; yet there is some elegance amidst his feebleness, and his remarks are not unfrequently just and candid. *Dr. Symmons* certainly regarded neither Johnson nor Warton with any favour, and in his zeal for Milton's reputation attacks both these writers with merciless severity. His admiration for Milton's character indeed scarcely knows any bounds ; his unwillingness to censure, equals Johnson's reluctance to praise, him ; and though the latter is undoubtedly the more ungracious fault of the two, still both detract from the impartiality of just biography. In his criticisms upon Milton's works, Dr. Symmons appears to write with more candour and discrimination ; occasionally

also he can notice calmly the weak points in his author's character and sentiments; and his work upon the whole, not to speak of some very prominent faults in its style as well as its general execution, will not be consulted without advantage by those who have been chiefly conversant with unfavourable portraits of Milton. *Mr. Todd's Account of Milton's Life and Writings* is a very unassuming performance, but evidently drawn up with his usual industry and fidelity. His industry however, as there was in fact nothing new to be discovered respecting Milton himself, has tempted him to indulge too frequently in the insertions of curious but irrelevant matter. Mr. Godwin professes to have written his *Lives of E. and J. Philips*, the nephews of Milton, with a constant view to the illustration of Milton's character, and now and then he throws a little, and but a little, new light upon it. It may be as well to mention, that his Appendix contains a reprint of Philips's *Life of Milton*, as the original publication is not very easily procured.

With the exception of the articles already noticed in biographical Dictionaries, I have met with no others which need be particularly described. Those in the French works of this kind appear to be for the most part derived from Toland through Bayle. There are several independent and sensible accounts in the English biographical works; but it was not to be expected that they should add any thing to the stock of information of which the public was already possessed. The most ample of these is the *Life* in Rees's *Encyclopædia*, but it is evidently an echo of the life by Dr. Symmons.

Most of the preceding Lives have supplied me with some little particular or other which the tastes of different readers might desire to be subjoined to Bp. Newton's Life; and their relative value will sufficiently appear from the preceding list of Milton's biographers. And if some of these notes should seem to be at variance with this account of their authors, it will be understood that they were often selected for this very reason. A sentence of praise, for instance, from Johnson, or of censure from Dr. Symmons, carries with it peculiar weight on account of the bias of these writers in the opposite direction.

A comparison of several Lives of Milton is necessary perhaps after all for those who would form a just estimate of his character and principles. A masterly delineation of them, as well as a complete and impartial review of his works, especially his prose writings, may be regarded as even now a desideratum in English literature. Few subjects would in fact require so considerable a range of knowledge, united with so much sound judgment and candour: and if such a review of his works and character appeared, it may yet be doubted whether it would presently secure a wide and general approbation. As for the dates and facts, even to the minuter incidents, of Milton's personal history, they have long since been determined with all the accuracy which the nature of the subject admits or requires.

E. H.

*Oriel College, Nov. 9, 1824.*

## DR. NEWTON'S PREFACES.

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### I. PREFACE TO THE EDITION OF THE PARADISE LOST, A. D. 1749.

TO publish new and correct editions of the works of approved authors has ever been esteemed a service to learning, and an employment worthy of men of learning. It is not material whether the author is ancient or modern. Good criticism is the same in all languages. Nay I know not whether there is not greater merit in cultivating our own language than any other. And certainly next to a good writer, a good critic holds the second rank in the republic of letters. And if the pious and learned Bishop of Thessalonica has gained immortal honour by his notes upon Homer, it can be no discredit to a graver Divine than myself to comment upon such a divine poem as the *Paradise Lost*, especially after some great men, who have gone before me in this exercise, and whose example is sanction sufficient.

My design in the present edition is to publish the *Paradise Lost*, as the work of a classic author cum notis variorum. In order to this end, the first care has been to print the text correctly according to Milton's own editions. And herein the editors of Milton have a considerable advantage over the editors of Shakespeare. For the first editions of Shakespeare's works being



printed from the incorrect copies of the players, there is more room left for conjectures and emendations ; and as according to the old proverb,

*Bene qui conjiciet vatem hunc perhibebo optimum,*

the best guesser was the best diviner, so he may be said in some measure too to be the best editor of Shakespeare, as Mr. Warburton hath proved himself by variety of conjectures, and many of them very happy ones, upon the most difficult passages. But we who undertake to publish Milton's *Paradise Lost* are not reduced to that uncertainty ; we are not left floating in the wide ocean of conjecture, but have a chart and compass to steer by ; we have an authentic copy to follow in the two editions printed in his own lifetime, and have only to correct what may be supposed to be the errors of the press, or mistakes occasioned by the author's blindness. These two editions then, the first in ten books printed in a small quarto, and the second in twelve books printed in a small octavo, are proposed as our standard : the variations in each are noted ; and we never deviate from them both without assigning, as we think, a substantial reason for it. Some alterations indeed are necessary to be made in consequence of the late improvements in printing, with regard to the use of capital letters, Italic characters, and the spelling of some words : but to Milton's own spelling (for we must distinguish between his and that of his times) we pay all proper regard, and commonly note where it is right, and where it is wrong ; and follow it or not accordingly. His pointing too we generally observe, because it is generally right ; such was the care, that

Milton himself took in having the proof-sheets read to him, or his friends took for him: and changes of consequence we make none without signifying the reasons; in lesser instances there is no occasion to be particular. In a word, we approve of the two first editions in the main, though we cannot think that they ought to be followed (as some have advised) letter for letter, and point for point. We desire to transcribe all their excellencies, but have no notion of perpetuating their faults and errors.

When the text was settled, the notes came next under consideration. P. H. or Patrick Hume, as he was the first, so is the most copious annotator. He laid the foundation, but he laid it among infinite heaps of rubbish. The greater part of his work is a dull dictionary of the most common words, a tedious fardel of the most trivial observations, explaining what requires no explanation: but take away what is superfluous, and there will still remain a great deal that is useful; there is gold among his dross, and I have been careful to separate the one from the other. It was recommended to me indeed to print entire Mr. Addison's Spectators upon the Paradise Lost, as ingenious essays which had contributed greatly to the reputation of the poem, and having been added to several editions they could not well be omitted in this edition: and accordingly those papers, which treat of the poem in general, are prefixed in the nature of a preliminary discourse; and those, which are written upon each book separately, are inserted under each book, and interwoven in their proper places. Dr. Bentley's is a great name in criticism, but he has not acquired any additional honour by

his new edition of the *Paradise Lost*. Nay some have been so far prejudiced as to think, that he could not be a good critic in any language, who had shown himself so injudicious an one in his own mother-tongue. But prejudice apart, he was a very great man, of parts inferior to few, of learning superior to most men ; and he has made some very judicious and useful remarks upon the *Paradise Lost*, though in the general they may rather be called the dotages of Dr. Bentley. He was more sagacious in finding faults, than happy in mending them ; and if he had confined himself only to the former, he might have had better success ; but when he attempted the latter, and substituted verses of his own in the room of Milton's, he commonly made most miserable bungling work, being no poet himself, and having little or no taste of poetry. Dr. Pearce, the present Lord Bishop of Rochester, has distinguished his taste and judgment in choosing always the best authors for the subjects of his criticism, as Cicero and Longinus among the ancients, and Milton among the moderns. His *Review of the Text of the Paradise Lost* is not only a most complete answer to Dr. Bentley, but may serve as a pattern to all future critics, of sound learning and just reasoning joined with the greatest candour and gentleness of manners. The whole is very well worthy of the perusal of every lover and admirer of Milton, but such parts only are ingrafted into this work as are more immediately proper for our design, and explain some difficulty, or illustrate some beauty, of our author. His Lordship together with my Lord Bath first engaged me in this undertaking, and he has kindly assisted me in it from the beginning to the end ;

and I cannot but entertain the better hopes of the public approbation, as these sheets, long before they went to the press, were perused and corrected by his Lordship. Of Mr. Richardson's notes it must be said that there are strange inequalities in them, some extravagances, and many excellencies; there is often better sense than grammar or English; and he sometimes hits the true meaning of the author surprisingly, and explains it properly. He had good natural parts but without erudition or learning, in which he was assisted by his son, who is a man of taste and literature, as well as of the greatest benevolence and goodnature. Mr. Warburton likewise has published some remarks upon the *Paradise Lost*, occasioned chiefly by Dr. Bentley's edition. They were printed some years ago in the *History of the Works of the Learned*, and he allowed me the free use of them: but upon looking into the *History of the Works of the Learned*, to my regret I found that his remarks were continued no farther than the three first books, and what is become of his other papers, and how they were mislaid and lost, neither he nor I can apprehend; but the excellence of those which remain sufficiently evinces the great loss that we have sustained in the others, which cannot now be recovered. He has done me the honour too of recommending this edition to the public in the preface to his *Shakespeare*, but nothing could have recommended it more effectually than if it had been adorned by some more of his notes and observations. There is a pamphlet entitled *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, said to be written by a Gentleman of North Britain: and there is another

entitled Letters concerning poetical translations, and Virgil's and Milton's arts of verse, commonly ascribed to Mr. Auditor Benson: and of both these I have made some use, as I have likewise of the learned Mr. Upton's Critical Observations on Shakespeare, wherein he has occasionally interspersed some remarks upon Milton; and in short, like the bee, I have been studious of gathering sweets wherever I could find them growing.

But besides the flower of those which have been already published, here are several new observations offered to the world, both of others and my own. Dr. Heylin lent me the use of his manuscript remarks, but much the greater part of them had been rifled before by Dr. Bentley. It seems Dr. Heylin had once an intention of publishing a new edition of the *Paradise Lost*, and mentioned his design to Dr. Bentley: but Dr. Bentley declaring at the same time his resolution of doing it, Dr. Heylin modestly desisted, and freely communicated what observations he had made to Dr. Bentley. And what does Dr. Bentley do? Why, he borrows the best and most plausible of his notes from Dr. Heylin, publishes them as his own, and never has the gratitude to make any acknowledgment, or so much as any mention of his benefactor. I am obliged too to Mr. Jortin for some remarks, which he conveyed to me by the hands of Dr. Pearce. They are chiefly upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients; but every thing that proceeds from him is of value, whether in poetry, criticism, or divinity, as appears from his *Lusus Poetici*, his *Miscellaneous Observations upon authors*, and his *Discourses concerning the truth of the Chris-*

tian Religion. Besides those already mentioned, Mr. Warburton has favoured me with a few other notes in manuscript; I wish there had been more of them for the sake of the reader, for the loose hints of such writers, like the slight sketches of great masters in painting, are worth more than the laboured pieces of others. And he very kindly lent me Mr. Pope's Milton of Bentley's edition, wherein Mr. Pope had all along with his own hand set some mark of approbation, rectè, benè, pulchrè, &c. in the margin over-against such emendations of the Doctor's, as seemed to him just and reasonable. It was a satisfaction to see what so great a genius thought particularly of that edition, and he appears throughout the whole to have been a very candid reader, and to have approved of more than really merits approbation. Mr. Richardson the father has said in his preface, that his son had a very copious collection of fine passages out of ancient and modern authors, by which Milton had profited; and this collection, which is written in the margin and between the lines of Mr. Hume's annotations, Mr. Richardson the son has put into my hands. Some little use I have made of it; and it might have been of greater service, and have saved me some trouble, if I had not then almost completed this work. Mr. Thyer, the Librarian at Manchester, I have not the pleasure of knowing personally, but by his writings I am convinced that he must be a man of great learning, and as great humanity. It was late before I was informed that he had written any remarks upon the Paradise Lost, but he was very ready to communicate them, and for the greater despatch sent me his interleaved Milton wherein

his remarks were written: but unluckily for him, for me, and for the public, the book through the negligence of the carrier was dropped upon the road, and cannot since be found. Mr. Thyer however hath had the goodness to endeavour to repair the loss to me and to the public, by writing what he could recollect, and sending me a sheet or two full of remarks almost every post for several weeks together: and though several of them came too late to be inserted into the body of the work, yet they will be found in the Appendix<sup>a</sup>, which is made for the sake of them principally. It is unnecessary to say any thing in their commendation: they will sufficiently recommend themselves. Some other assistance too I have received from persons, whose names are unknown, and others, whose names I am not at liberty to mention: but I hope the Speaker of the House of Commons will pardon my ambition to have it known, that he has been pleased to suggest some useful hints and observations, when I have been admitted to the honour of his conversation.

As the notes are of various authors, so they are of various kinds, critical and explanatory; some to correct the errors of former editions, to discuss the various readings, and to establish the true genuine text of Milton; some to illustrate the sense and meaning, to point out the beauties and defects of sentiment and character, and to commend or censure the conduct of the poem; some to remark the peculiarities of style and language, to clear the syntax, and to explain the uncommon words, or common words used in an uncommon signi-

<sup>a</sup> In this edition they are inserted in their proper places.

fiction ; some to consider and examine the numbers, and to display our author's great arts of versification, the variety of the pauses, and the adaptness of the sound to the sense ; some to shew his imitations and allusions to other authors, whether sacred or profane, ancient or modern. We might have been much larger and more copious under each of these heads, and especially under the last : but I would not produce every thing that hath any similitude and resemblance, but only such passages as we may suppose the author really alluded to, and had in mind at the time of writing. It was once my intention to prefix some essays to this work, one upon Milton's style, another upon his versification, a third upon his imitations, &c ; but upon more mature deliberation I concluded that the same things would have a better effect in the form of short notes, when the particular passages referred to came immediately under consideration, and the context lay before the reader. There would have been more of the pomp and ostentation of criticism in the former, but I conceive there is more real use and advantage in the latter. It is the great fault of commentators, that they are apt to be silent or at most very concise where there is any difficulty, and to be very prolix and tedious where there is none : but it is hoped that the contrary method has been taken here ; and though more may be said than is requisite for critics and scholars, yet it may be no more than is necessary or proper for other readers of Milton. For these notes are intended for general use, and if they are received with general approbation, that will be sufficient. I can hardly expect that any



body should approve them all, and I may be certain that nobody can condemn them all.

The life of the author it is almost become a custom to prefix to a new edition of his works ; for when we admire the writer, we are curious also to know something of the man : and the life of Milton is not barely a history of his works, but is so much the more interesting, as he was more engaged in public affairs than poets usually are. And it has happened that more accounts have been written of his life, than of almost any author's ; particularly by Antony Wood in his *Fasti Oxonienses* ; by our author's nephew, Mr. Edward Philips, before the English translation of Milton's *State-letters*, printed in 1694 ; by Mr. Toland, before the edition of our author's prose works in three volumes folio, printed in 1698 ; by Monsieur Bayle in his *Historical and Critical Dictionary* ; by Mr. Fenton, before the edition of our author's poetical works, printed in 1725 ; by Mr. Richardson, in the preface to his *Explanatory Notes and Remarks upon Milton's Paradise Lost* ; and by the Reverend and ingenious Mr. Thomas Birch in the *General Dictionary*, and more largely before the edition of our author's prose works in two volumes folio, printed in 1738. And I have not only read and compared these accounts together, and made the best extracts out of them which I possibly could ; but have also collected some other particulars from Milton's own works as well as from other authors, and from credible tradition as well as from written testimonies ; and all these, like so many different threads, I have woven into one piece, and formed into a con-

tinued narration, of which, whether it affords more or less satisfaction and entertainment than former accounts, the reader must judge and determine: but it has been my study and endeavour, as in the notes to comprise the flower of all other notes, so in the life to include the substance of all former lives, and with improvements and additions.

In the conclusion are added copious indexes, one of the principal matters, and another of the words. The man, who is at the pains of making indexes, is really to be pitied; but of their great utility there is no need to say any thing, when several persons, who pass in the world for profound scholars, know little more of books than title pages and indexes, but never catch the spirit of an author, which is sure always to evaporate or die in such hands. The former of these indexes, if not drawn up by Mr. Tickell, was I think first inserted in his quarto edition of Milton's poetical works, printed in 1720<sup>b</sup>; and for the latter, which was much more laborious, it was composed at the desire and encouragement of Mr. Auditor Benson by Mr. Cruden, who hath also published a very useful Concordance to the Bible.

<sup>b</sup> First inserted in the edition of Par. Lost printed for Tonson, 1711. *Todd.*

## II. PREFACE TO THE PARADISE REGAINED, SAMSON AGONISTES, AND MINOR POEMS.

IT hath been recommended to me by some great persons, as well as by several friends, to complete the edition of Milton's poetical works: for though the *Paradise Lost* be the flower of epic poesy, and the noblest effort of genius; yet here are other poems which are no less excellent in their kind, and if they have not that sublimity and majesty, are at least equally beautiful and pleasing to the imagination. And the same method that was taken in the publication of the *Paradise Lost*, is pursued in this edition of the *Paradise Regained* and other poems, first to exhibit the true and genuine text according to Milton's own editions, and then to illustrate it with notes, critical and explanatory, of various authors. Of the *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* there was only one edition in Milton's lifetime, in the year 1671; and this we have made our standard, correcting only what the author himself would have corrected. Dr. Bentley pronounces it to be without faults, but there is a large table of errata at the end, which instead of being emended have rather been augmented in the following editions, and were never corrected in any edition that I have seen before the present. Of the other poems there were two editions in Milton's lifetime, the first in 1645, before he was blind, and the other with some additions in 1673. Of the *Mask* there was likewise an edition published by Mr. Henry Lawes in 1637: and of the *Mask* and several other poems there are extant copies in Milton's own hand-writing, preserved

in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge: and all these copies and editions have been carefully collated and compared together, the differences and variations are noted, and even the Poet's corrections and alterations in his manuscript are specified for the satisfaction of the curious critical reader. The manuscript indeed hath been of singular service in rectifying several passages, and especially in the Sonnets, some of which were not printed till many years after Milton's death, and were then printed imperfect and deficient both in sense and metre, but are now by the help of the manuscript restored to their just harmony and original perfection. From the manuscript too we have given the plan of *Paradise Lost*, as Milton first designed it, in the form of a tragedy, and likewise the subjects which he had sketched out for other tragedies, whether with an intention ever to finish them or not we cannot be certain. They were printed before in the *Historical and Critical Life of Milton* prefixed to his prose works by the learned and ingenious Mr. Birch, who is continually adding something new to the stock of learning: but it was judged proper to reprint them from the manuscript in this edition, as they bear a nearer relation to the author's poetical works\*.

The notes, as upon the *Paradise Lost*, so likewise upon the *Paradise Regained* and other poems, are of various authors and of various kinds: but these, excepting only a few, were never printed before, and have therefore novelty to recommend them, as well as some names of the first rank and greatest eminence in the republic of letters. The truth of my assertion

\* They are given in vol. iii. p. 329, of this edition. E.

will be fully justified by mentioning only the names of Mr. Warburton and Mr. Jortin, who while they are employed in writing the most learned and elaborate defences of religion, yet find leisure to cultivate the politer arts, and to promote and improve both in themselves and others a classical taste of the finest authors ; and whatever may be the success, I can never repent of having engaged in this undertaking, which hath given me so many convincing proofs of their friendship and kindness, and at the same time hath happily conjoined (what perhaps might never else have been joined together) my studies and my name with theirs. I am equally obliged too to Mr. Thyer for the continuation of his friendly assistance; and the reader will find the same good sense, and learning, and ingenuity in these, as in his former remarks upon the *Paradise Lost*. And now he hath gone through Milton's poetical works, I hope he will do the same justice to another of our greatest English poets, and gratify the public with a complete edition of Spenser's works, or at least with his equally learned, equally elegant observations upon them. I would not be understood by this to disparage in the least Mr. Upton's intended edition, or Mr. Sympson's, who is my friend, and hath kindly assisted me in this edition, as well as in that of the *Paradise Lost*. Mr. Upton is certainly a man of great learning, and so likewise is Mr. Sympson, and particularly well read in our old English authors, as appears from his share in the late excellent edition of Beaumont's and Fletcher's works: but I know no man, who hath a juster and more delicate taste of the beauties of an author than Mr. Thyer, or is a greater master of the Italian language and Italian poetry, which in Spenser's

time was the study and delight of all the men of letters, and Spenser himself hath borrowed more from that source than from almost any other, and sometimes hath translated two or three stanzas together. Mr. Richardson likewise hath continued his good offices, and communicated his comment upon *Lycidas* and his marginal notes and observations upon the other poems, together with a very fine head of Milton done by his father after a drawing of Cooper: and both the Richardsons, father and son, deserve the thanks of all lovers of the sister arts, for their instructive essays on painting, as well as for several ingenious remarks on Milton. I had the honour of all these for my associates and assistants before, but I have been farther strengthened by some new recruits, which were the more unexpected, as they were sent me from gentlemen, with whom I never had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance. The Reverend Mr. Meadowcourt, Canon of Worcester, in 1732 published a *Critical Dissertation* with notes upon the *Paradise Regained*, a second edition of which was printed in 1748; and he likewise transmitted to me a sheet of his manuscript remarks, wherein he hath happily explained a most difficult passage in *Lycidas* better than any man had done before him. The Reverend Mr. Calton of Marton in Lincolnshire hath contributed much more to my assistance: he favoured me with a long correspondence; and I am at a loss which to commend most, his candour as a friend, or his penetration and learning as a critic and divine. Besides all these helps I have picked out some grain from among the chaff of Mr. Peck's remarks, and have gleaned up every thing which I thought might

any ways be useful towards illustrating our author; and in the conclusion have added an index of the less common words occasionally explained in the notes.

The Latin poems I cannot say are equal to several of his English compositions: but yet they are not without their merit; they are not a cento like most of the modern Latin poetry; there is spirit, invention, and other marks and tokens of a rising genius; for it should be considered, that the greater part of them were written while the author was under twenty. They are printed correctly according to his own editions in 1645 and 1673; and as they can be read only by the learned, there is the less occasion for any notes and observations upon them. Some few are added, which were thought no more than necessary.—But it is time to have done with these things, and to apply to other works, more important and more useful, if the execution prove answerable to the intention.

*December 31, 1751.*

EXTRACT FROM MR. T. WARTON'S PREFACE TO HIS  
EDITION OF MILTON'S JUVENILE POEMS.

**F**OR obvious reasons, the Latin poems of this volume can never acquire the popularity of the English. But as it is my wish that they may be better known than before, and as they are in this edition, partly on that account, and for the first time, accompanied with a series of Notes of proportionably equal extent with those attached to the English text, I have thought it proper to introduce them to the reader's acquaintance by some general remarks, from which an estimate of their character might be preparatively formed, and at one view.

Our author is said to be the first Englishman, who after the restoration of letters wrote Latin verses with classic elegance. But we must at least except some of the hendecasyllables and epigrams of Leland, one of our first literary reformers, from this hasty determination.

In the *Elegies*, Ovid was professedly Milton's model for language and versification. They are not, however, a perpetual and uniform tissue of Ovidian phraseology. With Ovid in view, he has an original manner and character of his own, which exhibit a remarkable perspicuity of contexture, a native facility and fluency. Nor does his observation of Roman models oppress or destroy our great poet's inherent powers of invention and sentiment. I value these pieces as much for their fancy and genius, as for their style and expression.

That Ovid among the Latin poets was Milton's favourite, appears not only from his elegiac but his



hexametric poetry. The versification of our author's hexameters has yet a different structure from that of the *Metamorphoses*: Milton's is more clear, intelligible, and flowing; less desultory, less familiar, and less embarrassed with a frequent recurrence of periods. Ovid is at once rapid and abrupt. He wants dignity: he has too much conversation in his manner of telling a story. Prolixity of paragraph, and length of sentence, are peculiar to Milton. This is seen, not only in some of his exordial invocations in the *Paradise Lost*, and in many of the religious addresses of a like cast in the *Prose Works*, but in his long verse. It is to be wished that in his Latin compositions of all sorts, he had been more attentive to the simplicity of Lucretius, Virgil, and Tibullus.

Dr. Johnson, unjustly I think, prefers the Latin poetry of May and Cowley to that of Milton, and thinks May to be the first of the three. May is certainly a sonorous versifier, and was sufficiently accomplished in poetical declamation for the continuation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. But May is scarcely an author in point. His skill is in parody; and he was confined to the peculiarities of an archetype, which, it may be presumed, he thought excellent. As to Cowley when compared with Milton, the same critic observes, "Milton is generally content to express the thoughts of the ancients in their language: Cowley, without much loss of purity or elegance, accommodates the diction of Rome to his own conceptions. -- The advantage seems to lie on the side of Cowley." But what are these conceptions? Metaphysical conceits, all the unnatural extravagancies of his English poetry;

such as will not bear to be clothed in the Latin language, much less are capable of admitting any degree of pure Latinity. I will give a few instances, out of a great multitude, from the Davideis.

Hic sociatorum sacra constellatio vatam,  
Quos felix virtus evexit ad æthera, nubes  
Luxuriæ supra, tempestatesque laborum\*.

Again,

Temporis ingreditur penctralia celsa futuri,  
Implumesque videt nidis cœlestibus annos\*.

And, to be short, we have the *Plusquam visus aquilinus* of lovers, *Natio verborum*, *Exiit vitam acriam*, *Menti auditur symphonia dulcis*, *Naturæ archiva*, *Omnes symmetria sensus congerit*, *Condit aromatica prohibetque putescere laude*. Again, where *Aliquid* is personified, *Monogramma exordia mundi*<sup>c</sup>.

It may be said, that Cowley is here translating from his own English Davideis. But I will bring examples from his original Latin poems. In praise of the spring.

Et resonet toto musica verna libro;  
Undique laudis odor dulcissimus halet, &c.<sup>d</sup>

And in the same poem in a party worthy of the pastoral pencil of Watteau.

Hauserunt avidæ Chocolatam Flora Venusque\*.

Of the *Fraxinella*.

Tu tres metropoles humani corporis armis  
Propugnâs, uterum, cor, cerebrumque, tuis<sup>f</sup>.

\* See Cowley's *Poemata Latina*, Lond. 1668. 8vo. p. 398. 399, 400.

<sup>d</sup> *Plantar. lib. iii. p. 137.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid. p. 399.*

<sup>e</sup> *L. iv. p. 254.*

<sup>c</sup> *Poemata Latina*, p. 386, 397,

<sup>f</sup> *L. iv. p. 207.*

He calls the *Lychnis*, *Candelabrum ingens*, Cupid is *Arbiter formæ criticus*. Ovid is *Antiquarius ingens*. An ill smell is shunned *Olfactus tetricitate sui*. And in the same page, is *nugatoria pestis*<sup>z</sup>.

But all his faults are conspicuously and collectively exemplified in these stanzas, among others, of his Hymn on Light<sup>h</sup>.

Pulchra de nigro soboles parente,  
Quam Chaos fertur peperisse primam,  
Cujus ob formam bene risit olim

Massa severa!

Risus O terræ sacer et polorum,  
Aureus vere pluvius Tonantis,  
Quæque de cœlo fluis inquieto

Gloria rivo!—

Te bibens arcus Jovis ebriosus  
Mille formosos revomit colores,  
Pavo cœlestis, variamque pascit

Lumine caudam.

And afterwards, of the waves of the sea, perpetually in motion.

Lucidum trudis properanter agmen:

Sed resistentum<sup>l</sup> super ora rerum

Leniter stagnas, liquidoque inundas

Cuncta colore:

At mare immensum oceanusque Lucis

Jupiter cœlo fluit empyræo;

Hinc inexhausto per utrumque mundum

Funditur ore.

Milton's Latin poems may be justly considered as legitimate classical compositions, and are never dis-

<sup>z</sup> See l. iv. p. 210. L. iii. p. 186, 170. L. ii. p. 126.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 407. seq.  
<sup>l</sup> Standing still.

graced with such language and such imagery. Cowley's Latinity, dictated by an irregular and unrestrained imagination, presents a mode of diction half Latin and half English. It is not so much that Cowley wanted a knowledge of the Latin style, but that he suffered that knowledge to be perverted and corrupted by false and extravagant thoughts. Milton was a more perfect scholar than Cowley, and his mind was more deeply tinctured with the excellencies of ancient literature. He was a more just thinker, and therefore a more just writer. In a word, he had more taste, and more poetry, and consequently more propriety. If a fondness for the Italian writers has sometimes infected his English poetry with false ornaments, his Latin verses, both in diction and sentiment, are at least free from those depravations.

Some of Milton's Latin Poems were written in his first year at Cambridge, when he was only seventeen: they must be allowed to be very correct and manly performances for a youth of that age. And considered in that view, they discover an extraordinary copiousness and command of ancient fable and history. I cannot but add, that Gray resembles Milton in many instances. Among others, in their youth they were both strongly attached to the cultivation of Latin poetry.

But I hasten to give the reader an account of my design and conduct, and of what he is to expect, in this edition.

This volume exhibits those poems of Milton, of which a second edition, with some slender additions, appeared in 1673, while the author was yet living, under the title, "Poems upon several occasions, by Mr.

" John Milton. Both English and Latin, &c. Composed at several times." In this collection our author did not include his *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, as some later editors have done. Those two pieces, forming a single volume by themselves, had just before been printed together, in 1671, for Milton here intended only an edition of his *Juvenile Poems*.

The chief purpose of the Notes is to explain our author's allusions, to illustrate or to vindicate his beauties, to point out his imitations both of others and of himself, to elucidate his obsolete diction, and by the adduction and juxtaposition of parallels universally gleaned both from his poetry and prose, to ascertain his favourite words, and to shew the peculiarities of his phraseology. And thus some of the Notes, those I mean which relate to his imitations of himself, and to his language, have a more general effect, and are applicable to all Milton's writings.

Among the English poets, those readers who trust to the late commentators will be led to believe, that our author imitated Spenser and Shakespeare only. But his style, expression, and more extensive combinations of diction, together with many of his thoughts, are also to be traced in other English poets, who were either contemporaries or predecessors, and of whom many are now not commonly known. Of this it has been a part of my task to produce proofs. Nor have his imitations from Spenser and Shakespeare been hitherto sufficiently noted.

When Milton wrote these poems, many traditionary superstitions, not yet worn out in the popular belief,

adhered to the poetry of the times. Romances and fabulous narratives were still in fashion, and not yet driven away by puritans and usurpers. To ideas of this sort, and they corresponded with the complexion of his genius, allusions often appear even in Milton's elder poetry: but it was natural that they should be found at least as largely in his early pieces, which were professedly written in a lighter strain, at a period when they more universally prevailed, and were more likely to be caught by a young poet. Much imagery in these poems is founded on this source of fiction. Hence arose obscurities, which have been overlooked or misinterpreted: and thus the force of many strikingly poetical passages has been weakened or unperceived, because their origin was unknown, unexplored, or misunderstood. Coeval books, which might clear such references, were therefore to be consulted: and a new line of commentary was to be pursued. Comparatively, the classical annotator has here but little to do. Doctor Newton, an excellent scholar, was unacquainted with the treasures of the Gothic library. From his more solid and rational studies, he never deviated into this idle track of reading. Milton, at least in these poems, may be reckoned an old English poet; and therefore here requires that illustration, without which no old English poet can be well illustrated.

Hitherto I have been speaking of the Notes to the English poems. As to those on the *Poemata Latina*, of which something has already been incidentally said, they may have their use in unfolding many passages even to the learned reader. These pieces contain several curious circumstances of Milton's early life, situations,

friendships, and connections ; which are often so transiently or implicitly noticed, as to need examination and enlargement. It also seemed useful to show, which of the ancient Roman poets were here Milton's models, and how far and in what instances they have been copied. Here a new source of criticism on Milton, and which displays him in a new light and character, was opened. That English notes are joined with a Latin text, may be censured as an inconsistency, or as an arbitrary departure from the customary practice. But I know not any satisfactory reason, why books in a learned or unfamiliar language, should be always explained in a language equally difficult.

It was no part of my plan to add to my own the Notes of my predecessors. Perhaps it has happened, that some of my remarks have been anticipated by Dr. Newton and others. Such coincidences are accidental and undesigned. I have been favoured with a few Notes by the late Mr. Bowle, the learned and ingenious publisher of *Don Quixotte*, extracted from his interleaved copy of Milton's second edition of these poems. A few others have been communicated by my brother ; and I am convinced that my reader will concur with me in wishing, that his indispensable engagements would have permitted him to communicate many more. These valuable contributions are constantly marked with the names of their respective authors : as are some observations of Bishop Warburton, and of Bishop Hurd, distinguished by the initial letters of their names, W. and H. and which were kindly communicated to me by the latter of these two learned prelates.

I must add one or two more circumstances relating

to my revival of this volume. I have found it expedient to alter or enlarge Milton's own titles, which seemed to want fulness and precision, yet preserving their form and substance. Nor have I scrupulously followed the order used in his own editions, which yet I have not greatly violated. In disturbing the series of the pieces, my meaning was, not to study capricious and useless novelty, but to accommodate the reader, and to introduce uniformity, by a more methodical but obvious arrangement. I have endeavoured to render the text as uncorrupt and perspicuous as possible, not only by examining and comparing the authentic copies published under the author's immediate inspection, but by regulating the punctuation, of which Milton appears to have been habitually careless.





**THE**  
**LIFE OF MILTON.**

10

THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF LONDON

## THE LIFE OF MILTON.

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IT is agreed among all writers, that the family of Milton came originally from Milton in Oxfordshire; but from which of the Miltons is not altogether so certain. Some say, and particularly Mr. Philips, that the family was of Milton near Abingdon in Oxfordshire, where it had been a long time seated, as appears by the monuments still to be seen in Milton church. But that Milton is not in Oxfordshire, but in Berkshire; and upon enquiry I find, there are no such monuments in that church, nor any remains of them. It is more probable therefore that the family came, as Mr. Wood says, from Milton near Holton and Thame in Oxfordshire: where it flourished several years, till at last the estate was sequestered, one of the family having taken the unfortunate side in the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster<sup>a</sup>. John Milton, the poet's grandfather, was, according to Mr. Wood, an under-ranger or keeper of the forest of Shotover,

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Bliss informs me that he searched the Registers of Milton near Thame, and that there are no entries there of any persons of the name of Milton. The Registers go back to the year 1550. It is traditionally believed

in the place, that a large house yet standing there belonged to the family of Milton, but Mr. Ellis, the vicar, could not discover any documents to prove the point. E.

near Holton in Oxfordshire; he was of the religion of Rome, and such a bigot, that he disinherited his son only for being a protestant. Upon this the son, the poet's father, named likewise John Milton, settled in London, and became a scrivener by the advice of a friend eminent in that profession<sup>b</sup>; but he was not so devoted to gain and to business, as to lose all taste of the politer arts, and was particularly skilled in music, in which he was not only a fine performer, but is also celebrated for several pieces of his composition: and yet on the other hand he was not so fond of his music and amusements, as in the least to neglect his business, but by his diligence and economy acquired a competent estate, which enabled him afterwards to retire, and live in the country. He was by all accounts a very worthy man; and married an excellent woman, Sarah of the ancient family of the Bradshaws, says Mr. Wood; but Mr. Philips our author's nephew, who was more likely to know, says, of the family of the Castons, derived originally from Wales. Whoever she was, she is said to have been a woman of incomparable virtue and goodness<sup>c</sup>; and by her husband had two sons and a daughter.

The elder of the sons was our famous poet, who was born in the year of our Lord 1608, on the 9th of

<sup>b</sup> Aubrey says that he was originally bred a scholar, and of Christ Church, Oxford. "The occupation of a scrivener at this period," according to Mr. Hayley, "united the two profitable branches of drawing contracts, and of lending money." For several further par-

ticulars respecting Milton's father, see the notes on the verses *Ad Patrem*, v. 1. and 66. E.

<sup>c</sup> "Londini sum natus, genere honesto, patre viro integerrimo, matre probatissima et eleemosynis per viciniam potissimum nota." Def. Sec. Pr. W. ii. p. 383. ed. 1753. E.

December in the morning between 6 and 7 o'clock, in Bread-street London, where his father lived at the sign of the spread eagle, which was also the coat of arms of the family. He was named John, as his father and grandfather had been before him<sup>d</sup>; and from the beginning discovering the marks of an uncommon genius, he was designed for a scholar, and had his education partly under private tutors, and partly at a public school. It has been often controverted whether a public or private education is best, but young Milton was so happy as to share the advantages of both. It appears from the fourth of his Latin elegies, and from the first and fourth of his familiar epistles, that Mr. Thomas Young, who was afterwards pastor of the company of English merchants residing at Hamburg, was one of his private preceptors<sup>e</sup>: and when he had made good progress in his studies at home, he was sent to St. Paul's school, to be fitted for the University under the care of Mr. Gill, who was the master at that time, and to whose son are addressed some of his familiar epistles<sup>f</sup>. In this early time of his life such was his love of learning, and so great was his ambition to surpass his equals, that from his twelfth year he commonly continued his studies till midnight, which (as he says himself in his second Defence) was the first

<sup>d</sup> A record of Milton's baptism, yet unnoticed, occurs in the parochial Register of Allhallows, Bread-street, fol. 42. "The twentieth day of Dec. 1608, was baptized John Milton, the son of John Milton, scrivener." *T. Warton.*

<sup>e</sup> See Mr. Warton's first note on *El.* iv. *E.*

<sup>f</sup> See the first note on *El.* i. for an account of A. Gill.

There was a portrait taken of Milton when he was only ten years old by C. Jansen, and Aubrey says that he was "then a poet." See the note (†) on the verses *In Effigie ejus Sculptorem*, and on v. 75 of the poem *Ad Patrem.* *E.*

ruin of his eyes, to whose natural debility too were added frequent head-aches: but all could not extinguish or abate his laudable passion for letters. It is very seldom seen, that such application and such a genius meet in the same person. The force of either is great, but both together must perform wonders.

He was now in the 17th year of his age, and was a very good classical scholar, and master of several languages, when he was sent to the University of Cambridge, and admitted at Christ's College (as appears from the register) on the 12th of February 1624-5, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards Bishop of Cork and Ross in Ireland<sup>c</sup>. He continued above seven years at the University, and took two degrees, that of Bachelor of Arts in 1628-9, and that of Master in 1632<sup>b</sup>. It is somewhat remarkable, that though the merits of both our Universities are perhaps equally great, and though poetical exercises are rather more encouraged at Oxford, yet most of our greatest poets have been bred at Cambridge, as Spenser, Cowley, Waller, Dryden, Prior, not to mention any of the lesser ones, when there is a greater

<sup>c</sup> In the *Biographia*, p. 3106, Milton is said to have been entered at Cambridge a *Sizar*, which denominates the lowest rank of academics. But his admission thus stands in the register at Christ's College. "Johannes Milton, filius Johannis, institutus fuit in literarum elementis sub magistro Gill Gymnasii Paulini præfecto, et admissus est Pensionarius minor. 12<sup>o</sup> Feb. 1624." But *Pensionarius minor* is a *Pensioner*, or Com-

moner, in contradistinction to a *Fellow-Commoner*. And he is so entered in the Matriculation book of the University. *T. Warton*.

Mr. Chappel is called by Dr. Henry More, "a learned, vigilant, skilful, prudent, and pious tutor." See the *Biogr. Brit.* note on the Life of Lightfoot, who was also at Christ's College under Mr. Chappel. *E.*

<sup>b</sup> He was admitted to the same degree at Oxford, in 1635. *Wood*.

than all, Milton. He had given early proofs of his poetic genius before he went to the University, and there he excelled more and more, and distinguished himself by several copies of verses upon occasional subjects, as well as by all his academical exercises, many of which are printed among his other works, and show him to have had a capacity above his years; and by his obliging behaviour, added to his great learning and ingenuity, he deservedly gained the affection of many, and admiration of all. We do not find, however, that he obtained any preferment in the University, or a Fellowship in his own college; which seemeth the more extraordinary, as that society has always encouraged learning and learned men, had the most excellent Mr. Mede at that time a Fellow, and afterwards boasteth the great names of Cudworth, and Burnet author of the *Theory of the Earth*, and several others<sup>1</sup>. And this, together with some Latin verses of his to a friend, reflecting upon the University seemingly on this account, might probably have given occasion to the reproach which was afterwards cast upon him by his adversaries, that he was expelled from the University for irregularities committed there, and forced to fly to Italy: but he sufficiently refutes this calumny in more places than one of his works; and indeed it is no wonder, that a person so engaged in religious and political controversies as he was, should be calumniated and abused by the contrary party<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In his time, however, there was but one Fellowship in his College tenable by a layman, and Milton had now determined

against entering the Church. *Symmons*.

<sup>2</sup> See the notes, *El.* i. 12, 15. *E.*



He was designed by his parents for holy orders; and among the manuscripts of Trinity College in Cambridge there are two draughts in Milton's own hand of a letter to a friend, who had importuned him to take orders, when he had attained the age of twenty-three<sup>1</sup>: but the truth is, he had conceived early prejudices against the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and subscribing to the Articles was in his opinion subscribing slave. This no doubt was a disappointment to his friends, who though in comfortable were yet by no means in great circumstances: and neither doth he seem to have had any inclination to any other profession<sup>m</sup>; he had too free a spirit to be limited and confined; and was for comprehending all sciences, but professing none. And therefore after he had left the University in 1632, he retired to his father's house in the country; for his father had by this time quitted business, and lived at an estate which he had purchased at Horton near Colebrooke in Buckinghamshire<sup>n</sup>. Here he resided with his parents for the space of five years, and, as he himself has informed us, (in his second Defence, and the 7th of his familiar epistles,) read over all the Greek and Latin authors, particularly the historians; but now and then made an excursion to London, sometimes to buy books or to meet his friends from Cambridge, and at other times to learn something new in the mathe-

<sup>1</sup> See this letter in the notes on *Sonnet vii.* E.

<sup>m</sup> See v. 71 of the poem *Ad Patrem*, and the note there, on Milton's dislike of the profession of the Law. E.

<sup>n</sup> See the *Mansus*, v. 149, and Mr. Warton's note. Mr. Todd mentions, that the house in which Milton lived at Horton was pulled down about the year 1800. E.

matics or music, with which he was extremely delighted.

His retirement therefore was a learned retirement, and it was not long before the world reaped the fruits of it. It was in the year 1634 that his *Mask* was presented at Ludlow-castle. There was formerly a president of Wales, and a sort of a court kept at Ludlow, which has since been abolished; and the president at that time was the Earl of Bridgwater, before whom Milton's *Mask* was presented on Michaelmas night, and the principal parts, those of the two brothers, were performed by his Lordship's sons the Lord Brackly and Mr. Thomas Egerton, and that of the lady by his Lordship's daughter the Lady Alice Egerton. The occasion of this poem seemeth to have been merely an accident of the two brothers and the lady having lost one another in their way to the castle: and it is written very much in imitation of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, and the *Faithful Shepherdess* of Beaumont and Fletcher; and though one of the first, is yet one of the most beautiful of Milton's compositions\*. It was for some time handed about only in manuscript; but afterwards, to satisfy the importunity of friends and to save the trouble of transcribing, it was printed at London, though

\* Milton appears to have partly sketched the plan of *Comus* from the *Old Wives' Tale* of George Peele; see T. Warton's introductory note on *Comus*. A note signed H on Johnson's *Life of Milton*, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. 1794, suggests that it was taken less from Homer's *Circe* than from "the *Comus* of Erycius Puteanus, in which, under the

"fiction of a dream, the characters of *Comus* and his attendants are delineated, and the delights of sensualists exposed and reprobated." This little tract was published at Louvain in 1611, and afterwards at Oxford in 1634, the very year in which Milton's *Comus* was written." E.

without the author's name, in 1637, with a dedication to the Lord Brackly by Mr. H. Lawes, who composed the music, and played the part of the attendant Spirit. It was printed likewise at Oxford at the end of Mr. R.'s poems, as we learn from a letter of Sir Henry Wotton to our author; but who that Mr. R. was, whether Randolph the poet or who else, is uncertain<sup>p</sup>. It has lately, though with additions and alterations, been exhibited on the stage several times; and we hope the fine poetry and morality have recommended it to the audience, and not barely the authority of Milton's name; and we wish for the honour of the nation, that the like good taste prevailed in every thing.

In 1637 he wrote another excellent piece, his *Lycidas*, wherein he laments the untimely fate of a friend, who was unfortunately drowned that same year in the month of August on the Irish seas, in his passage from Chester. This friend was Mr. Edward King, son of Sir John King, Secretary of Ireland under Queen Elizabeth, King James I. and King Charles I. and was a Fellow of Christ's College, and was so well beloved and esteemed at Cambridge, that some of the greatest names in the University have united in celebrating his obsequies, and published a collection of

<sup>p</sup> Mr. Warton determines that Mr. R. was Thomas Randolph, M. A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who died March 17, 1634. His poems were printed at Oxford in 1638. But neither to this edition, nor to a second printed in 1640, was *Comus* attached. Warton imagines that Rouse had stitched Lawes's edi-

tion of *Comus* to the copy of Randolph's poems which he sent to Sir Henry Wotton. Oldys, however, in a MS. note on Langbaine's sketch of Milton's Life, preserved among the late Mr. Malone's books in the Bodleian Library, mentions that *Comus* was often bound up with the first edition of Randolph's poems. E.

poems, Greek and Latin and English, sacred to his memory. The Greek by H. More, &c; the Latin by T. Farnaby, J. Pearson, &c; the English by H. King, J. Beaumont, J. Cleaveland, with several others; and judiciously the last of all, as the best of all, is Milton's *Lycidas*. "On such sacrifices the Gods themselves "strow incense;" and one would almost wish so to have died, for the sake of having been so lamented. But this poem is not all made up of sorrow and tenderness; there is a mixture of satire and indignation; for in part of it the poet taketh occasion to inveigh against the corruptions of the clergy, and seemeth to have first discovered his acrimony against Archbishop Laud, and to have threatened him with the loss of his head, which afterwards happened to him through the fury of his enemies. At least I can think of no sense so proper to be given to the following verses in *Lycidas*,

Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw  
Daily devours apace, and nothing said;  
But that two-handed engine at the door  
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

About this time, as we learn from one of his familiar epistles, he had some thoughts of taking chambers at one of the Inns of Court, for he was not very well pleased with living so obscurely in the country<sup>1</sup>: but

<sup>1</sup> The letter is dated from London, and only expresses that his quarters there appeared to him aukward, and inconvenient. Dicam jam nunc serio quid cogitem, in hospitium juridicorum aliquod immigrare, sicubi amœna et umbrosa ambulatio est, quod

et inter aliquot sodales, commodior illic habitatio, si domi manere, et *ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν* quocunque libitum erit excurrere: ubi nunc sum, ut nosti, obscure et anguste sum. *Hayley.*

The passage immediately preceding this has been represented

his mother dying, he prevailed with his father to let him indulge a desire, which he had long entertained, of seeing foreign countries, and particularly Italy: and having communicated his design to Sir Henry Wotton, who had formerly been ambassador at Venice, and was then Provost of Eton College, and having also sent him his Mask, of which he had not yet publicly acknowledged himself the author, he received from him the following friendly letter, dated from the College the 10th of April 1638<sup>r</sup>.

“SIR,

“It was a special favour, when you lately bestowed  
 “upon me here the first taste of your acquaintance,  
 “though no longer than to make me know, that I  
 “wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it rightly.  
 “And in truth, if I could then have imagined your  
 “farther stay in these parts, which I understood after-  
 “wards by Mr. H.<sup>s</sup>, I would have been bold, in our

as intimating that the object of Milton's thoughts was already an immortality of fame. It expresses this, no doubt, but in a jesting manner. Multa sollicitè quæris, etiam quid cogitem. Audi, Theodote, verum in aurem ut ne rubeam, et sinito paulisper apud te grandia loquar; quid cogitem quæris? ita me bonus Deus, immortalitatem. Quid agam vero? *πτερόπων*, et volare meditator: sed tenellis admodum adhuc pennis evehit se noster Pegasus, humilè sapiamus. *Dicam jam nunc serio quid cogitem*, &c. He afterwards speaks of his studies. Græcorum res continuata lectione deduximus us-

quequo illi Græci esse sunt desiti: Italorum in obscura re diu versati sumus sub Longobardis, et Francis, et Germanis, ad illud tempus quo illis ab Rodolpho Germaniæ Rege concessa libertas est; exinde quid quæque civitas suo Marte gesserit, separatim legere præstabit. Pr. W. ii. 570. ed. 1753. E.

<sup>r</sup> Abeuntem vir clarissimus, Henricus Woottonus, quoad Vennetos orator Jacobi regis diu fuerat, et votis et præceptis eunti peregre utilissimis, eleganti epistola perscriptis, amicissime prosequutus est. Def. Sec. p. 383. vol. ii. ed. 1753.

<sup>r</sup> Perhaps Milton's friend

“vulgar phrase, to mend my draught, for you left me  
 “with an extreme thirst, and to have begged your  
 “conversation again jointly with your said learned  
 “friend, at a poor meal or two, that we might have  
 “banded together some good authors of the ancient  
 “time, among which I observed you to have been fa-  
 “miliar.

“Since your going, you have charged me with new  
 “obligations, both for a very kind letter from you,  
 “dated the sixth of this month, and for a dainty piece  
 “of entertainment, that came therewith; wherein I  
 “should much commend the tragical part, if the lyrical  
 “did not ravish with a certain Doric delicacy in your  
 “songs and odes, wherein I must plainly confess to  
 “have seen yet nothing parallel in our language, *Ipsa*  
 “*mollities*’. But I must not omit to tell you, that I  
 “now only owe you thanks for intimating unto me,  
 “how modestly soever, the true artificer. For the  
 “work itself I had viewed some good while before  
 “with singular delight, having received it from our  
 “common friend Mr. R.” in the very close of the late

Samuel Hartlib, whom I have seen mentioned in some of the pamphlets of this period as well acquainted with Sir H. Wotton. *T. Warton.*

‘Sir H. Wotton was himself a writer of English odes, and with some degree of elegance. He had also written a tragedy called *Tancred*. See his *Life* by Walton. Cowley wrote an elegy on his death. *Dorine* has testified his friendship for Wotton in three copies of verses; and he is celebrated, both as a

scholar and a patron, by *Bastard* the Epigrammatist. *T. Warton.*

“Mr. R.” was probably *Rouse*, the Bodley Librarian, see note (†) on the ode *Ad J. Rousium*. “The late R.” may be *T. Randolph*, see note *p*, p. viii. supra. “M. B.” Dr. Symonds suspects should be “W. B.” for *William Bedell*, who was chaplain to Sir H. Wotton during his embassy to Venice, and afterwards became Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and Bishop of Kilmore. *E.*

“ R.’s poems printed at Oxford; whereunto it is added,  
“ as I now suppose, that the accessory might help out  
“ the principal, according to the art of stationers, and  
“ leave the reader *con la bocca dolce*.

“ Now, Sir, concerning your travels, wherein I may  
“ challenge a little more privilege of discourse with  
“ you; I suppose, you will not blanch Paris in your  
“ way. Therefore I have been bold to trouble you  
“ with a few lines to Mr. M. B. whom you shall easily  
“ find attending the young Lord S. as his governor; and  
“ you may surely receive from him good directions for  
“ shaping of your farther journey into Italy, where he  
“ did reside by my choice some time for the king, after  
“ mine own recess from Venice.

“ I should think, that your best line will be through  
“ the whole length of France to Marseilles, and thence  
“ by sea to Genoa, whence the passage into Tuscany  
“ is as diurnal as a Gravesend barge. I hasten, as  
“ you do, to Florence or Sienna, the rather to tell you  
“ a short story, from the interest you have given me in  
“ your safety.

“ At Sienna I was tabled in the house of one Al-  
“ berto Scipione, an old Roman courtier in dangerous  
“ times, having been steward to the Duca di Pagliano,  
“ who with all his family were strangled, save this only  
“ man, that escaped by foresight of the tempest. With  
“ him I had often much chat of those affairs; into  
“ which he took pleasure to look back from his native  
“ harbour; and at my departure toward Rome, which  
“ had been the centre of his experience, I had won  
“ confidence enough to beg his advice, how I might  
“ carry myself securely there, without offence of others,

“ or of my own conscience: Signor Arrigo meo, says  
“ he, i pensieri stretti, et il viso sciolto, that is, your  
“ thoughts close, and your countenance loose, will go  
“ safely over the whole world. Of which Delphian  
“ oracle (for so I have found it) your judgment doth  
“ need no commentary; and therefore, Sir, I will  
“ commit you with it to the best of all securities;  
“ God’s dear love, remaining your friend, as much at  
“ command as any of longer date.

“ H. WOTTON.

“ P. S. Sir, I have expressly sent this by my foot-  
“ boy to prevent your departure, without some ac-  
“ knowledgment from me of the receipt of your obliging  
“ letter, having myself through some business, I know  
“ not how, neglected the ordinary conveyance. In any  
“ part where I shall understand you fixed, I shall be  
“ glad and diligent to entertain you with home-no-  
“ velties, even for some fomentation of our friendship,  
“ too soon interrupted in the cradle.”

Soon after this he set out upon his travels, being of an age to make the proper improvements, and not barely to see sights and to learn the languages, like most of our modern travellers, who go out boys, and return such as we see, but such as I do not choose to name. He was attended by only one servant, who accompanied him through all his travels; and he went first to France, where he had recommendations to the Lord Scudamore, the English ambassador there at that time; and as soon as he came to Paris, he waited upon his Lordship, and was received with wonderful civility;



and having an earnest desire to visit the learned Hugo Grotius, he was by his Lordship's means introduced to that great man, who was then ambassador at the French court from the famous Christina Queen of Sweden; and the visit was to their mutual satisfaction; they were each of them pleased to see a person, of whom they had heard such commendations. But at Paris he stayed not long; his thoughts and his wishes hastened into Italy; and so after a few days he took leave of the Lord Scudamore, who very kindly gave him letters to the English merchants in the several places through which he was to travel, requesting them to do him all the good offices which lay in their power.

From Paris he went directly to Nice, where he took shipping for Genoa, from whence he went to Leghorn, and thence to Pisa, and so to Florence, in which city he found sufficient inducements to make a stay of two months. For besides the curiosities and other beauties of the place, he took great delight in the company and conversation there, and frequented their academies as they are called, the meetings of the most polite and ingenious persons, which they have in this, as well as in the other principal cities of Italy, for the exercise and improvement of wit and learning among them. And in these conversations he bore so good a part, and produced so many excellent compositions, that he was soon taken notice of, and was very much courted and caressed by several of the nobility and prime wits of Florence\*. For the manner is, as he says himself in the preface to his second book of the Reason of

\* See, respecting Milton's familiarity with the Italian language, Mr. Warton's note on the verses *Ad Patrem*, v. 83. E.

Church-government, "that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there," and his productions "were received with written encomiums which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps." Giacomo Gaddi, Antonio Francini, Carlo Dati, Beneditto Bonmatthei, Cultellino, Frescobaldi, Clementelli, are reckoned among his particular friends. At Gaddi's house the academies were held, which he constantly frequented. Antonio Francini composed an Italian ode in his commendation. Carlo Dati wrote a Latin eulogium of him, and corresponded with him after his return to England<sup>1</sup>. Bonmatthei was at that time about publishing an Italian grammar; and the eighth of our author's familiar epistles, dated at Florence Sept. 10, 1638, is addressed to him upon that occasion, commending his design, and advising him to add some observations concerning the true pronounciation of that language for the use of foreigners.

So much good acquaintance would probably have detained him longer at Florence, if he had not been going to Rome, which to a curious traveller is certainly the place the most worth seeing of any in the world. And so he took leave of his friends at Florence, and went from thence to Sienna, and from Sienna to

<sup>1</sup> See *Epitaph. Damonis*, v. 137. and Mr. Warton's note, respecting Carlo Dati, and the MS. dedicated to Milton at Florence. E.

Dennis compliments the discernment of the Italians who discovered, while Milton was among them, his great and glowing genius. See his *Original Letters*, &c. 1721. vol. i. p. 78, 80. Rolli also remarks on his

countrymen's commendations of Milton. Osservarsi nelle lodi dagl' Italiani date a questo grand uomo, com' essi fin d' allora scorgevano in lui l' alta forza d' ingegno che lo portava al primo auge di gloria letteraria nel suo secolo e nella sua nazione; e gliene facevano gli avverati prognostici. *Vita di Milton*, 1735. Todd.

Rome, where he stayed much about the same time that he had continued at Florence, feasting both his eyes and his mind, and delighted with the fine paintings<sup>a</sup>, and sculptures, and other rarities and antiquities of the city, as well as with the conversation of several learned and ingenious men, and particularly of Lucas Holstenius, keeper of the Vatican library, who received him with the greatest humanity, and showed him all the Greek authors, whether in print or in manuscript, which had passed through his correction; and also presented him to Cardinal Barberini, who at an entertainment of music, performed at his own expence, waited for him at the door, and taking him by the hand brought him into the assembly<sup>a</sup>. The next morning he waited upon the Cardinal to return him thanks for his civilities, and by the means of Holstenius was again introduced to his Eminence, and spent some time in conversation with him. It seems that Holstenius had studied three years at Oxford, and this might dispose him to be more friendly to the English, but he

<sup>a</sup> The description of the Creation in the third book of *Paradise Lost*, (v. 708—719.) is supposed by Mr. Walker to be copied from the same subject as treated by Raphael in the gallery of the Vatican called la Bibbia di Raffaello. Hist. Mem. on Italian Tragedy, p. 166. Todd.

<sup>a</sup> Milton's own account, in his letter to Holstenius, of his reception by Cardinal Barberini, is this. Tum nec aliter crediderim, quam quæ tu de me verba feceris ad præstantissimum Cardin. Frauc. Barberinum, iis factum esse, ut cum ille paucis post diebus *aper-*

*aper* illud musicum magnificentia vere Romana publice exhiberet, ipse me tanta in turba quæsitum ad fores expectans, et pene manu prehensum persane honorifice intro admiserit. *Epist. Fam.* 9. Mr. Todd, (*Life of Milton*, p. 33. ed. 2.) states on the authority of a MS. of Dr. Bargrave, preserved in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral, that every foreign nation had at this time some Cardinal or other to be their peculiar guardian, and that Barberini was the appointed guardian of the English. E.

took a particular liking and affection to Milton; and Milton, to thank him for all his favours, wrote to him afterwards from Florence the ninth of his familiar epistles. At Rome too Selvaggi made a Latin distich in honour of Milton, and Salsilli a Latin tetrastich, celebrating him for his Greek and Latin and Italian poetry; and he in return presented to Salsilli in his sickness those fine Scazons, or Iambic verses having a spondee in the last foot, which are inserted among his juvenile poems.

From Rome he went to Naples, in company with a certain hermit; and by his means was introduced to the acquaintance of Giovanni Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a Neapolitan nobleman, of singular merit and virtue, to whom Tasso addresses his dialogue of friendship; and whom he mentions likewise in his *Gierusalemme Liberata* with great honour. This nobleman was particularly civil to Milton, frequently visited him at his lodgings, and went with him to show him the Viceroy's palace, and whatever was curious or worth notice in the city: and moreover he honoured him so far as to make a Latin distich in his praise, which is printed before our author's Latin poems, as is likewise the other of Selvaggi, and the Latin tetrastich of Salsilli together with the Italian ode and the Latin eulogium before mentioned. We may suppose that Milton was not a little pleased with the honours conferred upon him by so many persons of distinction, and especially by one of such quality and eminence as the Marquis of Villa; and as a testimony of his gratitude he presented to the Marquis at his departure from Naples his eclogue entitled *Mansus*, which is well

worth reading among his Latin poems. So that it may be reckoned a peculiar felicity of the Marquis of Villa's life, to have been celebrated both by Tasso and Milton, the one the greatest modern poet of his own, and the other the greatest of any foreign nation<sup>b</sup>.

Having seen the finest parts of Italy, Milton was now thinking of passing over into Sicily and Greece, when he was diverted from his purpose by the news from England, that things were tending to a civil war between the King and Parliament; for he thought it unworthy of himself to be taking his pleasure abroad, while his countrymen were contending for liberty at home. He resolved therefore to return by the way of Rome, though he was advised to the contrary by the merchants, who had received intelligence from their correspondents, that the English Jesuits there were forming plots against him, in case he should return thither, by reason of the great freedom which he had used in all his discourses of religion. For he had by no means observed the rule, recommended to him by Sir Henry Wotton, of keeping his thoughts close and his countenance open: he had visited Galileo, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for asserting the motion of the earth, and thinking otherwise in astronomy than the Dominicans and Franciscans thought<sup>c</sup>: and though the Marquis of Villa had shown him such distinguishing marks of

<sup>b</sup> See Mr. Warton's note (\*) on the *Manus.* E.

<sup>c</sup> Rolli considers some ideas in the *Paradise Lost*, approaching towards the Newtonian philosophy, to have been caught at Florence from Galileo or his disciples. In Firenze certamente

egli apprese dagli scritti e dalle massime del Galileo, invalorigite già ne' di lui seguaci, quelle nozioni filosofiche sparse poi nel poema, che tanto si uniformano al sistema del Cavalier Newton. Todd.

favour at Naples, yet he told him at his departure that he would have shown him much greater, if he had been more reserved in matters of religion. But he had a soul above dissimulation and disguise; he was neither afraid, nor ashamed to vindicate the truth; and if any man had, he had in him, the spirit of an old martyr. He was so prudent indeed, that he would not of his own accord begin any discourse of religion; but at the same time he was so honest, that if he was questioned at all about his faith, he would not dissemble his sentiments, whatever was the consequence. And with this resolution he went to Rome the second time, and stayed there two months more, neither concealing his name, nor declining openly to defend the truth, if any thought proper to attack him: and yet, God's good providence protecting him, he came safe to his kind friends at Florence, where he was received with as much joy and affection, as if he had returned into his own country.

Here likewise he stayed two months, as he had done before, excepting only an excursion of a few days to Lucca: and then crossing the Apennine, and passing through Bologna and Ferrara, he came to Venice, in which city he spent a month; and having shipped off the books, which he had collected in his travels, and particularly a chest or two of choice music books of the best masters flourishing about that time in Italy, he took his course through Verona, Milan, and along the lake Lemán to Geneva. In this city he tarried some time, meeting here with people of his own principles, and contracted an intimate friendship with Giovanni Deodati, the most learned professor of divinity, whose

annotations upon the Bible are published in English.<sup>d</sup> And from thence returning through France, the same way that he had gone before, he arrived safe in England, after a peregrination of one year and about three months, having seen more, and learned more, and conversed with more famous men, and made more real improvements, than most others in double the time.

His first business after his return was to pay his duty to his father, and to visit his other friends; but this pleasure was much diminished by the loss of his dear friend and schoolfellow Charles Deodati in his absence. While he was abroad, he heard it reported that he was dead; and upon his coming home he found it but too true, and lamented his death in an excellent Latin eclogue, entitled *Epitaphium Damonis*. This Deodati had a father originally of Lucca, but his mother was English, and he was born and bred in England, and studied physic, and was an admirable scholar, and no less remarkable for his sobriety and other virtues than for his great learning and ingenuity. One or two of Milton's familiar epistles are addressed to him; and Mr. Toland says, that he had in his hands two Greek letters of Deodati to Milton, very handsomely written. It may be right for scholars now and

<sup>d</sup> See the first note on *Epitaph. Damonis*. At Geneva also, according to Toland, Milton became acquainted with Frederick Spanheim. In Milton's own account of his return, the name of Geneva recalling to his mind the slanders of Morus, he solemnly declares the unspotted purity of his conduct during his tour in Italy. Quæ urbs, cum in men-

tem mihi hinc veniat Mori calumniatoris, facit ut Deum hic rursus testem invocem, me his omnibus in locis, ubi tam multa licent, ab omni flagitio ac probro integrum atque intactum vixisse, illud perpetuo cogitantem, si hominum latere oculos possem, Dei certe non posse. Def. Sec. Pr. W. ii. p. 384. ed. 1753. E.

then to exercise themselves in Greek and Latin; but we have much more frequent occasion to write letters in our own native language, and in that therefore we should principally endeavour to excel\*.

Milton, soon after his return, had taken a lodging at one Russel's, a tailor in St. Bride's Church-yard; but he continued not long there, having not sufficient room for his library and furniture, and therefore determined to take a house; and accordingly took a handsome garden-house<sup>f</sup> in Aldersgate-street, situated at the end of an entry, which was the more agreeable to a studious man for its privacy and freedom from noise and disturbance. And in this house he continued several years, and his sister's two sons were put to board with him, first the younger, and afterwards the elder<sup>g</sup>; and some other of his intimate friends requested of him the same favour for their sons, especially since there was little more trouble in instructing half a dozen than two or three: and he, who could not easily deny any thing to his friends, and who knew that the greatest men in all ages had delighted in teaching others the principles

\* See a further account of Charles Deodati in Mr. Warton's first note on *El. i. E.*

<sup>f</sup> "That is, a house situated in a garden, of which there were, especially in the north suburbs of London, very many, if not few else. The term is technical, and frequently occurs in the Athen. and Fast. Oxon. Milton's house in Jewin Street was also a garden-house, as were indeed most of his dwellings after his settlement in London." Note signed H. *Lives of*

*the Poets*, 1794.

<sup>g</sup> "The first ten, the other nine years of age; and in a year's time he made them capable of interpreting a Latin author at sight." *Aubrey*. But see some sensible remarks in Johnson's *Life of Milton* on his power, and system of teaching; and compare Symmons, *Life of Milton*, p. 198—206, ed. 2. E. Philips states, that the younger of the nephews "had been wholly committed to Milton's charge and care. E.



of knowledge and virtue, undertook the office, not out of any sordid and mercenary views, but merely from a benevolent disposition, and a desire to do good. And his method of education was as much above the pedantry and jargon of the common schools, as his genius was superior to that of a common schoolmaster. One of his nephews has given us an account of the many authors both Latin and Greek, which (besides those usually read in the schools) through his excellent judgment and way of teaching were run over within no greater compass of time than from ten to fifteen or sixteen years of age. Of the Latin, the four authors concerning husbandry, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius; Cornelius Celsus the physician, a great part of Pliny's Natural History, the Architecture of Vitruvius, the Stratagems of Frontinus, and the philosophical poets Lucretius and Manilius. Of the Greek, Hesiod, Aratus's *Phænomena* and *Diosemeia*, Dionysius Afer *de situ orbis*, Oppian's *Cynegetics* and *Haliectics*, Quintus Calaber's poem of the Trojan war continued from Homer, Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautics*, and in prose Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum*, and of the Education of children, Xenophon's *Cyropædia* and *Anabasis*, Ælian's *Tactics*, and the *Stratagems of Polyænus*. Nor did this application to the Greek and Latin tongues hinder the attaining to the chief oriental languages, the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, so far as to go through the Pentateuch or five books of Moses in Hebrew, to make a good entrance into the Targum or Chaldee paraphrase, and to understand several chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriac Testament; besides the modern languages, Italian and

French, and a competent knowledge of the mathematics and astronomy. The Sunday's exercise for his pupils was for the most part to read a chapter of the Greek Testament, and to hear his learned exposition of it. The next work after this was to write from his dictation some part of a system of divinity, which he had collected from the ablest divines, who had written upon that subject<sup>b</sup>. Such were his academic institutions; and thus by teaching others he in some manner enlarged his own knowledge; and having the reading of so many authors as it were by proxy, he might possibly have preserved his sight, if he had not moreover been perpetually busied in reading or writing something himself. It was certainly a very recluse and studious life, that both he and his pupils led; but the young men of that age were of a different turn from those of the present; and he himself gave an example to those under him of hard study and spare diet; only now and then, once in three weeks or a month, he made a gaudy day with some young gentlemen of his acquaintance, the chief of whom, says Mr. Philips, were Mr. Alphry and Mr. Miller, both of Gray's-Inn, and two of the greatest beaux of those times.

But he was not so fond of this academical life, as to be an indifferent spectator of what was acted upon the public stage of the world. The nation was now in a great ferment in 1641, and the clamour ran high against the bishops, when he joined loudly in the cry, to help

<sup>b</sup> "A perfect system of Divinity," says Philips, "collected from Amesius, Wollebius, &c." probably from the *Medulla The-*

*ologia* of William Ames, a Puritan, and the *Compendium Theologiae* of Wollebius. E.

the puritan ministers, (as he says himself in his second Defence,) they being inferior to the bishops in learning and eloquence; and published his two books *Of Reformation in England*, written to a friend. About the same time certain ministers having published a treatise against episcopacy, in answer to the *Humble Remonstrance* of Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, under the title of *Smectymnuus*, a word consisting of the initial letters of their names, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow; and Archbishop Usher having published at Oxford a refutation of *Smectymnuus*, in a tract concerning the *Original of Bishops and Metropolitans*; Milton wrote his little piece *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, in opposition chiefly to Usher, for he was for contending with the most powerful adversary; there would be either less disgrace in the defeat, or more glory in the victory. He handled the subject more at large in his next performance, which was the *Reason of Church Government* urged against Prelaty, in two books. And Bishop Hall having published a *Defence of the Humble Remonstrance*, he wrote *Animadversions* upon it. All these treatises he published within the course of one year, 1641, which show how very diligent he was in the cause that he had undertaken. And the next year he set forth his *Apology for Smectymnuus*, in answer to the *Confutation* of his *Animadversions*, written as he thought himself by Bishop Hall or his son<sup>1</sup>. And here he very luckily ended a controversy, which detained him from greater and better writings which he was

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Warton's concluding note on the Latin poems. E.

meditating, more useful to the public, as well as more suitable to his own genius and inclination: but he thought all this while that he was vindicating ecclesiastical liberty<sup>a</sup>.

In the year 1643, and the 35th of his age, he married; and indeed his family was now growing so numerous, that it wanted a mistress at the head of it. His father,

<sup>a</sup> As a specimen of the facility with which men may persuade themselves that their own motives are altogether pure, and those of their adversaries corrupt, I subjoin Milton's account of his motives in writing these pieces, from the *Defensio Secunda*. Pr. W. ii. p. 384. ed. 1753. Ut primum loquendi saltem cœpta est libertas concedi, omnia in Episcopos aperiri ore; alii de ipsorum vitiis, alii de ipsius ordinis vitio conqueri; iniquum esse, se solos ab ecclesiis omnibus, quotquot reformatæ sunt, discrepare; exemplo fratrum, sed maxime ex verbo Dei, gubernari Ecclesiam convenire. Ad hæc sane expectatus, cum veram affectari viam ad libertatem cernerem, ab his initiis, his passibus, ad liberandam servitute vitam omnem mortalium rectissime procedi, si ab religione disciplina orta ad mores et instituta reipublicæ emanaret, cum etiam me ita ab adolescentia parasset, ut quid divini, quid humani esset juris, ante omnia possem non ignorare, meque consulissem ecquando ullius usus essem futurus, si nunc patriæ, immo vero ecclesiæ, totque fratribus evangelii causa periculo sese objicientibus deessem, statui, etai tunc alia quædam meditabar, huc omne ingenium, omnes in-

dustriæ vires transferre. Primum itaque De Reformanda Ecclesia Anglicana, duos ad amicum quendam libros conscripsi; deinde, cum duo præ cæteris magni nominis episcopi suum jus contra ministros quosdam primarios assererent, ratus de iis rebus, quas amore solo veritatis, et ex officii Christiani ratione didiceram, haud pejus me dicturum quam qui de suo quæstu et injustissimo dominatu contendebant, ad hunc libris duobus, quorum unus De Episcopatu Prælatice, alter De Ratione Disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ, inscribitur, ad illum scriptis quibusdam Animadversionibus, et mox Apologia respondi, et ministris facundiam hominis, ut ferebatur ægre sustinentibus suppetias tuli, et ab eo tempore, si quid postea responderent, interfui.—And Hall and Usher were the men against whom these insinuations were directed.

The celebrated passage, alluded to by Bishop Newton, in which Milton promises some great poetical work at a future period, occurs in the preface to the second book of the *Reason of Church Government*. Parts of it are cited in the notes on P. L. ï. 17. and P. R. i. 1. E.

who had lived with his younger son at Reading, was, upon the taking of that place by the forces under the Earl of Essex, necessitated to come and live in London with this his elder son, with whom he continued in tranquillity and devotion to his dying day. Some addition too was to be made to the number of his pupils. But before his father or his new pupils were come, he took a journey in the Whitsuntide vacation, and after a month's absence returned with a wife, Mary the eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, of Forest-hill near Shotover in Oxfordshire, a justice of the peace, and a gentleman of good repute and figure in that county<sup>1</sup>. But she had not cohabited with her husband above a month, before she was earnestly solicited by her relations to come and spend the remaining part of the summer with them in the country. If it was not at her instigation that her friends made this request, yet at least it was agreeable to her inclination; and she obtained her husband's consent upon a promise of returning at Michaelmas. In the mean while his studies went on very vigorously<sup>m</sup>; and his chief diversion,

<sup>1</sup> A letter of Sir W. Jones to Lady Spencer, which Lord Teignmouth has preserved in his Life of Sir W. Jones, has given celebrity to the tradition that Milton composed several of his earliest productions, and particularly *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, at Foresthill. It is more probable that these poems were composed during his residence at Horton. There is no evidence that he ever resided at Foresthill, except perhaps during the month of his courtship. And though

*L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* might have been written at that time, for they were not published till 1645, yet in his Ode to Rouse he speaks of the whole volume of poems in which they were included as the production of his youthful days. See Todd's Life of Milton, p. 19—25. and the Life by Symmons, p. 616—618. ed. 2. E.

" " And now the studies went  
" on with so much the more  
" vigour, as there were more  
" hands and heads employed;

after the business of the day, was now and then in an evening to visit the Lady Margaret Lee, daughter of the Earl of Marlborough, Lord High Treasurer of England, and President of the Privy Council to King James I. This Lady, being a woman of excellent wit and understanding, had a particular honour for our author, and took great delight in his conversation; as likewise did her husband Captain Hobson, a very accomplished gentleman. And what a regard Milton again had for her, he has left upon record in a sonnet to her praise, extant among his other poems.

Michaelmas was now come, but he heard nothing of his wife's return. He wrote to her, but received no answer. He wrote again letter after letter, but received no answer to any of them. He then dispatched a messenger with a letter, desiring her to return; but she positively refused, and dismissed the messenger with contempt. Whether it was, that she had conceived any dislike to her husband's person or humour; or whether she could not conform to his retired and philosophical manner of life, having been accustomed to a house of much gaiety and company; or whether being of a family strongly attached to the royal cause, she could not bear her husband's republican principles; or whether she was overpersuaded by her relations, who possibly might repent of having matched the eldest daughter of the family to a man so distinguished for taking the contrary party, the King's head-quarters being in their neighbourhood at Oxford, and his Majesty having now some fairer prospect of success;

"the old gentleman [Milton's "out the least trouble imagin-  
 "father] living wholly retired "able." *Philips*.  
 "to his rest and devotion, with-

whether any or all of these were the reasons of this extraordinary behaviour; however it was, it so highly incensed her husband, that he thought it would be dishonourable ever to receive her again after such a repulse, and he determined to repudiate her as she had in effect repudiated him, and to consider her no longer as his wife. And to fortify this his resolution, and at the same time to justify it to the world, he wrote the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, wherein he endeavours to prove, that indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, proceeding from any unchangeable cause in nature, hindering and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace, are greater reasons of divorce than adultery or natural frigidity, especially if there be no children, and there be mutual consent for separation". He published it at first without his name, but the style easily betrayed the author; and afterwards a second edition, much augmented, with his name; and he de-

<sup>a</sup> Milton in the account of his Works in his *Second Defence* does not allude to his domestic injuries, but treats of his writings on Divorce as the natural fruits of his anxious wishes to promote liberty, first ecclesiastical, then domestic liberty. Cum petiti omnium telis Episcopi tandem cecidissent, otiumque ab illis esset, verti alio cogitationes; si qua in re possem libertatis veræ ac solidæ rationem promovere; quæ non foris, sed intus querenda, non pugnando, sed vitam recte instituendo, recteque administrando adipiscenda potissimum est. Cum itaque tres omnino animadverterem libertatis

esse species, quæ nisi adsint, vita ulla transigi commode vix possit, Ecclesiasticam, Domesticam seu privatam, atque Civilem, deque prima jam scripsissem, deque tertia Magistratum sedulo agere viderem, quæ reliqua secunda erat, domesticam mihi desumpsi. Pr. W. ii. p. 385. ed. 1753. A little further on, however, there appears to be a curious allusion to circumstances very like his own—ea igitur de re aliquot libros edidi; eo præsertim tempore cum vir sæpe et conjux hostes inter se acerrimi, hic domi cum liberis, illa in castris hostium materfamilias versaretur, viro cædem atque perniciem minitans. E,

dedicated it to the Parliament of England with the Assembly of Divines, that as they were then consulting about the general reformation of the kingdom, they might also take this particular case of domestic liberty into their consideration. And then, as it was objected, that his doctrine was a novel notion, and a paradox that nobody had ever asserted before, he endeavoured to confirm his own opinion by the authority of others, and published in 1644 the Judgment of Martin Bucer, &c. and as it was still objected, that his doctrine could not be reconciled to Scripture, he published in 1645 his Tetrachordon, or Expositions upon the four chief places in Scripture, which treat of marriage, or nullities in marriage<sup>p</sup>. At the first appearing of the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce the clergy raised a heavy outcry against it, and daily solicited the Parliament to pass some censure upon it; and at last one of them, in a sermon preached before the Lords and Commons on a day of humiliation in August 1644, roundly told them, that there was a book abroad which deserved to be burnt, and that among their other sins they ought to repent, that they had not yet branded it with some mark of their displeasure<sup>p</sup>. And Mr. Wood informs us, that upon Milton's publishing his three books of Divorce, the Assembly of Divines, that was then sitting at Westminster, took special notice of them; and

\* Gen. i. 27, 28. (with ii. 18, 23, 24.) Deut. xxiv. 1, 2. Matt. v. 31, 32. (with xix. 3—11.) 1 Cor. vii. 10—16. E.

<sup>p</sup> The title of this Sermon is, "The Glasse of God's Providence towards his faithful ones, held forth in a Sermon, &c. by

"Herbert Palmer, B. D. &c." There was a copy of it in the curious library of James Bindley, Esq. The author was a member of the Assembly of Divines, and parliamentary Master of Queen's College, Cambridge. Todd.



notwithstanding his former services in writing against the Bishops, caused him to be summoned before the House of Lords: but that House, whether approving his doctrine, or not favouring his accusers, soon dismissed him. He was attacked too from the press as well as from the pulpit, in a pamphlet entitled *Divorce at pleasure*, and in another entitled an *Answer to the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, which was licensed and recommended by Mr. Joseph Caryl, a famous Presbyterian Divine, and author of a voluminous Commentary on the book of Job: and Milton in his *Colasterion* or Reply published in 1645 expostulates smartly with the licenser, as well as handles very roughly the nameless author<sup>9</sup>. And these provocations, I suppose, contributed not a little to make him such an enemy to the Presbyterians, to whom he had before distinguished himself a friend. He composed likewise two of his sonnets on the reception his book of Divorce met with, but the latter is much the better of the two. To this account it may be added from Anthony Wood, that after the King's restoration, when the subject of divorce was under consideration with the Lords upon the account of John Lord Ros or Roos's separation from his wife Anne Pierpoint, eldest daughter to Henry Marquis of Dorchester, he was consulted by an eminent member of that House, and about the same time by a chief officer

<sup>9</sup> Milton's doctrine was also animadverted upon, but without any mention of the author's name, by Bishop Hall, in his *Cases of conscience decalæ*, iv. case 2. Note signed J. B. *Lives of the Poets*, ed. 1794. Mr. Todd enu-

merates several other pieces, one so late as 1670, in which Milton's doctrine is noticed; and shews that there was even a sect called from his writings *Divorcers*, and *Miltonists*. E.

of state, as being the prime person who was knowing in that affair.

But while he was engaged in this controversy of divorce, he was not so totally engaged in it, but he attended to other things; and about this time published his letter of Education to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, who wrote some things about husbandry, and was a man of considerable learning, as appears from the letters which passed between him and the famous Mr. Mede, and from Sir William Petty's and Pell the mathematician's writing to him, the former his treatise for the Advancement of some particular parts of learning, and the latter his Idea of the Mathematics, as well as from this letter of our author<sup>r</sup>. This letter of our author has usually been printed at the end of his poems, and is as I may say the theory of his own practice; and by the rules which he has laid down for education we see in some measure the method that he pursued in educating his own pupils<sup>s</sup>. And in 1644 he published his Areopagitica or Speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing to the Parliament of England. It was written at the

<sup>r</sup> Hartlib was a native of Holland. He was concerned in publishing some of the pieces written by his friend John Dury; among which are two new projects for the education of youth. In 1654, he published three treatises by different authors on *The true and ready way to learn the Latin tongue*. Hartlib took great pains to frame a new system of education answerable to the perfection and purity of the new common-wealth. But his chief pursuits seem to have been in

natural and mechanical science. There are some religious pieces under his name. Several books are addressed to him. He carried on a learned correspondence abroad, and his opinions on various topics appear to have obtained universal respect and authority. *T. Warton*.

<sup>s</sup> This letter has been translated into French with a warm eulogium on its author by the translator. See *Lettres sur l'Education des Princes. Avec une Lettre de Milton*, &c. 1746. *Todd*.

desire of several learned men, and is perhaps the best vindication, that has been published at any time or in any language, of that liberty which is the basis and support of all other liberties, the liberty of the press: but alas it had not the desired effect; for the Presbyterians were as fond of exercising the licensing power, when they got it into their own hands, as they had been clamorous before in inveighing against it, while it was in the hands of the Prelates. And Mr. Toland is mistaken in saying, "that such was the effect of this piece, that the following year Mabol a licenser offered reasons against licensing; and at his own request was discharged that office." For neither was the licenser's name Mabol, but Gilbert Mabbot; neither was he discharged from his office till May 1649, about five years afterwards, though probably he might be swayed by Milton's arguments, as every ingenuous person must, who peruses and considers them'. And in 1645 was published a collection of his poems, Latin and English, the principal of which are, On the morning of Christ's nativity, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Lycidas, the Mask, &c. &c.: and if he had left no other monuments of his poetical genius behind him, these would have been sufficient to have rendered his name immortal.

But without doubt his Doctrine of Divorce, and the maintenance of it, principally engaged his thoughts at this period; and whether others were convinced or not by his arguments, he was certainly convinced himself that he was in the right; and as a proof of it he

' See a full account of G. Mabbot's resignation, and his reasons for it, in Birch's Life of Milton, p. xxx. ed. 1753. E.

determined to marry again, and made his addresses to a young lady of great wit and beauty, one of the daughters of Dr. Davis. But intelligence of this coming to his wife, and the then declining state of the King's cause, and consequently of the circumstances of Justice Powell's family, caused them to set all engines on work to restore the wife again to her husband. And his friends too for different reasons seem to have been as desirous of bringing about a reconciliation as her's, and this method of effecting it was concerted between them. He had a relation, one Blackborough, living in the lane of St. Martin's Le Grand, whom he often visited; and one day when he was visiting there, it was contrived that the wife should be ready in another room; and as he was thinking of nothing less, he was surprised to see her, whom he had expected never to have seen any more, falling down upon her knees at his feet, and imploring his forgiveness with tears. At first he showed some signs of aversion, but he continued not long inexorable; his wife's entreaties, and the intercession of friends on both sides, soon wrought upon his generous nature, and procured a happy reconciliation, with an act of oblivion of all that was past<sup>a</sup>. But he did not take his wife home immediately; it was agreed that she should remain at a friend's, till the house, that he had newly taken, was fitted for their reception; for some other gentlemen of his acquaintance, having observed the great success of his method of education,

<sup>a</sup> Fenton observes, that the impression which this interview made on Milton's imagination probably contributed much to the painting of that pathetic scene

in the tenth book of *Paradise Lost*, in which Eve sues to Adam for pardon and peace. See the note, P. L. x. 940. E.

had recommended their sons to his care; and his house in Aldersgate-street not being large enough, he had taken a larger in Barbican: and till this could be got ready, the place pitched upon for his wife's abode was the widow Webber's house in St. Clement's Church-yard, whose second daughter had been married to the other brother many years before. The part, that Milton acted in this whole affair, showed plainly that he had a spirit capable of the strongest resentment, but yet more inclinable to pity and forgiveness: and neither in this was any injury done to the other lady, whom he was courting, for she is said to have been always averse from the motion, not daring I suppose to venture in marriage with a man who was known to have a wife still living. He might not think himself too at liberty as before, while his wife continued obstinate; for his most plausible argument for divorce proceeds upon a supposition, that the thing be done with mutual consent.

After his wife's return his family was increased not only with children, but also with his wife's relations, her father and mother, her brothers and sisters, coming to live with him in the general distress and ruin of the royal party: and he was so far from resenting their former ill treatment of him, that he generously protected them, and entertained them very hospitably, till their affairs were accommodated through his interest with the prevailing faction\*. And then upon their

\* Mr. Todd observes, that Mr. Powell seems to have smarted severely for his attachment to the royal party. In the "Catalogue of the Lords, Knights,

"and Gentlemen that have com-  
"pounded for their estates,"  
London, 1655, he was thus  
branded as well as fined: "Richard Powell *Delinquent*, per

removal, and the death of his own father, his house looked again like the house of the Muses: but his studies had like to have been interrupted by a call to public business; for about this time there was a design of constituting him Adjutant General in the army under Sir William Waller; but the new modelling of the army soon following, that design was laid aside<sup>r</sup>. And not long after, his great house in Barbican being now too large for his family, he quitted it for a smaller in High Holborn, which opened backward into Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he prosecuted his studies till the King's trial and death, when the Presbyterians declaiming tragically against the King's execution, and asserting that his person was sacred and inviolable, provoked him to write the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, proving that it is lawful to call a tyrant to account and to depose and put him to death, and that they who of late so much blame deposing are the men who did it themselves: and he published it at the beginning of the year 1649, to satisfy and compose the minds of the people<sup>s</sup>. Not long after this he wrote his *Observations*

"John Pye, Esq. 576l. 12s. 3d." And his house had been before seized by the rebels. But Dr. Symmons remarks upon this, that though delinquent was the usual term applied to the Royalists by the Parliament and its adherents, it might mean here nothing more than *defaulter* with reference to the composition, which was not a very heavy one.

See some further particulars respecting Mr. Powell in T. Warton's notes on Milton's *Nuncupative Will*, subjoined to the *Life*. E.

<sup>r</sup> This report seems little probable in itself, and the Biographers of Milton have usually noticed it with some suspicion. Philips, who first gave it, only says, "I am much mistaken if there were not about this time a design in agitation of making him an Adjutant-general, &c." E.

<sup>s</sup> *Neque de jure regio quicquam a me scriptum est, donec Rex hostis a Senatu judicatus, belloque victus causam captivus apud judices diceret, capitisque damnatus est. Tum vero tan-*

on the articles of peace between the Earl of Ormond and the Irish rebels<sup>a</sup>. And in these and all his writings, whatever others of different parties may think, he thought himself an advocate for true liberty, for ecclesiastical liberty in his treatises against the bishops, for domestic liberty in his books of divorce, and for civil liberty in his writings against the King in defence of the parliament and people of England.

After this he retired again to his private studies: and thinking that he had leisure enough for such a work, he applied himself to the writing of a History of England, which he intended to deduce from the earliest accounts down to his own times; and he had finished four books of it, when neither courting nor expecting any such preferment, he was invited by the Council of State to be their Latin Secretary for foreign affairs<sup>b</sup>.

dem, cum presbyteriani quidam ministri, Carolo prius infestissimi, nunc independentium partes suis anteferri, et in senatu plus posse indignantes, parlamenti sententiæ de rege latæ (non facto irati, sed quod ipsorum factio non fecisset) reclamarent, et quantum in ipsis erat tumultuarentur, ausi affirmare protestantium doctrinam, omnesque ecclesias reformatas ab ejusmodi in reges atroci sententiâ abhorre-re, ratus falsitati tam apertæ palam eundum obviam esse, ne tum quidem de Carolo quicquam scripsi aut suasi, sed quid in genere contra tyrannos liceret, adductis haud paucis summorum theologorum testimoniis, ostendi; et insignem hominum meliora profitentium sive ignorantiam sive impudentiam prope concionabundus inessi. Liber iste non nisi post mortem regis prodit,

ad componendos potius hominum animos factus, quam ad statuendum de Carolo quicquam, quod non mea sed magistratuum intererat, et peractum jam tum erat. *Def. Sec. Pr. W. ii. p. 385. E.*

<sup>a</sup> To which are added remarks upon the letter to Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin, in which Ormond sought to withdraw him from the service of the Parliament, and upon the representation of the Scots presbytery, at Belfast, in which they declared their abhorrence of the death of the King, the breach of the covenant, and the toleration of the different persuasions. *Birch.*

<sup>b</sup> Milton thus describes his labours and circumstances prior to this call to a public situation. Hanc intra privatos parietes meam operam nunc ecclesiæ, nunc reipublicæ gratis dedi; mihi vicissim vel hæc vel illa præter in-

He served in the same capacity under Oliver, and Richard, and the Rump, till the Restoration; and without doubt a better Latin pen could not have been found in the kingdom. For the Republic and Cromwell scorned to pay that tribute to any foreign prince, which is usually paid to the French king, of managing their affairs in his language; they thought it an indignity and meanness, to which this or any free nation ought not to submit; and took a noble resolution neither to write any letters to any foreign states, nor to receive any answers from them, but in the Latin tongue, which was common to them all. And it would have been well, if succeeding princes had followed their example; for in the opinion of very wise men, the universality of the French language will make way for the universality of the French monarchy.

But it was not only in foreign dispatches that the government made use of his pen. He had discharged the business of his office a very little time, before he was called to a work of another kind. For soon after the King's death was published a book under his name, entitled *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, or the royal image: and this book, like Cæsar's last will, making a deeper impression and exciting greater commiseration in the minds of the people than the King himself did while alive,

columnitatem nihil; bonam certe conscientiam, bonam apud bonos existimationem, et honestam hanc dicendi libertatem facta ipsa reddidere: commoda alii, alii honores gratis ad se trahebant: me nemo ambientem, nemo per amicos quicquam petentem, curis foribus affixum petitorio vultu,

aut minorum conventuum vestibulis hærentem nemo me unquam vidit. Domi fere me continebam, meis ipse facultatibus, tametsi hoc civiliumultu magna ex parte detentis, et censum fere iniquius mihi impositum, et vitam utcumque frugi tolerabam. Pr. W. ii. p. 386. ed. 1753. E.



Milton was ordered to prepare an answer to it, which was published by authority, and entitled *Εἰκονοκλάστης*, or the image-breaker, the famous surname of many Greek emperors, who in their zeal against idolatry broke all superstitious images to pieces. This piece was translated into French, and two replies to it were published, one in 1651, and the other in 1692, upon the reprinting of Milton's book at Amsterdam<sup>c</sup>. In this controversy a heavy charge hath been alleged against Milton. Some editions of the King's book have certain prayers added at the end, and among them a prayer in time of captivity, which is taken from that of Pamela in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*: and it is said, that this prayer was added by the contrivance and artifice of Milton, who together with Bradshaw prevailed upon the printer to insert it, that from thence he might take occasion to bring a scandal upon the King, and to blast the reputation of his book, as he hath attempted to do in the first section of his answer. This fact is related chiefly upon the authority of Henry Hills the printer, who had frequently affirmed it to Dr. Gill and Dr. Bernard his physicians, as they

<sup>c</sup> These replies were called the *Εἰκον ἀκλάστης*, (1651.) and the *Vindiciæ Carolinæ*, (1692.) Milton in the *Iconoclastes* frequently intimated his suspicions that the *Icon Basilike* was not the production of the King; and the *Εἰκον Ἀληθινὴ* was published in 1649 to enforce the charge of spuriousness against the "King's Book," as it was then called. This piece was answered the same year by a very inferior writer, according to Dr. Sym-

mons, in a pamphlet entitled *Εἰκον ἡ πιστὴ*. And these pieces were the precursors of a violent controversy, upon the question of the genuineness of the *Icon Basilike*; the credit of that work being claimed, and with great shew of reason, by Dr. Gauden, afterwards Bishop of Worcester. The public is at this moment expecting a work on this subject from the pen of Dr. Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. E.

themselves have testified. But Hills was not himself the printer, who was dealt with in this manner, and consequently he could have the story only from hearsay: and though he was Cromwell's printer, yet afterwards he turned papist in the reign of James II, in order to be that king's printer, and it was at that time that he used to relate this story; so that, I think, little credit is due to his testimony. And indeed I cannot but hope and believe, that Milton had a soul above being guilty of so mean an action to serve so mean a purpose; and there is as little reason for fixing it upon him, as he had to traduce the King for profaning the duty of prayer "with the polluted trash of romances." For there are not many finer prayers in the best books of devotion; and the King might as lawfully borrow and apply it to his own occasions, as the Apostle might make quotations from Heathen poems and plays: and it became Milton the least of all men to bring such an accusation against the King, as he was himself particularly fond of reading romances, and has made use of them in some of the best and latest of his writings<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Du Gard, printer to the Parliament, was the person said to have been prevailed on by Milton to interpolate an edition of the Icon which he was printing with the prayer from the Arcadia. But Royston, who was reported to have received the manuscript from the King, and whose press was not suspected of any connection with Milton or Bradshaw, did in fact, as Toland remarked, publish the edition which originally contained the controverted

prayer. Peck, it is true, assures us that he had seen the earliest English edition without the prayer. And Mr. Todd found that it was not contained in Dr. Earle's Latin translation of the Icon, printed in 1649. But Dr. Symmons asserts, that he had in his possession the first edition of the Icon printed in 1649, for R. Royston, and to which this prayer is attached; and this seems to establish the point that the charge of interpolation was an unfounded

But his most celebrated work in prose is his Defence of the people of England against Salmasius, *Defensio pro populo Anglicano contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam*. Salmasius, by birth a Frenchman, succeeded the famous Scaliger as honorary Professor of the University of Leyden, and had gained great reputation by his *Plinian Exercitationes* on Solinus, and by his critical remarks on several Latin and Greek authors, and was generally esteemed one of the greatest and most consummate scholars of that age: and is commended by Milton himself in his Reason of Church Government, and called the learned Salmasius. Besides his great learning, he had extraordinary talents in railing. "This prince of scholars, as somebody said of him, seemed to have erected his throne upon a heap of stones, that he might have them at hand to throw at every one's head who passed by." He was therefore courted by Charles II, as the most able man to write a defence of the late King his father, and to traduce his adversaries, and a hundred Jacobuses were given him for that purpose, and the book was published in 1649 with this title, *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I. ad Carolum II.* No sooner did this book appear in England, but the Council of State unanimously appointed Milton, who was then present, to answer it: and he performed the task with amazing spirit and vigour, though his health at that time was such, that he could hardly endure the fatigue of writing, and being weak in body, he was forced to write by

calumny against Milton. See *son's Life of Milton*, p. 67—82. also a sufficient refutation of this ed. 1780. E.  
calumny in the *Remarks on John-*

piece-meal, and to break off almost every hour, as he says himself in the introduction. This necessarily occasioned some delay, so that his Defence of the people of England was not made public till the beginning of the year 1651: and they who cannot read the original, may yet have the pleasure of reading the English Translation by Mr. Washington of the Temple, which was printed in 1692, and is inserted among Milton's Works in the two last editions. It was somewhat extraordinary, that Salmasius, a pensioner to a republic, should pretend to write a defence of monarchy; but the States showed their disapprobation by publicly condemning his book, and ordering it to be suppressed. On the other hand Milton's book was burnt at Paris, and at Toulouse by the hands of the common hangman; but this served only to procure it the more readers: it was read and talked of every where, and even they who were of different principles, yet could not but acknowledge that he was a good defender of a bad cause; and Salmasius's book underwent only one impression, while this of Milton passed through several editions. On the first appearance of it, he was visited or invited by all the foreign ministers at London, not excepting even those of crowned heads; and was particularly honoured and esteemed by Adrian Paaw, ambassador from the States of Holland. He was likewise highly complimented by letters from the most learned and ingenious persons in France and Germany; and Leonard Philaras, an Athenian born, and ambassador from the Duke of Parma to the French king, wrote a fine encomium of his Defence, and sent him his picture, as appears from Milton's

letter to Philaras, dated at London in June 1652. And what gave him the greatest satisfaction, the work was highly applauded by those, who had desired him to undertake it; and they made him a present of a thousand pounds, which in those days of frugality was reckoned no inconsiderable reward for his performance\*. But the case was far otherwise with Salmasius. He was then in high favour at the court of Christina Queen of Sweden, who had invited thither several of the most learned men of all countries: but when Milton's Defence of the people of England was brought to Sweden, and was read to the Queen at her own

\* Mr. Todd cites a passage from the Appendix to Bishop Watson's Sermon before the House of Lords, Jan. 30, 1793, in which Milton is accused of gross falsehood, in imputing the seditious principles of the Brownists to the most eminent of the first Reformers. Dr. Symmons indignantly cites the passage from the *Defence*, which had occasioned the charge, as a complete refutation of it. But whoever would judge fairly of the question should compare the attack of Salmasius with the answer of Milton, (both passages being extracted by Mr. Todd;) and he will probably be of opinion that Milton's real offence consists in the usual sophistry of controversialists. His adversary having spoken of *sedition*, he speaks of *liberty*, and contends, that in advocating the principles of civil liberty the Brownists agreed with the most orthodox of the first Reformers. See the *Lives of Milton*, by Todd, p. 78—81. ed. 2. and by Symmons, p. 372, 373. ed. 2.

From a passage in the *Second Defence*, Dr. Symmons is led to express some doubt of the correctness of Toland's assertion, that Milton's performance was rewarded by the present of £1000. Yet upon the whole he seems willing to admit it, in concurrence with the other Biographers of Milton. In the passage alluded to, after speaking of the reproaches which his services to the state had brought upon him, Milton adds, *nec præmii et commodorum inde provenientium partem longe minimam, ignominie longe maximam pervenisse ad me quoror; contentus quæ honesta factu sunt, ea propter se solum appetisse, et gratis persequi: id alii viderint, tuque scito, me illas "opimitates" atque "opes" quas mihi exprobas, non attigisse, neque eo nomine quo maxime accusas, obolo factum ditiozem."* Pr. W. ii. p. 378. Mr. Hayley conjectures that the reward was conferred upon him subsequently. *E.*

desire, he sunk immediately in her esteem and the opinion of every body; and though he talked big at first, and vowed the destruction of Milton and the Parliament, yet finding that he was looked upon with coldness, he thought proper to take leave of the court; and he who came in honour, was dismissed with contempt<sup>1</sup>. He died some time afterwards at Spa in Germany, and it is said more of a broken heart than of any distemper, leaving a posthumous reply to Milton, which was not published till after the Restoration, and was dedicated to Charles II. by his son Claudius; but it has done no great honour to his memory, abounding with abuse much more than argument.

Isaac Vossius was at Stockholm, when Milton's book was brought thither, and in some of his letters to Nicolas Heinsius, published by Professor Burman in the third tome of his *Sylloge Epistolarum*, he says that he had the only copy of Milton's book, that the Queen borrowed it of him, and was very much pleased with it, and commended Milton's wit and manner of writing in the presence of several persons, and that Salmasius was very angry, and very busy in preparing his answer, wherein he abused Milton as if he had been one of the vilest catamites in Italy, and also criticised his Latin poems. Heinsius writes again to Vossius from Holland, that he wondered that only one copy of Milton's book was brought to Stockholm, when three were sent thither, one to the Queen, another to Vossius which

<sup>1</sup> Christina must have commended the *Defence of the People* in order to torment Salmasius; and this might incline him to leave Sweden, from which how-

ever he was dismissed not with any mark of contempt, but with a train of attendance scarcely less than regal. *Johnson.*

he had received, and the third to Salmasius; that the book was in every body's hands, and there had been four editions in a few months besides the English one; that a Dutch translation was handed about, and a French one was expected. And afterwards he writes from Venice, that Holstenius had lent him Milton's Latin poems; that they were nothing, compared with the elegance of his Apology; that he had offended frequently against prosody, and here was a great opening for Salmasius's criticism: but as to Milton's having been a catamite in Italy, he says, that it was a mere calumny; on the contrary he was disliked by the Italians, for the severity of his manners, and for the freedom of his discourses against popery. And in others of his letters to Vossius and to J. Fr. Gronovius from Holland, Heinsius mentions how angry Salmasius was with him for commending Milton's book, and says that Graswinkelius had written something against Milton, which was to have been printed by Elzevir, but it was suppressed by public authority\*.

\* Dr. Joseph Warton also cites the following passages in N. Heinsius's Letters, inserted in Burman's Sylloge, tom. iii. p. 270. He says, in a Letter to Gronovius; "Miser iste Senecio (Salmasius) prorsus delirat et insanit: Misit duas in hanc urbem (Amstelod.) epistolas, rabiei sycophanticæ non inanes, quibus omne se virus in me conversurum minatur, quod Miltoni scriptum probari a me intelligat. Ego vero dixi et dicam prorsus, malam a Miltono causam tam bene actam, quam Regis infelicissimi cau-

sam pessime egit Scribonius.—  
"Inter Regicidas si locum mihi  
"dat, at omni procul dubio daturus, videbis brevi pro meritis  
"ornatum depexum." In a letter from Is. Vossius to Heinsius, are the following words, iii. 620.  
"Ex animo gaudet Salmasius,  
"Librum Miltoni Lutetiæ publice a Carnifice esse combustum  
"—interim hoc scio fatum esse  
"bonorum librorum, ut hoc modo  
"vel pereant vel periclitentur."  
Dr. Symmons extracts one or two curious passages beside these. See his Life of Milton, p. 396, 397. E.

The first reply that appeared was published in 1651, and entitled an *Apology for the King and people &c. Apologia pro rege et populo Anglicano contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni Angli) Defensionem destructivam regis et populi Anglicani*. It is not known, who was the author of this piece. Some attributed it to one Janus a lawyer of Gray's-Inn, and others to Dr. John Bramhall, who was then Bishop of Derry, and was made Primate of Ireland after the Restoration: but it is utterly improbable, that so mean a performance, written in such barbarous Latin, and so full of solecisms, should come from the hands of a prelate of such distinguished abilities and learning. But whoever was the author of it, Milton did not think it worth his while to animadvert upon it himself, but employed the younger of his nephews to answer it; but he supervised and corrected the answer so much before it went to the press, that it may in a manner be called his own. It came forth in 1652 under this title, *Johannis Philippi Angli Responsio ad Apologiam anonymi cujusdam tenebrionis pro rege et populo Anglicano infantissimam*; and it is printed with Milton's works; and throughout the whole Mr. Philips treats Bishop Bramhall with great severity as the author of the *Apology*, thinking probably that so considerable an adversary would make the answer more considerable<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Milton's real adversary was John Rowland, an English clergyman, according to his own assertions in a second publication, entitled, "*Polemica sive Supplementum ad Apologiam anonymam pro Rege et populo Anglicano, adversus Jo. Miltoni*

*Defensionem populi Anglicani, &c. Per Jo. Rowlandum, Pastorem Anglicum, 1653.*" 12mo. Bp. Bramhall also in a letter to his son, dated Antwerp, May 1654, says, "That silly book which he [Milton] ascribes to me, was written by



Sir Robert Filmer likewise published some animadversions upon Milton's Defence of the people, in a piece printed in 1652, and entitled Observations concerning the original of government, upon Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan, Mr. Milton against Salmasius, and Hugo Grotius de Jure belli: but I do not find that Milton or any of his friends took any notice of it; but Milton's quarrel was afterwards sufficiently avenged by Mr. Locke, who wrote against Sir Robert Filmer's principles of government, more I suppose in condescension to the prejudices of the age, than out of any regard to the weight or importance of Filmer's arguments<sup>1</sup>.

It is probable that Milton, when he was first made Latin Secretary, removed from his house in High Holborn to be nearer Whitehall: and for some time he had lodgings at one Thomson's, next door to the Bull-head tavern at Charing-Cross, opening into Spring-Garden, till the apartment, appointed for him in Scotland-Yard, could be got ready for his reception. He then removed thither; and there his third child, a son, was born and named John, who through the ill usage or bad constitution of the nurse died an infant. His own health too was greatly impaired; and for the benefit of the air, he removed from his apartment in Scotland-Yard to a house in Petty-France Westminster, which was next door to Lord Scudamore's, and opened

"one John Rowland, who since  
"hath replied upon him. I  
"never read a word either of  
"the first book, or of the replie,  
"in my life." *Todd.*

<sup>1</sup> In 1652 also the following publication appeared in Dublin against Milton. "Carolus I. à

"securi et calamo Miltoni vin-  
"dicatus:" and in 1653 a work  
was printed at Leyden, entitled,  
"Caspari Ziegleri Lipsiensis  
"circa Regicidium Anglorum  
"exercitationes. Accedit Jacobi  
"Schalleri Dissertatio ad loca  
"quædam Miltoni." *Todd.*

into St. James's Park; and there he remained eight years, from the year 1652 till within a few weeks of the King's restoration. In this house he had not been settled long, before his first wife died in childbed; and his condition requiring some care and attendance, he was easily induced after a proper interval of time to marry a second, who was Catharine daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney: and she too died in childbed within a year after their marriage, and her child, who was a daughter, died in a month after her; and her husband has done honour to her memory in one of his sonnets<sup>k</sup>.

Two or three years before this second marriage he had totally lost his sight<sup>l</sup>. And his enemies triumphed in his blindness, and imputed it as a judgment upon him for writing against the King: but his sight had been decaying several years before, through his close application to study, and the frequent head-aches to which he had been subject from his childhood, and his continual tampering with physic, which perhaps was more pernicious than all the rest; and he himself has informed us in his second Defence, that when he was appointed by authority to write his Defence of the people against Salmasius, he had almost lost the sight of one eye, and the physicians declared to him, that if he undertook that work, he would also lose the sight of

<sup>k</sup> "Mrs. Catharine Milton, "wife to John Milton, Esq. "buried Feb. 10, 1657." Bp. Kennet's MS. collections for St. Margaret's Parish, Westminster. See Mr. Malcolm's Hist. of London, 4to. vol. iv. p. 128. Todd.

<sup>l</sup> Probably early in 1652; as Dr. Symmons has concluded from Milton's being upbraided with his blindness in the "*Regii Sanguinis clamor*," published in 1652. E.

the other: but he was nothing discouraged, and chose rather to lose both his eyes, than desert what he thought his duty. It was the sight of his left eye that he lost first: and at the desire of his friend Leonard Philaras, the Duke of Parma's minister at Paris, he sent him a particular account of his case, and of the manner of his growing blind, for him to consult Thevenot the physician, who was reckoned famous in cases of the eyes. The letter is the fifteenth of his familiar epistles, is dated September 28, 1654, and is thus translated by Mr. Richardson.

“ Since you advise me not to fling away all hopes of  
“ recovering my sight, for that you have a friend at  
“ Paris, Thevenot the physician, particularly famous  
“ for the eyes, whom you offer to consult in my behalf  
“ if you receive from me an account by which he may  
“ judge of the causes and symptoms of my disease, I  
“ will do what you advise me to, that I may not seem  
“ to refuse any assistance that is offered, perhaps from  
“ God.

“ I think it is about ten years, more or less, since I  
“ began to perceive that my eye-sight grew weak and  
“ dim, and at the same time my spleen and bowels to  
“ be oppressed and troubled with flatus; and in the  
“ morning when I began to read, according to custom,  
“ my eyes grew painful immediately, and to refuse  
“ reading, but were refreshed after a moderate exercise  
“ of the body. A certain iris began to surround the  
“ light of the candle if I looked at it; soon after which,  
“ on the left part of the left eye, (for that was some  
“ years sooner clouded,) a mist arose which hid every

“ thing on that side; and looking forward if I shut my  
“ right eye, objects appeared smaller. My other eye  
“ also, for these last three years, failing by degrees,  
“ some months before all sight was abolished things  
“ which I looked upon seemed to swim to the right  
“ and left; certain inveterate vapours seem to possess  
“ my forehead and temples, which after meat especially,  
“ quite to evening, generally, urge and depress my  
“ eyes with a sleepy heaviness. Nor would I omit  
“ that whilst there was as yet some remainder of sight,  
“ I no sooner lay down in my bed, and turned on my  
“ side, but a copious light dazzled out of my shut eyes;  
“ and as my sight diminished every day colours gradually  
“ more obscure flashed out with vehemence; but now  
“ that the lucid is in a manner wholly extinct, a direct  
“ blackness, or else spotted, and, as it were, woven  
“ with ash-colour, is used to pour itself in. Never-  
“ theless the constant and settled darkness that is  
“ before me as well by night as by day, seems nearer  
“ to the whitish than the blackish; and the eye-rolling  
“ itself a little, seems to admit I know not what little  
“ smallness of light as through a chink.”

But it does not appear what answer he received; we may presume, none that administered any relief. His blindness however did not disable him entirely from performing the business of his office. An assistant was allowed him, and his salary as secretary still continued to him.

And there was farther occasion for his service besides dictating of letters. For the controversy with Salma-

sus did not die with him, and there was published at the Hague in 1652 a book entitled the Cry of the King's blood &c. *Regii sanguinis Clamor ad cœlum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos*. The true author of this book was Peter du Moulin the younger, who was afterwards prebendary of Canterbury: and he transmitted his papers to Salmasius; and Salmasius intrusted them to the care of Alexander Morus, a French Minister; and Morus published them with a dedication to King Charles II. in the name of Adrian Ulac the printer, from whence he came to be reputed the author of the whole. This Morus was the son of a learned Scotsman, who was president of the college, which the protestants had formerly at Castres in Languedoc; and he is said to have been a man of a most haughty disposition, and immoderately addicted to women, hasty, ambitious, full of himself and his own performances, and satirical upon all others. He was however esteemed one of the most eminent preachers of that age among the protestants; but as Monsieur Bayle observes, his chief talent must have consisted in the gracefulness of his delivery, or in those sallies of imagination and quaint turns and allusions, whereof his sermons are full; for they retain not those charms in reading, which they were said to have formerly in the pulpit. Against this man therefore, as the reputed author of *Regii sanguinis Clamor &c.* Milton published by authority his Second Defence of the people of England, *Defensio Secunda pro populo Anglicano*, in 1654, and treats Morus with such severity as nothing could have excused, if he had not been pro-

voked to it by so much abuse poured upon himself<sup>a</sup>. Upon this Morus published his *Fides Publica* in answer to Milton, in which he inserted several testimonies of his orthodoxy and morals signed by the consistories, academies, synods, and magistrates of the places where he had lived; and disowned his being the author of the book imputed to him, and appealed to two Gentlemen of great credit with the Parliament party, who knew the real author. This brought Du Moulin, who was then in England, into great danger; but the government suffered him to escape with impunity, rather than they would publicly contradict the great patron of their cause<sup>n</sup>. For he still persisted in his accusation, and endeavoured to make it good in his Defence of himself, *Autoris pro se Defensio*, which was published in 1655, wherein he opposed to the testimonies in favour of Morus other testimonies against him; and Morus replied no more.

After this controversy was ended, he was at leisure again to pursue his own private studies, which were the History of England, before mentioned, and a new Thesaurus of the Latin tongue, intended as an improvement upon that by Robert Stephens; a work, which

<sup>a</sup> See Epigram xi. and Mr. Warton's note. Dr. Birch, in his *Life of Milton*, p. xl. ed. 1753, has given a curious letter from A. Marvel to Milton, giving an account of his presenting a copy of the *Second Defence*, accompanied by a letter from the author, to the Protector. In this letter Colonel Overton is mentioned as a friend of Milton's, and indeed, as Mr. Hayley re-

marks, Milton addresses him in his *Second Defence* as one of his dearest friends.—“Te, Over-  
tone, mihi multis abhinc annis,  
“et studiorum similitudine, et  
“morum suavitate, concordia  
“plusquam fraterna conjunctis-  
sime.” E.

<sup>n</sup> See Du Moulin's account of the matter in the edition of his Latin poems, Cambridge, 1670, 8vo. l. iii. p. 140, 141. Birch.

he had been long collecting from the best and purest Latin authors, and continued at times almost to his dying day: but his papers were left so confused and imperfect, that they could not be fitted for the press, though great use was made of them by the compilers of the Cambridge Dictionary printed in 1693. These papers are said to have consisted of three large volumes in folio; and it is a great pity that they are lost, and no account is given what is become of the manuscript\*. It is commonly said too that at this time he began his famous poem of *Paradise Lost*; and it is certain, that he was glad to be released from those controversies, which detained him so long from following things more agreeable to his natural genius and inclination, though he was far from ever repenting of his writings in defence of liberty, but gloried in them to the last.

The only interruption now of his private studies was

\* The "Cambridge Dictionary," published in 4to. 1693, is no other than a copy, with some small additions, of that of Dr. Adam Littleton in 1685, by sundry persons, of whom, though their names are concealed, there is great reason to conjecture that Milton's nephew, Edward Philips, is one; for it is expressly said by Wood, *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 266, that "Milton's Thesaurus" came to his hands; and it is asserted, in the preface to the Dictionary, that the editors had the use of three large folios in MS. collected and digested into alphabetical order by Mr. John Milton.

It has been remarked, that the additions, together with the preface above mentioned, and a

large part of the title of the "Cambridge Dictionary," have been incorporated and printed with the subsequent editions of "Littleton's Dictionary," till that of 1735. Vid. *Biogr. Brit.* 2985, in not. So that, for aught that appears to the contrary, Philips was the last possessor of Milton's MS. H. *Lives of the Poets*, ed. 1794.

Wood states, that Philips's "*Enchiridion Linguae Latinae*," and "*Speculum Linguae Latinae*," both published in 1684, were altogether or chiefly taken from Milton's Latin Thesaurus. And Philips himself mentions, that what there was of Milton's work was made use of for another Dictionary. E.

the business of his office. In 1655 there was published in Latin a writing in the name of the Lord Protector, setting forth the reasons of the war with Spain: and this piece is rightly adjudged to our author, both on account of the peculiar elegance of the style, and because it was his province to write such things as Latin Secretary; and it is printed among his other prose works in the last edition. And for the same reasons I am inclined to think, that the famous Latin verses to Christina Queen of Sweden in the name of Cromwell were made by our author rather than Andrew Marvel<sup>p</sup>. In those days they had admirable intelligence in the Secretary's office; and Mr. Philips relates a memorable instance or two upon his own knowledge. The Dutch were sending a plenipotentiary to England to treat of peace; but the emissaries of the government had the art to procure a copy of his instructions in Holland, which were delivered by Milton to his kinsman who was then with him, to translate them for the use of the Council, before the said plenipotentiary had taken shipping for England: and an answer to all that he had in charge was prepared, and lay ready for him before he made his public entry into London. Another time a person came to London with a very sumptuous train, pretending himself an agent from the Prince of Conde, who was then in arms against Cardinal Mazarine: but the government suspecting him set their instruments to work so successfully, that in a few days they received intelligence from Paris, that he was a spy

<sup>p</sup> See the notes on Epigr. xiii. E.



employed by Charles II: whereupon the very next morning Milton's kinsman was sent to him with an order of Council, commanding him to depart the kingdom within three days, or expect the punishment of a spy. This kinsman was in all probability Mr. Philips or his brother, who were Milton's nephews, and lived very much with him, and one or both of them were assistant to him in his office. His blindness no doubt was a great hindrance and inconvenience to him in his business, though sometimes a political use might be made of it; as men's natural infirmities are often pleaded in excuse for not doing what they have no great inclination to do. Thus when Cromwell, as we may collect from Whitlock, for some reasons delayed artfully to sign the treaty concluded with Sweden, and the Swedish ambassador made frequent complaints of it, it was excused to him, because Mr. Milton on account of his blindness proceeded slower in business, and had not yet put the articles of the treaty into Latin. Upon which the ambassador was greatly surprised, that things of such consequence should be intrusted to a blind man, for he must necessarily employ an amanuensis, and that amanuensis might divulge the articles; and said it was very wonderful, that there should be only one man in England who could write Latin, and he a blind one. But his blindness had not diminished, but rather increased the vigour of his mind; and his state-letters will remain as authentic memorials of those times, to be admired equally by critics and politicians; and those particularly about the sufferings of the poor protestants in Piedmont, who can read without sensible

emotion?<sup>1</sup> This was a subject he had very much at heart, as he was an utter enemy to all sorts of persecution; and among his Sonnets there is a most excellent one upon the same occasion.

But Oliver Cromwell being dead, and the government weak and unsettled in the hands of Richard and the Parliament, he thought it a seasonable time to offer his advice again to the public; and in 1659 published a *Treatise of civil power in ecclesiastical causes*; and another tract entitled *Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church*; both addressed to the Parliament of the commonwealth of England<sup>2</sup>. And after the Parliament was dissolved, he wrote a letter to some statesman, with whom he had a serious discourse the night before, concerning the ruptures of the commonwealth; and another as it is supposed to General Monk, being a brief *Delineation of a free commonwealth, easy to be put in practice, and without delay*. These two pieces were communicated in manuscript to Mr. Toland by a friend, who

<sup>1</sup> See *Letters to the Duke of Savoy, to the Prince of Transylvania, to the King of Sweden, to the States of Holland, Switzerland, and Geneva, to the Kings of France and of Denmark*. *Symmons*.

<sup>2</sup> The former of these pieces, says Dr. Birch in his *Life of Milton*, p. xlii. ed. 1753, restored him to the good opinion of some of his republican friends, who had before questioned his attachment to their principles. See Mr. Wall's Letter prefixed to the *Iconoclastes*. *E*.

Milton had collected a variety

of State Papers, from the death of the King to the present period. They were published in 1743, with the following title: "*Original Letters and Papers of State, addressed to Oliver Cromwell, concerning the Affairs of Great Britain. From the year 1649 to 1658. Found among the Political Collections of Mr. John Milton. Now first published from the originals. By John Nickolls, jun. Member of the Society of Antiquaries, London.*" They had been once in the possession of Ellwood. *Todd*.

a little after Milton's death had them from his nephew; and Mr. Toland gave them to be printed in the edition of our author's *Prose Works* in 1698. But Milton, still finding that affairs were every day tending more and more to the subversion of the commonwealth, and the restoration of the royal family, published his *Ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth, and the excellence thereof, compared with the inconveniences and dangers of re-admitting kingship in this nation*\*. We are informed by Mr. Wood, that he published this piece in February 1659-60; and after this he published *Brief notes upon a late sermon entitled, the Fear of God and the King, preached by Dr. Matthew Griffith at Mercers' Chapel, March 25, 1660*: so bold and resolute was he in declaring his sentiments to the last, thinking that his voice was the voice of expiring liberty†.

A little before the King's landing he was discharged from his office of Latin Secretary, and was forced to leave his house in Petty France, where he had lived eight years with great reputation, and had been visited by all foreigners of note, who could not go out of the country without seeing a man who did so much honour to it by his writings, and whose name was as well known and as famous abroad as in his own nation"; and by several

\* This pamphlet, Dr. Johnson observes, was enough considered to be both seriously and ludicrously answered. See Mr. Warton's note on Sonnet xxi. addressed to Cyriac Skinner, for an account of the burlesque answer. The serious reply was published in May 1660, and entitled, "The dignity of Kingship

"asserted; in answer to Mr. Milton's *Ready and Easy Way, &c.*; by G. G. a lover of loyalty." E.

† To these notes an answer was written by L'Estrange, in a pamphlet entitled, "No Blind Guides." E.

\* Either Toland, or his editor Mr. Hollis, adds the following

persons of quality of both sexes, particularly the pious and virtuous Lady Ranelagh, whose son for some time he instructed, the same who was Paymaster of the forces in King William's time; and by many learned and ingenious friends and acquaintance, particularly Andrew Marvel, and young Laurence, son to the President of Oliver's Council, to whom he has inscribed one of his sonnets, and Marchamont Needham the writer of *Politicus*, and above all Cyriac Skinner, whom he has honoured with two sonnets. But now it was not safe for him to appear any longer in public, so that by the advice of some who wished him well and were concerned for his preservation, he fled for shelter to a friend's house in Bartholomew Close near West Smithfield, where he lay concealed till the worst of the storm was blown over. The first notice that we find taken of him was on Saturday the 16th of June, 1660, when it was ordered by the House of Commons, that his Majesty should be humbly moved to issue his proclamation for the calling in of Milton's two books, his *Defence of the people*, and *Iconoclastes*, and also Goodwyn's book entitled the *Obstructors of justice*, written in justification of the murder of the late King, and to order them to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. And at the same time it was ordered, that the Attorney General should proceed by way of indict-

note. "The late Reverend Mr. Thomas Bradbury, an eminent dissenting minister, used to say, that Jer. White, who had been chaplain to O. Cromwell, and whom he personally knew, had often told him, that Milton was allowed by the Par-

liament a weekly table for the entertainment of foreign ministers, and persons of learning, such especially as came from protestant states; which allowance was also continued by Cromwell." E.

ment or information against Milton and Goodwyn in respect of their books, and that they themselves should be sent for in custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending the House. On Wednesday, June 27th, an order of Council was made agreeable to the order of the House of Commons for a proclamation against Milton's and Goodwyn's books; and the proclamation was issued the 13th of August following, wherein it was said that the authors had fled or did abscond\*: and on Monday, August 27th, Milton's and Goodwyn's books were burnt according to the proclamation at the Old Bailey by the hands of the common hangman†. On Wed-

\* See the proclamation printed at length in Kennet's Register and Chronicle, 1728, p. 189. Todd. Or in Toland's Life of Milton, 8vo. 1761, p. 113. E.

† Milton's prose was to suffer another disgrace. Twenty-seven Propositions gathered from the writings of our author, Buchanan, Hobbes, Baxter, John Goodwin, Knox, Owen, and others, were proscribed by the University of Oxford, July 21, 1683, as destructive both to Church and State; and ordered to be burnt in the court of the Schools. See the Decree of the University, in Somers's Tracts, iii. 225. This transaction is celebrated in a poem of the Muse Anglicanæ, called "Decretum Oxoniense," 1683. vol. ii. p. 180, 181. edit. 1714. I transcribe some of the lines with abhorrence,

Hæc tibi sint laudes immortalæque tri-  
umphei,

O dea, Bellositi sacras quæ protegis  
areæ!

Quamquam o, si simili quicunque  
hæc scripserit auctor

Fato succubisset, eodemque arserit  
igne;

In medio videas flamma crepitante  
cremari,

Miltonem, cælo terrique inamabile  
nomen!

But by what follows, the writer does not seem to have been insensible to the beauties of Milton's poetry.

Milton is said to have been a chief founder of the *Calves' Head Club*, a festival which began to be held on the thirtieth of January during the usurpation, in opposition to Bishop Juxon, Dr. Hammond, and other divines of the Church of England, who met privately to celebrate that day with fasting and a form of prayer. See Secret History of the Calves' Head Club, by one who seems to be well acquainted with anecdotes of those days. Lond. 1703. Harl. Misc. vi. 554. For such provocations alone, it was natural for the restored powers to retaliate. He, however, escaped, yet not without difficulty. I was told by Mr. Tyers,

nesday, August 29th, the Act of Indemnity was passed, which proved more favourable to Milton than could well have been expected; for though John Goodwyn, Clerk, was excepted among the twenty persons, who were to have penalties inflicted upon them, not extending to life, yet Milton was not excepted at all, and consequently was included in the general pardon\*. We find indeed that afterwards he was in custody of the Serjeant at Arms; but the time when he was taken into custody is not certain. He was not in custody on the 12th of September, for that day a list of the prisoners in custody of the Serjeant at Arms was read in the House, and Milton is not among them; and on the 13th of September the House adjourned to the 6th of November. It is most probable therefore that after the Act of Indemnity was passed, and after the House had adjourned, he came out of his concealment, and was afterwards taken into custody of the Serjeant at

from good authority, that his friends made a mock-funeral for him; and that when matters were settled in his favour, and the affair was known, the king laughed heartily at the trick. *T. Warton.*

This account is given by an historian lately brought to light. "Milton, Latin Secretary to Cromwell, distinguished by his writings in favour of the rights and liberties of the people, pretended to be dead, and had a public funeral procession. The king applauded his policy in escaping; the punishment of death, by a seasonable shew of dying." Cunningham's *History of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 14.

*R. Lives of the Poets*, ed. 1794.

As to the calumny which Warton discovered in the *Harleian Miscellany*, it is not only improbable in itself, but rests upon no authority. It comes through two nameless individuals to an anonymous pamphleteer, who appears evidently disposed to libel Milton. *E.*

\* Philips says expressly, that Milton was excepted, and disqualified from bearing any office. But I find Goodwin and Ph. Nye the minister excepted in the Act, but Milton not named. However, he obtained a special pardon in December, 1660, which passed the privy seal, but not the great seal. *Malone.*

Arms by virtue of the former order of the House of Commons: but we cannot find that he was prosecuted by the Attorney General, nor was he continued in custody very long: for on Saturday the 15th of December, 1660, it was ordered by the House of Commons, that Mr. Milton now in custody of the Serjeant at Arms should be forthwith released, paying his fees; and on Monday the 17th of December, a complaint being made that the Serjeant at Arms had demanded excessive fees for his imprisonment, it was referred to the committee of privileges and elections to examine this business, and to call Mr. Milton and the Serjeant before them, and to determine what was fit to be given to the Serjeant for his fees in this case; so courageous was he at all times in defence of liberty against all the encroachments of power, and though a prisoner, would yet be treated like a freeborn Englishman. This appears to be the matter of fact, as it may be collected partly from the Journals of the House of Commons, and partly from Kennet's Historical Register: and the clemency of the government was surely very great towards him, considering the nature of his offences; for though he was not one of the King's judges and murderers, yet he contributed more to murder his character and reputation than any of them all: and to what therefore could it be owing, that he was treated with such lenity, and was so easily pardoned? It is certain, there was not wanting powerful intercession for him both in Council and in Parliament. It is said that Secretary Morrice and Sir Thomas Clargis greatly favoured him, and exerted their interest in his behalf; and his old friend Andrew Marvel, member of Parlia-

ment for Hull, formed a considerable party for him in the House of Commons; and neither was Charles the Second (as Toland says) such an enemy to the Muses, as to require his destruction. But the principal instrument in obtaining Milton's pardon was Sir William Davenant, out of gratitude for Milton's having procured his release, when he was taken prisoner in 1650. It was life for life. Davenant had been saved by Milton's interest, and in return Milton was saved at Davenant's intercession. This story Mr. Richardson relates upon the authority of Mr. Pope; and Mr. Pope had it from Betterton the famous actor, who was first brought upon the stage and patronized by Sir William Davenant, and might therefore derive the knowledge of this transaction from the fountain\*.

Milton having thus obtained his pardon, and being set at liberty again, took a house in Holborn near Red Lion Fields; but he removed soon into Jewen-street near Aldersgate-street: and while he lived there, being in his fifty-third or fifty-fourth year, and blind and infirm, and wanting somebody better than servants to tend and look after him, he employed his friend Dr. Paget to choose a proper consort for him; and at his recommendation married his third wife, Elizabeth Minshul, of a gentleman's family in Cheshire, and related to Dr. Paget. It is said that an offer was made to Milton, as well as to Thurloc, of holding the same place of Secretary under the King, which he had dis-

\* Mr. Malone says, "That Milton saved Davenant is attested by Aubrey and by Wood from him; but none of them say that Davenant saved Milton.

"This is Richardson's assertion merely." Richardson however had traced the story almost up to Davenant himself. E.



charged with so much integrity and ability under Cromwell; but he persisted in refusing it, though the wife pressed his compliance; "Thou art in the right," says he; "you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man<sup>b</sup>." What is more certain is, that in 1661 he published his *Accidence commenced Grammar*, and a tract of Sir Walter Raleigh entitled *Aphorisms of State*; as in 1658 he had published another piece of Sir Walter Raleigh entitled the *Cabinet Council discabinated*, which he printed from a manuscript, that had lain many years in his hands, and was given him for a true copy by a learned man at his death, who had collected several such pieces: an evident sign, that he thought it no mean employment, nor unworthy of a man of genius, to be an editor of the works of great authors<sup>c</sup>. It was while he lived in Jewen-street, that Elwood the quaker (as we learn from the history of his life written by his own hand) was first introduced to read to him; for having wholly lost his sight, he kept always somebody or other to perform that office, and usually the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom he took in kindness, that he might at the same time im-

<sup>b</sup> The fact is mentioned by Richardson; and rests upon authority which seems to be decisive. Richardson received it from Henry Bendyshe, (a grandson I believe of the Protector's,) who was an inmate in Milton's house, and who had heard it mentioned by his family. *Symmons*.

<sup>c</sup> It is observed by Mr. Malone, that Milton's publication of an *Accidence* at this period gives

some countenance to a tradition, recorded by Yelden in his continuation of Langbaine's account of the Dramatic Poets, 8vo. 1693, that Milton, after the Restoration, kept a school at or near Greenwich. But the remarkable care, with which his biographers have mentioned the houses in which he successively resided, seems to make this tradition very improbable. *E*.

prove him in his learning. Elwood was recommended to him by Dr. Paget, and went to his house every afternoon except Sunday, and read to him such books in the Latin tongue, as Milton thought proper. And Milton told him, that if he would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners either abroad or at home, he must learn the foreign pronunciation: and he instructed him how to read accordingly<sup>d</sup>. And having a curious ear, he understood by my tone, says Elwood, when I understood what I read, and when I did not; and he would stop me, and examine me, and open the most difficult passages to me. But it was not long after his third marriage, that he left Jewen-street, and removed to a house in the Artillery Walk leading to Bunhill Fields<sup>e</sup>: and this was his last stage in this world; he continued longer in this house than he had done in any other, and lived here to his dying day: only when the plague began to rage in London in 1665, he removed to a small house at St. Giles Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, which Elwood had taken for him and his family; and there he remained during that dreadful calamity; but after the sickness was over, and the city was cleansed and made

<sup>d</sup> Elwood mentions that he pronounced the Latin *c* like the English *ch*, and *sc* as *sh*, upon which Rolli remarks, *questa particolarita mostra che Milton pronunciava la lingua Latina come gl' Italiani e particolarmente i Romani fanno.* *E.*

<sup>e</sup> The circumstance of his lodging for some intermediate time, after he left Jewin Street, with

Millington the celebrated auctioneer, who was accustomed to lead his venerable inmate by the hand when he walked in the streets, is mentioned by Richardson on the testimony of a person, who was acquainted with Milton, and who had frequently met him abroad with his conductor and host. *Symmons.*

safely habitable again, he returned to his house in London<sup>f</sup>.

His great work of *Paradise Lost* had principally engaged his thoughts for some years past, and was now completed. It is probable, that his first design of writing an epic poem was owing to his conversations at Naples with the Marquis of Villa about Tasso and his famous poem of the delivery of Jerusalem; and in a copy of verses presented to that nobleman before he left Naples, he intimated his intention of fixing upon King Arthur for his hero<sup>g</sup>. And in an eclogue, made soon after his return to England upon the death of his friend and school-fellow Deodati, he proposed the same design and the same subject, and declared his ambition of writing something in his native language, which might render his name illustrious in these islands, though he should be obscure and inglorious to the rest of the world<sup>h</sup>. And in other parts of his works, after he had engaged in the controversies of the times, he still promised to produce some noble poem or other at a fitter season; but it doth not appear that he had then determined upon the subject, and King Arthur had another fate, being reserved for the pen of Sir Richard Blackmore. The first hint of

<sup>f</sup> Dr. Symmons remarks, that a rumour had been circulated of Milton's having fallen under the desolating disease. And he cites a very interesting letter to Peter Heimbach, occasioned by this report. See *Pr. W.* ii. 586. ed. 1753. E.

<sup>g</sup> See Mr. Warton's note on the *Mansus*, v. 80. E.

<sup>h</sup> The reader should consult the Preface to the second book of the *Reason of Church Government*, from "Concerning therefore this wayward subject" to the end, vol. i. p. 61—65. ed. 1753. This passage gives the fullest insight into Milton's hopes and intentions. E.

Paradise Lost is said to have been taken from an Italian tragedy<sup>1</sup>; and it is certain, that he first designed

<sup>1</sup> The Drama alluded to is the *Adamo* of Giovanni Battista Andreini, son of the celebrated actress Isabella Andreini. (See Bayle's Dictionary, Art. Andreini.) G. B. Andreini was born at Florence in 1578; he was also an actor of some repute, and author of about thirty poems and comedies. (See Count Mazzuchelli's work on the writers of Italy.) The *Adamo* was printed at Milan in 1613, and again in 1617. It is like the mysteries of our early stage, and belongs to that class of dramas founded on the Scripture which the Italians call *Rappresentazioni*. (See Rolli's Life of Milton.) Whether Milton ever saw it or not, is mere matter of conjecture. Voltaire first started the notion that Milton was indebted to it for the idea of *Paradise Lost*, in his *Essay on Epic Poetry*, 1727. Mr. Hayley has pursued the idea in his *Conjectures on the origin of the Paradise Lost*, annexed to his Life of Milton. In the passages which Mr. Hayley has extracted from the *Adamo* I can trace no resemblance to the *Paradise Lost*; but in the analysis which he has given of the drama there appears more resemblance to Milton's plans for dramas or moralities on the same subject than would have been to be expected, perhaps, if Milton had never seen Andreini's work. That the idea of writing an epic poem on the fall of Adam was first suggested to Milton by the preface to the *Scena Tragica d'Adamo ed Eva* of Troilo Lancetta, printed

at Venice in 1644, and which Mr. Hayley has given together with an analysis of the drama in his Appendix, seems extremely visionary. But it is not improbable that Milton was acquainted with Marino's *Strage de gli Innocenti* (see note on the Manus, v. 11.) and with the *Angeleida* of Erasmo Valvasone, Venice, 1590. And it is curious that the latter work, which is formed expressly on the rebellion of the Apostate Spirits, attributes to them the invention of artillery. But it may be said of these, and a long list of Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese works, which are noticed by Mr. Hayley and Mr. Todd, and treat of the same or similar subjects with the *Paradise Lost*, that it is very doubtful whether Milton ever saw most of them, or made use of any of them. No one has yet discovered the tragedy called *Il Paradiso Perso*; which Dr. Pearce mentions as having afforded the first hint of the *Paradise Lost*.

The origin therefore of this great poem we are little likely to ascertain with any thing like certainty. Whoever wishes to pursue the subject may read Mr. Hayley's *Conjectures* above noticed; Mr. J. C. Walker's *Thoughts on the origin of Paradise Lost*, printed with his *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, 4to. 1799; Mr. Dunster's *Considerations on Milton's early reading, and the prima stamina of his Paradise Lost*, 8vo. 1800; and Mr. Todd's *Inquiry into the origin of Paradise Lost*, prefixed to his

it a tragedy himself, and there are several plans of it in the form of a tragedy still to be seen in the author's own manuscript preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. And it is probable that he did not barely sketch out the plans, but also wrote some parts of the drama itself. His nephew Philips informs us, that some of the verses at the beginning of Satan's speech, addressed to the sun in the fourth book, were shown to him and some others as designed for the beginning of the tragedy, several years before the poem was begun: and many other passages might be produced, which plainly appear to have been originally intended for the scene, and are not so properly of the epic, as of the tragic strain. It was not till after he was disengaged from the Salmasian controversy, which ended in 1655, that he began to mould the *Paradise Lost* in its present form; but after the Restoration, when he was dismissed from public business, and freed

edition of Milton's Poems. Mr. Todd gives a summary of all the inquiries of this kind.

But with the fanciful question of the *origin*, or first hint, of *Paradise Lost*, is much mixed up the consideration of Milton's *use and imitation* of earlier works. It is most probable that he was well acquainted, as Mr. Dunster contends, with *Sylvestre's* translation of *Du Bartas*; and that he had seen *Stafford's Niobe*, as Mr. Todd suggests, and the work of the Anglo-Saxon poet *Cedmon*, which Mr. Todd quotes from *Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons*. Milton's great learning in fact made him acquainted "with the poverty as well as the riches of numerous other writ-

ers;" and he made the right use of learning in greatly improving upon the hints of others. This will continually appear in the notes on his Poems. But there was nothing like plagiarism in this; and indeed, his commentators, and the ingenious men who have been named above, are always anxious that an imputation of this kind should never, for a moment, be thrown upon Milton, whose originality, they all contend, was as great as his erudition.

Of the shameless attempt of *Lquler* to convict him of plagiarism a full account is given by Bishop Newton in the Postscript to *Paradise Lost*. E.

from controversy of every kind; he prosecuted the work with closer application. Mr. Philips relates a very remarkable circumstance in the composure of this poem, which he says he had reason to remember, as it was told him by Milton himself, that his veins never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal, and that what he attempted at other times was not to his satisfaction, though he courted his fancy never so much. Mr. Toland imagines that Philips might be mistaken as to the time, because our author, in his Latin elegy, written in his twentieth year, upon the approach of the spring, seemeth to say just the contrary, as if he could not make any verses to his satisfaction till the spring begun: and he says farther that a judicious friend of Milton's informed him, that he could never compose well but in spring and autumn. But Mr. Richardson cannot comprehend, that either of these accounts is exactly true, or that a man with such a work in his head can suspend it for six months together, or only for one; it may go on more slowly, but it must go on: and this laying it aside is contrary to that eagerness to finish what was begun, which he says was his temper in his epistle to Deodati, dated Sept. 2, 1637<sup>k</sup>. After all, Mr. Philips, who had the perusal of the poem from the beginning, by twenty or thirty verses at a time, as it was composed, and having not been shown any for a considerable while, as the summer came on, inquired of the author the reason of it, could hardly be mistaken with regard to the time: and it is easy to conceive, that the poem might go on

<sup>k</sup> See the note on v. 6. *El.* vii. In Adventum veris. *E.*

much more slowly in summer than in other parts of the year; for notwithstanding all that poets may say of the pleasures of that season, I imagine most persons find by experience, that they can compose better at any other time, with more facility and with more spirit, than during the heat and languor of summer. Whenever the poem was wrote, it was finished in 1665, and as Elwood says was shown to him that same year at St. Giles Chalfont, whither Milton had retired to avoid the plague, and it was lent to him to peruse it and give his judgment of it: and considering the difficulties which the author lay under, his uneasiness on account of the public affairs and his own, his age and infirmities, his gout and blindness, his not being in circumstances to maintain an amanuensis, but obliged to make use of any hand that came next to write his verses as he made them, it is really wonderful, that he should have the spirit to undertake such a work, and much more, that he should ever bring it to perfection<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Besides what affliction he must have from his disappointment on the change of the times, and from his own private losses, and probably cares for subsistence, and for his family, he was in perpetual terror of being assassinated, and though he had escaped the talons of the law, he knew he had made himself enemies in abundance. He was so dejected he would lie awake whole nights. He then kept himself as private as he could. This Dr. Tancred Robinson had from a relation of Milton's, Mr. Walker of the Temple. And this is what is intimated by him-

self, P. L. vii. 26.

On evil days though fallen, and evil  
tongues,  
In darkness and with dangers compassed round,  
And solitude.

*Richardson, Remarks*, p. xciv.

Dr. Symmons observes that these apprehensions were not those of a weak mind, or felt without sufficient cause; but were fully justified by the fate of Ludlow, pursued with daggers into the heart of Switzerland, and by the murders of Dorislaus and of Ascham at the Hague and at Madrid. E.

And after the poem was finished, still new difficulties retarded the publication of it. It was in danger of being suppressed through the malice or ignorance of the licenser, who took exception at some passages, and particularly at that noble simile, in the first book, of the sun in an eclipse, in which he fancied that he had discovered treason. It was with difficulty too that the author could sell the copy; and he sold it at last only for five pounds, but was to receive five pounds more after the sale of 1300 of the first impression, and five pounds more after the sale of as many of the second impression, and five more after the sale of as many of the third, and the number of each impression was not to exceed 1500. And what a poor consideration was this for such an inestimable performance! and how much more do others get by the works of great authors, than the authors themselves! This original contract with Samuel Simmons the printer is dated April 27, 1667, and is in the hands of Mr. Tonson the bookseller, as is likewise the manuscript of the first book copied fair for the press, with the Imprimatur by Thomas Tomkyns, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury: so that though Milton was forced to make use of different hands to write his verses from time to time as he had occasion, yet we may suppose that the copy for the press was written all, or at least each book, by the same hand. The first edition in ten books was printed in a small quarto; and before it could be disposed of, had three or more different title-pages of the years 1667, 1668, and 1669<sup>m</sup>. The first sort was with-

<sup>m</sup> There were *five* of these different title-pages. The book at this time was advertised plainly but neatly bound at the price of  
f 3



out the name of Simmons the printer, and began with the poem immediately following the title-page, without any argument, or preface, or table of errata: to others was prefixed a short advertisement of the printer to the reader concerning the argument and the reason why the poem rhymes not; and then followed the argument of the several books, and the preface concerning the kind of verse, and the table of errata: others again had the argument, and the preface, and the table of errata, without that short advertisement of the printer to the reader: and this was all the difference between them, except now and then of a point or a letter, which were altered as the sheets were printing off. So that, notwithstanding these variations, there was still only one impression in quarto; and two years almost elapsed, before 1300 copies could be sold, or before the author was entitled to his second five pounds, for which his receipt is still in being, and is dated April 26, 1669. And this was probably all that he received; for he lived not to enjoy the benefits of the second edition, which was not published till the year 1674, and that same year he died. The second edition was printed in a small octavo, and was corrected by the author himself, and the number of books was augmented from ten to twelve, with the addition of some few verses: and this alteration was made with great judgment, not for the sake of such a fanciful beauty as resembling the number of books in the *Æneid*, but for the more regular disposition of the poem, because the seventh and tenth books were before too long, and are more fitly divided

three shillings. See Clavel's Catalogue of all the books printed in England from 1666 to 1672. Fol. Lond. 1673. Todd.

each into two. The third edition was published in 1678, and it appears that Milton had left his remaining right in the copy to his widow, and she agreed with Simmons the printer to accept eight pounds in full of all demands, and her receipt for the money is dated December 21, 1680. But a little before this Simmons had covenanted to assign the whole right of copy to Brabazon Aylmer the bookseller for twenty-five pounds; and Aylmer afterwards sold it to old Jacob Tonson at two different times, one half on the 17th of August 1683, and the other half on the 24th of March 1690, with a considerable advance of the price; and except one fourth of it which has been assigned to several persons, his family have enjoyed the right of copy ever since. By the last assignment it appears that the book was growing into repute and rising in valuation; and to what perverseness could it be owing that it was not better received at first? We conceive there were principally two reasons; the prejudices against the author on account of his principles and party; and many no doubt were offended with the novelty of a poem that was not in rhyme. Rymer, who was a redoubted critic in those days, would not so much as allow it to be a poem on this account; and declared war against Milton as well as against Shakespeare; and threatened that he would write reflections upon the *Paradise Lost*, which some (says he\*) are pleased to call a poem, and would assert rhyme against the slender sophistry wherewith the author attacks it. And such a man as Bishop Burnet maketh it a sort of objection

\* See Rymer's *Tragedies of the last age considered*, p. 143.

to Milton, that he affected to write in blank verse without rhyme. And the same reason induced Dryden to turn the principal parts of *Paradise Lost* into rhyme in his Opera called the State of Innocence and Fall of Man; to tag his lines, as Milton himself expressed it, alluding to the fashion then of wearing tags of metal at the end of their ribbons. We are told indeed by Mr. Richardson, that Sir George Hungerford, an ancient member of parliament, told him, that Sir John Denham came into the House one morning with a sheet of *Paradise Lost* wet from the press in his hand; and being asked what he had there, said that he had part of the noblest poem that ever was written in any language or in any age. However it is certain that the book was unknown till about two years after, when the Earl of Dorset produced it, as Mr. Richardson was informed by Dr. Tancred Robinson the physician, who had heard the story often from Fleetwood Shephard himself, that the Earl in company with Mr. Shephard, looking about for books in Little Britain, accidentally met with *Paradise Lost*; and being surprised at some passages in dipping here and there, he bought it. The bookseller begged his Lordship to speak in its favour if he liked it, for the impression lay on his hands as waste paper. The Earl having read it sent it to Dryden, who in a short time returned it with this answer, "This man cuts us all out and the ancients too\*."

\* It appears that Denham was never in Parliament. See Mr. Malone's objections to this and the preceding account of Richardson's, in his *Life of Dryden*, 1800, vol. i. p. 112, &c. cited by Todd,

*Life of Milton*, ed. 2. p. 116, 117. Richardson's accounts, however, may be substantially true, notwithstanding some partial inaccuracies. Mr. Malone seems to assume that the bookseller in

Dryden's epigram upon Milton is too well known to be repeated; and those Latin verses by Dr. Barrow the physician, and the English ones by Andrew Marvel, Esq. usually prefixed to the *Paradise Lost*, were written before the second edition, and were published with it. But still the poem was not generally known and esteemed, nor met with the deserved applause, till after the edition in folio, which was published in 1688 by subscription. The Duke of Buckingham in his *Essay on poetry* prefers Tasso and Spenser to Milton: and it is related in the life of the witty Earl of Rochester, that he had no notion of a better poet than Cowley. In 1686, or thereabout, Sir William Temple published the second part of his *Miscellanies*, and it may surprise any reader, that in his *Essay on poetry* he taketh no notice at all of Milton; nay he saith expressly, that after Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser, he knoweth none of the moderns who have made any achievements in heroic poetry worth recording. And what can we think, that he had not read or heard of the *Paradise Lost*, or that the author's politics had prejudiced him against his poetry? It was happy that all great men were not of his mind. The bookseller was advised and encouraged to undertake the folio edition by Mr. Sommers, afterwards Lord Sommers, who not only subscribed himself, but was zealous in promoting the subscription: and in the list of subscribers we find some of the most eminent names of that time, as the Earl of Dorset, Waller, Dryden, Dr. Aldrich, Mr.

Little Britain was proprietor of the whole impression; he might only have engaged to dispose of a part of it. But it is at all events certain that almost the whole of the first impression was sold within two years from the time of publication. E.

Atterbury, and among the rest Sir Roger Lestrangle, though he had formerly written a piece entitled *No blind Guides*, &c. against Milton's *Notes upon Dr. Griffith's sermon*<sup>p</sup>. There were two editions more in

<sup>p</sup> Later biographers have very successfully shewn that the complaints of the original unpopularity of the *Paradise Lost* have been without foundation, or, at the least, have been greatly exaggerated. Dr. Johnson has several judicious observations on the proof of the early estimation of the poem arising from the sale itself. "The sale, if it be considered, will justify the public. . . . The call for books was not in Milton's age what it is at present. . . . To prove the paucity of readers, it may be sufficient to remark, that the nation had been satisfied from 1623 to 1664, that is, forty-one years, with only two editions of the works of Shakespeare, which probably did not together make one thousand copies. The sale of thirteen hundred copies of the *Paradise Lost* in two years, in opposition to so much recent enmity, and to a style of versification new to all and disgusting to many, was an uncommon example of the prevalence of genius. The demand did not immediately increase; for many more readers than were supplied at first the nation did not afford." *Life of Milton*. Hence it may be presumed that E. Philips had grounds for his assertion, when in an article on his Brother in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, printed the year after Milton's death, he declares (as Mr. Hayley remarks) that "many

"both learned and judicious persons" are of opinion that Milton was "the exactest of heroic poets, either of the ancients or moderns, either of our own or whatever nation else."

Mr. Todd observes, that Dryden's Preface to his *State of Innocence* appeared almost immediately after the death of Milton, and in this the *Paradise Lost* is described as "undoubtedly one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime poems, which either this age or nation has produced." Among other early notices and commendations of *Paradise Lost*, Mr. Todd points out a Translation of the first Book into Latin, which appeared in 1685. And before this time, Mr. Godwin observes, it had been commended by the Duke of Buckinghamshire, and in Lord Roscommon's *Essay on translated verse*.

In the space indeed of little more than eleven years, as Dr. Symmons calculates, 4500 copies were purchased by different individuals; and before the expiration of twenty years the poem passed through six editions, "a circumstance," he continues, "which abundantly proves that it was not destitute of popularity before it obtained its full and final dominion over the public taste from the patronage of Somers, and still more from the criticism of Addison." E.

folio, one I think in 1692, the other in 1695, which was the sixth edition; for the poem was now so well received, that notwithstanding the price of it was four times greater than before, the sale increased double the number every year; as the bookseller, who should best know, has informed us in his dedication of the smaller editions to Lord Sommers. Since that time not only various editions have been printed, but also various notes and translations. The first person who wrote annotations upon *Paradise Lost* was P. H. or Patrick Hume, of whom we know nothing, unless his name may lead us to some knowledge of his country, but he has the merit of being the first (as I say) who wrote notes upon *Paradise Lost*, and his notes were printed at the end of the folio edition in 1695. Mr. Addison's *Spectators* upon the subject contributed not a little to establishing the character, and illustrating the beauties, of the poem. In 1732 appeared Dr. Bentley's new edition with notes: and the year following Dr. Pearce published his *Review of the text*, in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's emendations are considered, and several other emendations and observations are offered to the public. And the year after that Messieurs Richardson, father and son, published their *Explanatory notes and remarks*. The poem has been also translated into several languages, Latin, Italian, French, and Dutch; and proposals have been made for translating it into Greek. The Dutch translation is in blank verse, and printed at Haerlem. The French have a translation by Mons. Dupré de St. Maur; but nothing sheweth the weakness and imperfection of their language more, than that they have few or no good poetical versions of the

greatest poets; they are forced to translate Homer, Virgil, and Milton into prose: blank verse their language has not harmony and dignity enough to support; their tragedies, and many of their comedies, are in rhyme<sup>1</sup>. Rolli, the famous Italian master here in England, made an Italian translation; and Mr. Richardson the son saw another at Florence in manuscript by the learned Abbé Salvini, the same who translated Addison's *Cato* into Italian. One William Hog or Hogæus translated *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes* into Latin verse in 1690; but this version is very unworthy of the originals. There is a better translation of the *Paradise Lost* by Mr. Thomas Power, Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, the first book of which was printed in 1691, and the rest in manuscript is in the library of that College. The learned Dr. Trapp has also published a translation into Latin verse; and the world is in expectation of another, that will surpass all the rest, by Mr. William Dobson, of New College in Oxford'. So

<sup>1</sup> M. Monneron, a member of the Legislative Body, has published a version of the *Paradise Lost*; and, what is of more consequence, a translation of our great epic has just been given to the world by L'Abbé Delille. *Symmons*.

According to Oldys it had also been translated by M. de Bocage and by M. Durand. There are now numerous translations of the *Paradise Lost* into most of the languages of Europe. See a list of them annexed to Mr. Todd's *Life of Milton*. E.

<sup>2</sup> The first six books were published at Oxford in 4to. in 1750,

and the rest in 1753. This being reputed the best translation, Mr. Dobson received a thousand pounds, which had been proposed for this undertaking in 1735 by Mr. Benson, Auditor of the Imprest. *Biogr. Brit. Art. Milton*.

In 1736, the celebrated Richard Dawes published proposals for printing by subscription a Greek version of the first book of *Par. Lost*. He gave a specimen of his translation of B. i. from v. 249 to 263, which Dr. Birch has preserved in his *Life of Milton*, p. lxi. ed. 1753; but the work was never completed. E.

that by one means or other Milton is now considered as an English classic; and the *Paradise Lost* is generally esteemed the noblest and most sublime of modern poems, and equal at least to the best of the ancient; the honour of this country, and the envy and admiration of all others !

In 1670 he published his *History of Britain*, that part especially now called *England*. He began it above twenty years before, but was frequently interrupted by other avocations; and he designed to have brought it down to his own times, but stopped at the Norman conquest; for indeed he was not well able to pursue it any farther by reason of his blindness, and he was engaged in other more delightful studies; having a genius turned for poetry rather than history. When his *History* was printed, it was not printed perfect and entire; for the licenser expunged several passages, which reflecting upon the pride and superstition of the Monks in the Saxon times, were understood as a concealed satire upon the Bishops in Charles the Second's reign. But the author himself gave a copy of his unlicensed papers to the Earl of Anglesea, who, as well as several of the nobility and gentry, constantly visited him: and in 1681 a considerable passage which had been suppressed at the beginning of the third book was published, containing a character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines in 1641, which was inserted in its proper place in the last edition of 1738. Bishop Kennet begins his *Complete History of England* with this work of Milton, as being the best draught, the clearest and most authentic account of those early times: and his style is freer and easier than



in most of his other works, more plain and simple, less figurative and metaphorical, and better suited to the nature of history, has enough of the Latin turn and idiom to give it an air of antiquity, and sometimes rises to a surprising dignity and majesty.

In 1670 likewise his *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* were licensed together, but were not published till the year following\*. It is somewhat remarkable, that these two poems were not printed by Simmons, the same who printed the *Paradise Lost*, but by J. M. for one Starkey in Fleet-street: and what could induce Milton to have recourse to another printer? was it because the former was not enough encouraged by the sale of *Paradise Lost* to become a purchaser of the other copies? The first thought of *Paradise Regained* was owing to Elwood the quaker, as he himself relates the occasion in the history of his life. When Milton had lent him the manuscript of *Paradise Lost* at St. Giles Chalfont, as we said before, and he returned it, Milton asked him how he liked it, and what he thought of it: "Which I modestly, but freely told him, says Elwood; and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*? He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse; then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject." When Elwood afterwards waited upon him in London, Milton showed him his *Paradise Regained*, and in a pleasant tone said to him, "This is owing to you, for you put

\* At the price, bound, of two shillings and sixpence. Clavel's Catalogue, 1673. Todd.

"it into my head by the question you put me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of." It is commonly reported, that Milton himself preferred this poem to the *Paradise Lost*; but all that we can assert upon good authority is, that he could not endure to hear this poem cried down so much as it was, in comparison with the other<sup>a</sup>. For certainly it is very worthy of the author, and contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be seen in *Paradise Regained* as well as in *Paradise Lost*; if it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is not superior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; if it doth not sometimes rise so high, neither doth it ever sink so low; and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered. His subject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon; but he has raised as noble a superstructure, as such little room and such scanty materials would allow. The great beauty of it is the contrast between the two characters of the Tempter and our Saviour, the artful sophistry and specious insinuations of the one refuted by the strong sense and manly eloquence of the other. This poem has also been translated into French together with some other pieces of Milton, *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro*, *Il*

<sup>a</sup> It seems probable that the *Paradise Regained* was both begun and concluded, or very nearly so, during Milton's residence at Chalfont, a period of about ten months, from June or July, 1665, to the following March or April. See Mr. Dunster's Addition to his edit. of *Par. Reg.* and Dr. Symmons's

*Life of Milton*, p. 513. ed. 2d. E.

<sup>a</sup> Philips says, the *Paradise Regained* "is generally censured to be much inferior to the other, though he could not hear with patience any such thing when related to him." E.

Penseroso, and the Ode on Christ's nativity: and in 1732 was printed a Critical Dissertation with notes upon *Paradise Regained*, pointing out the beauties of it, and written by Mr. Meadowcourt, Canon of Worcester: and the very learned and ingenious Mr. Jortin has added some observations upon this work at the end of his excellent *Remarks upon Spenser*, published in 1734: and indeed this poem of Milton, to be more admired, needs only to be better known. His *Samson Agonistes* is the only tragedy that he has finished, though he has sketched out the plans of several, and proposed the subjects of more, in his manuscript preserved in Trinity College library: and we may suppose that he was determined to the choice of this particular subject by the similitude of his own circumstances to those of Samson blind and among the Philistines. This I conceive to be the last of his poetical pieces; and it is written in the very spirit of the ancients, and equals, if not exceeds, any of the most perfect tragedies, which were ever exhibited on the Athenian stage, when Greece was in its glory. As this work was never intended for the stage, the division into acts and scenes is omitted. Bishop Atterbury had an intention of getting Mr. Pope to divide it into acts and scenes, and of having it acted by the King's Scholars at Westminster: but his commitment to the Tower put an end to that design. It has since been brought upon the stage in the form of an Oratorio; and Mr. Handel's music is never employed to greater advantage, than when it is adapted to Milton's words. That great artist has done equal justice to our author's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, as if the same spirit possessed both masters, and

as if the God of music and of verse was still one and the same.

There are also some other pieces of Milton, for he continued publishing to the last. In 1672 he published *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata*, an Institution of Logic after the method of Petrus Ramus<sup>\*</sup>; and the year following, a treatise of true Religion and the best means to prevent the growth of popery, which had greatly increased through the connivance of the King, and the more open encouragement of the Duke of York; and the same year his poems, which had been printed in 1645, were reprinted with the addition of several others<sup>†</sup>. His familiar epistles and some academical exercises, *Epistolarum familiarum Lib. I. et Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ in Collegio Christi habitæ*, were printed in 1674; as was also his translation out of Latin into English of the Poles' Declaration concerning the election of their King John III, setting forth the virtues and merits of that prince<sup>‡</sup>. He wrote also a brief History

<sup>\*</sup> Of his book on Logic there was a second edition in the following year. *Todd*.

<sup>†</sup> His little tract *Of true Religion*, &c. is modestly written, with respectful mention of the Church of England, and an appeal to the Thirty-nine Articles. His principle of toleration is, agreement in the sufficiency of the Scriptures; and he extends it to all who, whatever their opinions are, profess to derive them from the sacred books. The Papists appeal to other testimonies, and are therefore, in his opinion, not to be permitted the liberty of either public or private

worship. As the best preservative against popery, he recommends the diligent perusal of the Scriptures, a duty from which he warns the busy part of mankind not to think themselves excused. *Johnson*.

Notwithstanding his public opposition to popery, the infamous Titus Oates ventured to assert, not long afterwards, that "Milton was a known frequenter of a popish club." See "Declaration prefixed to the true Narrative of the Horrid Plot, &c. by T. Oates, D. D." fol. Lond. 1679. *Todd*.

<sup>‡</sup> His familiar letters are pos-

of Muscovy, collected from the relations of several travellers; but it was not printed till after his death in 1682. He had likewise his state-letters transcribed at the request of the Danish resident, but neither were they printed till after his death in 1676, and were translated into English in 1694; and to that translation a life of Milton was prefixed by his nephew Mr. Edward Philips, and at the end of that life his excellent sonnets to Fairfax, Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane, and Cyriac Skinner on his blindness, were first printed. Besides these works which were published, he wrote his system of divinity, which Mr. Toland says was in the hands of his friend Cyriac Skinner, but where at present is uncertain\*. And Mr. Philips says, that he

possessed of peculiar interest, and contain many characters of ancient and modern, of foreign and domestic authors, which are worthy to be read and understood. His college exercises are valuable chiefly for their exhibition of early power and proficiency.

I must profess myself to be doubtful of the fact of his having translated the Poles' Declaration; the Latin document could arrive in England only a very short time before Milton's death, and the translation bears no resemblance to his character of composition. *Symmons*.

Aubrey states, that Milton's widow had "a great many letters by her from learned men, his acquaintance, both of England, and beyond sea." *E*.

\* In 1823, Mr. Lemon, sen. Deputy Keeper of His Majesty's State Papers, discovered this work in the Old State-paper-Office, Whitehall. It was en-

closed with some documents relative to the Popish, and the Rye-house Plots, in an envelope addressed "To Mr. Skinner, Mercht." The title of the book is, "*De Doctrinâ Christianâ ex sacris duntaxat libris petita disquisitionum Libri duo posthumi*." The first Book, *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, consists of thirty-three chapters; the second, *De Dei cultu*, of seventeen chapters. The whole MS. consists of 735 closely written 4to. pages.

The work, with a translation of it, is at present in the press, under the care of the Rev. Charles R. Sumner, who favoured me with the preceding particulars respecting it. No doubt appears to be entertained of its genuineness, but with the proofs of this point I am at present unacquainted. According to Wood, Milton began framing a body of divinity out of the Bible, about

had prepared for the press an answer to some little scribbling quack in London, who had written a scurrilous libel against him; but whether by the dissuasion of friends, as thinking him a fellow not worth his notice, or for what other cause, Mr. Philips knoweth not, this answer was never published<sup>b</sup>. And indeed the best vindicator of him and his writings hath been Time. Posterity hath universally paid that honour to

the same time with the commencement of the *Paradise Lost* and the *Thesaurus*, at the termination of his controversy with More, and finished it after the Restoration, but at what particular time is not stated. Philips seems to have confounded it with his former system of divinity, which was not drawn like this from the Bible only, but compiled from the systems of contemporary divines. E.

<sup>b</sup> This pamphlet is supposed to have perished, according to Mr. Todd. Another however is extant, entitled, "An argument, or Debate in Law, of the great Question concerning the Militia; as it is now settled by ordinance of both the Houses of Parliament. By J. M. London, 1642." 4to. on the title page of a copy of which (in the possession of the Marquis of Stafford) the second Earl of Bridgewater, the elder *Brother in Comus*, wrote the name of the poet as the author. Oldys also ascribed it to Milton; as well as some person, apparently of that age, who numbered some of Milton's tracts with others in a volume of Tracts in the Library of Lambeth Pa-

lace. It does not appear, however, that Mr. Todd, who gives this account, examined this Pamphlet himself. Two other tracts ascribed to Milton in the same volume of tracts at Lambeth Palace, Mr. Todd has shewn not to be his by decisive internal evidence. See Todd's *Life of Milton*, p. 127—130. ed. 2. In the same work, p. 133—138, the reader will also find an ample account of the other works in which, with or without reason, Milton has ever been supposed to have had any share; except that Mr. Todd does not notice a piece published in 1650, entitled *The grand case of conscience concerning the ingagement stated and resolved*, and of which Wood says Milton was thought to be the author. But Dr. Birch observes, that the style of the work does not in the least favour that supposition. Peck also has a long but very unsatisfactory argument to prove Milton the translator of Buchanan's *Baptistes*, 1642, and he assigns to Milton, with little or no pretence of reason, one or two other trifles, which are attached to Peck's *Memoirs of Milton*, 1740. E.

his merits, which was denied him by great part of his contemporaries<sup>e</sup>.

After a life thus spent in study and labours for the public, he died of the gout at his house in Bunhill-Row on or about the 10th of November 1674, when he had within a month completed the sixty-sixth year of his age. It is not known when he was first attacked by the gout, but he was grievously afflicted with it several of the last years of his life, and was weakened to such a degree, that he died without a groan, and those in the room perceived not when he expired. His body was decently interred near that of his father (who had died very aged about the year 1647) in the chancel of the Church of St. Giles's Cripplegate; and all his great and learned friends in London, not without a friendly concourse of the common people, paid their last respects in attending it to the grave. Mr. Fenton in his short but elegant account of the Life of Milton, speaking of our author's having no monument, says, that "he desired a friend to inquire at St. Giles's Church; where the sexton showed him a small monument, which he said was supposed to be Milton's; but the inscription had never been legible since he was employed in this office, which he has possessed about forty years. This sure could never have happened in so short a space of time, unless the epitaph had been industriously erased: and that supposition, says Mr. Fenton, carries with it so much inhumanity, that I think we ought to believe it was not erected to his

<sup>e</sup> See Mr. Warton's note on "*ritas sciet*," in the Ode *Ad J. Rousium*, v. 86. E.  
"Si quid meremur, sana Poste-

"memory." It is evident that it was not erected to his memory, and that the sexton was mistaken. For Mr. Toland in his account of the life of Milton says, that he was buried in the chancel of St. Giles's Church, "where the piety of his admirers will shortly erect a monument becoming his worth and the encouragement of letters in King William's reign." This plainly implies that no monument was erected to him at that time, and this was written in 1698: and Mr. Fenton's account was first published, I think, in 1725; so that not above twenty-seven years intervened from the one account to the other; and consequently the sexton, who it is said had been possessed of his office about forty years, must have been mistaken, and the monument must have been designed for some other person, and not for Milton. A monument indeed has been erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey by Auditor Benson in the year 1737; but the best monument of him is his writings<sup>d</sup>.

In his youth he was esteemed extremely handsome, so that while he was a student at Cambridge, he was called the Lady of Christ's College<sup>e</sup>. He had a very

<sup>d</sup> See notes on the *Mansus*, v. 90. and the lines by Dr. George at the end of the notes on the Latin poems. Mr. Todd notices a curious poem to the honour of Milton, written soon after his death, although not published till the year 1689. It is entitled "A propitiatory sacrifice to the ghost of J. M. by way of Pastoral, in a dialogue between Thyrsis and Corydon;" and may be found at p. 110, &c. of

"Poems and Translations written upon several occasions, and to several persons. By a late Scholar of Eaton. London, 1689."

In 1793, according to Mr. Todd, a marble bust by Bacon was erected to the memory of Milton, in the middle aisle of Cripplegate Church, by the munificence of Mr. Whitbread. E.

<sup>e</sup> He took notice of this himself in one of his public Prolu-



fine skin and fresh complexion; his hair was of a light brown, and parted on the foretop hung down in curls waving upon his shoulders; his features were exact and regular; his voice agreeable and musical; his habit clean and neat; his deportment erect and manly. He was middle-sized and well proportioned, neither tall nor short, neither too lean nor too corpulent, strong and active in his younger years, and though afflicted with frequent head-aches, blindness, and gout, was yet a comely and well-looking man to the last. His eyes were of a light blue colour, and from the first are said to have been none of the brightest; but after he lost the sight of them, (which happened about the 43d year of his age,) they still appeared without spot or blemish, and at first view and at a little distance it was not easy to know that he was blind<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Richardson had an

sions before the University. At quibusdam audivi nuper Domina. Birch.

' Dr. Symmons, I know not upon what authority, says, that the lustre of his eyes was peculiarly vivid; their colour, according to Aubrey, was a dark gray. Aubrey adds quaintly, "His harmonical and ingenious soul did lodge in a beautiful and well-proportioned body." Dr. Symmons, (*Life of Milton*, p. 573. ed. 2.) has told briefly, and Mr. Todd has given at full length (*Life*, p. 25—28. ed. 2.) a story, resting on no foundation, of Milton's having been observed sleeping under a tree by an Italian Lady, travelling through England, who left in his hand some lines from Guarini's twelfth Madrigal, in compliment to his beauty, and disappeared before he awoke.

And Milton is supposed to have hurried into Italy in search of his unknown admirer. If any thing of the kind happened to him, it was probably a jest contrived by his College acquaintances, desirous to amuse themselves at the expense of his vanity; for they are represented as having informed him of what had passed. But the story has not even the merit of being original; if the parallel tale, which Mr. Todd reports, was extant before the seventeenth century.

Milton's own account of his personal appearance in his Second Defence, (Pr. W. ii. p. 374. ed. 1753.) written when he was about forty-six, is as follows. *Deformis quidem a nemine, quod sciam, qui modo me vidit, sum unquam habitus; formosus necne, minus laboro: statura fateor*

account of him from an ancient clergyman in Dorsetshire, Dr. Wright, who found him in a small house, which had (he thinks) but one room on a floor; in that, up one pair of stairs, which was hung with a rusty green, he saw John Milton sitting in an elbow chair, with black clothes, and neat enough, pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty, and with chalk stones; among other discourse he expressed himself to this purpose, that was he free from the pain of the gout, his blindness would be tolerable. But there is the less need to be particular in the description of his person, as the idea of his face and countenance is pretty well known from the numerous prints, pictures, busts, medals, and other representations which have been made of him. There are two pictures of greater value than the rest, as they are undoubted originals, and were in the possession of Milton's widow: the first was drawn when he was about twenty-one, and is at present in the collection of the Right Honourable Arthur Onslow, Esq. Speaker of the House of Com-

non sum procera; sed quæ mediocri tamen quam parvæ propior sit: sed quid si parva, quæ et summi sæpe tum pace tum bello fuere; quanquam parva cur dicitur, quæ ad virtutem satis magna est. Sed neque exilis admodum, eo sane animo iisque viribus ut cum ætas vitæque ratio sic ferebat, nec ferrum tractare nec stringere quotidiano usu exercitatus nescirem; eo accinctus, ut plerumque eram, cuivis vel multo robustiori cæquatam me putabam, securus quid mihi quis injuriæ vir viro inferre posset. Idem hodie animus, eadem vires, oculi non iidem; ita tamen extrinsecus

illæsi ita sine nube clari ac lucidi, ut eorum qui acutissimum cernunt: in hac solum parte, memet invito, simulator sum. In vultu, quo "nihil exsanguis" esse dixit, is manet etiamnum color exsanguis et pallenti plane contrarius, ut quadragenario major vix sit cui non denis prope annis videar natu minor; neque corpore contracto neque cute. In his ego si ulla ex parte mentior, multis millibus popularium meorum, qui de facie me norunt, exteris etiam non paucis, ridiculus merito sim. Atque hæc de forma mea vel coactus. E.

mons; the other in crayons was drawn when he was about sixty-two, and was in the collection of Mr. Richardson, but has since been purchased by Mr. Tonson. Several prints have been made from both these pictures; and there is a print done, when he was about sixty-two or sixty-three, after the life by Faithorn, which though not so handsome, may yet perhaps be as true a resemblance, as any of them. It is prefixed to some of our author's pieces, and to the folio edition of his prose works in three volumes printed in 1698\*.

In his way of living he was an example of sobriety and temperance. He was very sparing in the use of wine or strong liquors of any kind. Let meaner poets make use of such expedients to raise their fancy and kindle their imagination. He wanted not any artificial spirits; he had a natural fire, and poetic warmth enough of his own. He was likewise very abstemious in his diet, not fastidiously nice or delicate in the choice of his dishes, but content with any thing that was most in season, or easiest to be procured, eating and drinking (according to the distinction of the philosopher) that he might live, and not living that he might eat and drink. So that probably his gout descended by inheritance from one or other of his parents; or if it was of his own acquiring, it must have been owing to his studious and sedentary life. And yet he delighted sometimes in walking and using exercise, but we hear nothing of his riding or hunting; and having early learned to fence, he was such a master

\* See Mr. Warton's account of note †, *In Effigiei Ejus Sculpto-*  
the pictures and prints of Milton, *rem.* E.

of his sword, that he was not afraid of resenting an affront from any man; and before he lost his sight, his principal recreation was the exercise of his arms; but after he was confined by age and blindness, he had a machine to swing in for the preservation of his health. In his youth he was accustomed to sit up late at his studies, and seldom went to bed before midnight; but afterwards, finding it to be the ruin of his eyes, and looking on this custom as very pernicious to health at any time, he used to go to rest early, seldom later than nine, and would be stirring in the summer at four, and in the winter at five in the morning; but if he was not disposed to rise at his usual hours, he still did not lie sleeping, but had somebody or other by his bed side to read to him<sup>b</sup>. At his first rising he had usually a chapter read to him out of the Hebrew Bible<sup>c</sup>, and he commonly studied all the morning till twelve, then used some exercise for an hour, afterwards dined, and after dinner played on the organ, and either sung himself or made his wife sing, who (he said) had a good

<sup>b</sup> See Mr. Warton's note on *El. v. 6*. Milton in the defence of his own character in the introduction to his *Apology for Smeectymnus* gives this account of himself at an earlier period of his life. "Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home; not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labour or to devotion; in summer, as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors, or cause

them to be read, till the attention be weary, or memory have its full fraught: then with useful and generous labours, pre-serving the body's health and hardiness, to render lightsome, clear, and not lumpish obedience to the mind, to the cause of religion, and our country's liberty." *Pr. W. i. p. 115. ed. 1753. E.*

<sup>c</sup> Aubrey adds, that, when this portion of the Bible had been read to him, he commonly spent an hour or two in contemplation, and then at seven his man came again to read to him. *E.*

voice but no ear; and then he went up to study again till six, when his friends came to visit him and sat with him perhaps till eight; then he went down to supper, which was usually olives or some light thing; and after supper he smoked his pipe, and drank a glass of water, and went to bed. He loved the country, and commends it, as poets usually do; but after his return from his travels, he was very little there, except during the time of the plague in London. The civil war might at first detain him in town; and the pleasures of the country were in a great measure lost to him, as they depend mostly upon sight, whereas a blind man wanteth company and conversation, which is to be had better in populous cities. But he was led out sometimes for the benefit of the fresh air, and in warm sunny weather he used to sit at the door of his house near Bunhill Fields, and there as well as in the house, received the visits of persons of quality and distinction; for he was no less visited to the last both by his own countrymen and foreigners, than he had been in his flourishing condition before the Restoration.

Some objections have indeed been made to his temper; and I remember there was a tradition in the university of Cambridge, that he and Mr. King (whose death he laments in his *Lycidas*) were competitors for a Fellowship, and when they were both equal in point of learning, Mr. King was preferred by the college for his character of good nature, which was wanting in the other; and this was by Milton grievously resented. But the difference of their ages, Milton being at least four years elder, renders this story not very probable; and besides Mr. King was not elected by the college,

but was made Fellow by a royal mandate, so that there can be no truth in the tradition; but if there was any, it is no sign of Milton's resentment, but a proof of his generosity, that he could live in such friendship with a successful rival, and afterwards so passionately lament his decease. His method of writing controversy is urged as another argument of his want of temper: but some allowance must be made for the customs and manners of the time. Controversy, as well as war, was rougher and more barbarous in those days, than it is in these. And it is to be considered too, that his adversaries first began the attack; they loaded him with much more personal abuse, only they had not the advantage of so much wit to season it. If he had engaged with more candid and ingenuous disputants, he would have preferred civility and fair argument to wit and satire: "to do so was my choice, and to have done thus was my chance," as he expresses himself in the conclusion of one of his controversial pieces. All who have written any accounts of his life agree, that he was affable and instructive in conversation, of an equal and cheerful temper; and yet I can easily believe, that he had a sufficient sense of his own merits, and contempt enough for his adversaries<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Richardson says, (p. xv.) that "he had a gravity in his temper, not melancholy, or not till the latter part of his life, not sour, morose, or ill-natured; but a certain severity of mind, a mind not condescending to little things." According to Aubrey he was extremely pleasant in his conversation, but satirical; and of a very cheerful

humour, cheerful even in sickness: and though he was severe to his pupils in his way of education, yet otherwise he was most familiar and free in his conversation with them. E.

His youngest daughter Deborah, (Mrs. Clarke,) when speaking of him, many years after his death, to the numerous inquirers whom his fame brought to her,

His merits indeed were singular; for he was a man not only of wonderful genius, but of immense learning and erudition; not only an incomparable poet, but a great mathematician, logician, historian, and divine. He was a master not only of the Greek and Latin, but likewise of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, as well as of the modern languages, Italian, French, and Spanish. He was particularly skilled in the Italian, which he always preferred to the French language, as all the men of letters did at that time in England; and he not only wrote elegantly in it; but is highly commended for his writings by the most learned of the Italians themselves, and especially by the members of that celebrated academy called Della Crusca, which was established at Florence for the refining and perfecting of the Tuscan language<sup>1</sup>. He had read almost all

affirmed, that "he was delightful company; the life of the conversation, not only on account of his flow of subject, but of his unaffected cheerfulness and civility." (Richardson, Remarks, p. xxxvi.) Isaac Vossius, in a letter to N. Heinsius, dated June 8, 1651; (Burm. Syll. iii. 618.) describes Milton as "co-mem, affabilem, multisque aliis præditum virtutibus," and this on the authority of his uncle, Francis Junius, the writer of "De Picturâ Veterum," who was intimate with our author. And N. Heinsius, in a letter to Gronovius, dated Aug. 14, 1651, mentions the general report of his being a man of a mild and courteous disposition. Virum esse miti comique ingenio aiunt, quique aliam non habuisse se causam

profitetur Scribonium acerbè insectandi, quam quod ille et viros è maximis celeberrimisque multos nihil benignius exceperit, et quod in universam Anglorum gentem convitiis atrocissimis injurius valde fuerit. (Burm. Syll. iii. 276.) Salmasius is the person designated in this correspondence by the name of Scribonius. In Milton's whole deportment, however, there was visible a certain dignity of mind; and a something of conscious superiority, which could not at all times be suppressed or wholly withdrawn from observation. *Symmons*.

<sup>1</sup> See Algarotti's ingenious criticism on his works. *Opere del Conte Algarotti*, Ven. 1794. tom. x. p. 39, &c. *Todd*.

See also the note on v. 83 of the verses *Ad Patrem*. *E*.

authors, and improved by all, even by romances, of which he had been fond in his younger years; and as the bee can extract honey out of weeds, so (to use his own words in his *Apology for Smectymnuus*) “those books, which to many others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living, proved to him so many incitements to the love and observation of virtue.” His favourite author after the holy Scriptures was Homer<sup>m</sup>. Homer he could repeat almost all without book; and he was advised to undertake a translation of his works, which no doubt he would have executed to admiration. But (as he says of himself in his postscript to the *Judgment of Martin Bucer*) “he never could delight in long citations, much less in whole traductions.” And accordingly there are few things, and those of no great length, which he has ever translated. He was possessed too much of an original genius to be a mere copier. “Whether it be natural disposition, says he, or education in me, or that my mother bore me a speaker of what God made my own, and not a translator.” And it is somewhat remarkable, that there is scarce any author who has written so much, and upon such various subjects, and yet quotes so little from his contemporary authors, or so seldom mentions any of them. He praises Selden indeed in more places than one, but for the rest he appears disposed to censure rather than commend<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> And, next to these, Euripides and Ovid. See the last paragraph of Mr. Warton's note on v. 55 of the ode, *Ad J. Rousium*. He preferred Sallust before all the other Roman historians. See

*Epist. Fam. Pr. W. ii. p. 582. Letter to Henry De Brass. E.*

<sup>n</sup> In his *Areopagitica*, however, he has extolled, in terms of superabundant eulogy, the merits of Lord Brooke, who had lately



After his severer studies, and after dinner as we observed before, he used to divert and unbend his mind with playing upon the organ or bass-viol, which was a great relief to him after he had lost his sight; for he was a master of music as was his father, and he could perform both vocally and instrumentally, and it is said that he composed very well, though nothing of this kind is handed down to us°. It is also said that he had some skill in painting as well as in music, and that somewhere or other there is a head of Milton, drawn by himself; but he was blessed with so many real excellencies, that there is no want of fictitious ones to raise and adorn his character. He had a quick apprehension, a sublime imagination, a strong memory, a piercing judgment, a wit always ready, and facetious or grave as the occasion required: and I know not whether the loss of his sight did not add vigour to the faculties of the mind. He at least thought so, and often comforted himself with that reflection<sup>p</sup>.

But his great parts and learning have scarcely gained

fallen in the service of the Parliament, and had written a treatise *Against the English Episcopacy*, and, *against the danger of Sects and Schisms*. He has also spoken of John Cameron with high respect in his *Tetrachordon*. Todd.

° He had a delicate tunable voice, and had good skill. *Aurey*.

† De mea animi tranquillitate in hoc tanto luminis detrimento, deque mea in excipiendis exteris hominibus comitate ac studio, persuasum tibi esse gaudeo. Orbitatem certe luminis quidni leniter feram, quod non tam

amissum quam revocatum intus atque retractum, ad acuendam potius mentis aciem quam ad hebetandam, sperem. Quo fit, ut neque Literis irascar, nec eorum studio penitus intermittam, etiam si me tam male multaverint: tam enim morosus ne sim, Mysorum Regis Telephi saltem exemplum erudiit; qui eo telo, quo vulneratus est, sanari postea non recusavit. *Epist. Fam.* 21. Pr. W. p. 581. ed. 1758. See also his reflections upon his blindness in his *Second Defence*, p. 374—377. ed. 1758. “Utinam de cæcitate —condonare.” *E*.

him more admirers, than his political principles have raised him enemies. And yet the darling passion of his soul was the love of liberty; this was his constant aim and end, however he might be mistaken in the means. He was indeed very zealous in what was called the good old cause, and with his spirit and his resolution it is somewhat wonderful, that he never ventured his person in the civil war; but though he was not in arms, he was not inactive, and thought, I suppose, that he could be of more service to the cause by his pen than by his sword<sup>1</sup>. He was a thorough republican, and in this he thought like a Greek or Roman, as he was very conversant with their writings. And one day Sir Robert Howard, who was a friend to Milton as well as to the liberties of his country, and was one of his constant visitors to the last, inquired of him how he came to side with the republicans. Milton answered among other reasons, because theirs was the most frugal government, for the trappings of a mo-

<sup>1</sup> So he says himself, *Def. Sec.* Pr. W. ii. p. 366. ed. 1753. Atque illi quidem Deo perinde confisi, servitutem honestissimis armis pepulere: cujus laudis etsi nullam partem mihi vendico, a reprehensione tamen vel timiditatis vel ignaviæ, siqua infertur, facile me tueor. Neque enim militiæ labores et pericula sic defugi, ut non alia ratione et operam multo utiliore, nec minore cum periculo meis civibus navarim, et animum dubiis in rebus neque demissum unquam, neque ullius invidiæ, vel etiam mortis plus æquo metuentem præstiterim. Nam cum ab adolescentulo humanioribus essem studiis

ut qui maxime deditus, et ingenio semper quam corpore validior, posthabita castrensi opera, quam me gregarius quilibet robustior facile superasset, ad ea me contuli, quibus plus potui; ut parte mei meliore ac potiore, si asperem, non deteriore, ad rationes patriæ, causamque hanc præstantissimam, quantum maxime possem momentum accederem. Sic itaque existimabam, si illos Deus res gerere tam præclaras voluit, esse itidem alios a quibus gestas dici pro dignitate atque ornari, et defensam armis veritatem ratione etiam (quod unicum est præsidium vere ac proprie humanum) defendi voluerit. E.

narchy might set up an ordinary commonwealth. But then his attachment to Cromwell must be condemned, as being neither consistent with his republican principles, nor with his love of liberty. And I know no other way of accounting for his conduct, but by presuming (as I think we may reasonably presume) that he was far from entirely approving of Cromwell's proceedings, but considered him as the only person who could rescue the nation from the tyranny of the Presbyterians, who he saw were erecting a worse dominion of their own upon the ruins of prelatical episcopacy; and of all things he dreaded spiritual slavery, and therefore closed with Cromwell and the Independents, as he expected under them greater liberty of conscience. And though he served Cromwell, yet it must be said for him, that he served a great master, and served him ably, and was not wanting from time to time in giving him excellent good advice, especially in his second Defence: and so little being said of him in all

' It is remarkable, that the magnanimity and high tone of the address to the Protector, in Milton's second Defence, struck Morus, and was objected by him to his adversary as an evidence of overweening pride, and an imperious spirit. Quæ quidem omnia spiritus tibi tam altos induerunt, ut proximus a primo censeri concupiveris, adcoque celsissimo Cromuello celsior appareas interdum; quem sine ulla honoris præfatione familiariter appellas, quem specie laudantis doces, cui leges dictas, titulos circumscribis, munia præscribis, consilia suggeris, et si secus fecerit, minas ingeris. Illi arma et imperium concedis, ingenium tibi togamque vindicas.

*Alex. Mori Fides Publica*, p. 72, 73. *Symmons*.

There is no appearance of any thing like intimacy between Milton and Cromwell in A. Marvel's account of his presenting the *Second Defence* to the Protector; and, in a letter which Mr. Godwin notices, addressed to P. Heinbach, (Dec. 18, 1657,) who desired a recommendation for the office of secretary to our Ambassador in Holland, Milton pleads his inability to assist him partly on account of his slight acquaintance with persons in power—propter paucissimas familiaritates meas cum gratiosis, qui domi fere, idque libenter me contineo. *E.*

Secretary Thurloe's state-papers, it appears that he had no great share in the secrets and intrigues of government; what he despatched was little more than matters of necessary form, letters and answers to foreign states; and he may be justified for acting in such a station, upon the same principle as Sir Matthew Hale for holding a Judge's commission under the Usurper: and in the latter part of his life he frequently expressed to his friends his entire satisfaction of mind, that he had constantly employed his strength and faculties in the defence of liberty, and in opposition to slavery.

In matters of religion too he has given as great offence, or even greater, than by his political principles. But still, let not the infidel glory; no such man was ever of that party. He had the advantage of a pious education, and ever expressed the profoundest reverence of the Deity in his words and actions, was both a Christian and a Protestant, and studied and admired the holy Scriptures above all other books whatsoever; and in all his writings he plainly sheweth a religious turn of mind, as well in verse as in prose, as well in his works of an earlier date as in those of later composition. When he wrote the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, he appears to have been a Calvinist; but afterwards he entertained a more favourable opinion of Arminius. Some have inclined to believe, that he was an Arian; but there are more express passages in his works to overthrow this opinion, than any there are to confirm it. For in the conclusion of his treatise of *Reformation* he thus solemnly invokes the Trinity; "Thou therefore  
" that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, Parent  
" of Angels and Men! next thee I implore Omnipot-

“tent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose  
“nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting  
“Love! And thou the third subsistence of divine  
“infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of  
“created things! one Tri-personal Godhead! look  
“upon this thy poor, and almost spent and expiring  
“Church, &c.” And in his tract of Prelatical Episcopacy he endeavours to prove the spuriousness of some epistles attributed to Ignatius, because they contained in them heresies, one of which heresies is, that “he  
“condemns them for ministers of Satan, who say that  
“Christ is God above all.” And a little after in the same tract he objects to the authority of Tertullian, because he went about to “prove an imparity between  
“God the Father, and God the Son.” And in the *Paradise Lost* we shall find nothing upon this head, that is not perfectly agreeable to Scripture. The learned Dr. Trapp, who was as likely to cry out upon heresy as any man, asserts that the poem is orthodox in every part of it; or otherwise he would not have been at the pains of translating it. *Neque alienum videtur a studiis viri theologi poema magna ex parte theologicum; omni ex parte (rideant, per me licet, atque ringantur athei et infideles) orthodoxum.* Milton was indeed a dissenter from the Church of England, in which he had been educated, and was by his parents designed for holy orders, as we related before; but he was led away by early prejudices against the doctrine and discipline of the Church; and in his younger years was a favourer of the Presbyterians; in his middle age he was best pleased with the Independents and Anabaptists, as allowing greater liberty of con-

science than others, and coming nearest in his opinion to the primitive practice; and in the latter part of his life he was not a professed member of any particular sect of Christians, he frequented no public worship, nor used any religious rite in his family. Whether so many different forms of worship as he had seen, had made him indifferent to all forms; or whether he thought that all Christians had in some things corrupted the purity and simplicity of the Gospel; or whether he disliked their endless and uncharitable disputes, and that love of dominion and inclination to persecution, which he said was a piece of Popery inseparable from all Churches; or whether he believed, that a man might be a good Christian without joining in any communion; or whether he did not look upon himself as inspired, as wrapt up in God, and above all forms and ceremonies, it is not easy to determine: *to his own master he standeth or falleth*: but if he was of any denomination, he was a sort of a Quietist, and was full of the interior of religion though he so little regarded the exterior; and it is certain was to the last an enthusiast rather than an infidel. As enthusiasm made Norris a poet, so poetry might make Milton an enthusiast\*.

\* See note on *Par. Reg.* iv. 288.

So much is said by Bishop Newton both in the *Life* and in the notes of the orthodoxy of the *Paradise Lost*, that it may be well to put some of its readers on their guard against an error involved, as I apprehend, in this commendation of the poem. Milton's religious system, indeed, as it is discovered for instance in

the twelfth book, appears agreeable to Scripture. But it is very possible to copy the letter of Revelation, whilst its spirit is miserably neglected. And this error may be often traced in Milton's work, especially in his daring descriptions of the Persons of the Trinity. Dr. Johnson indeed observes, that "whoever considers the few radical posi-

His circumstances were never very mean, nor very great; for he lived above want, and was not intent

"tions which the Scriptures afforded him, will wonder by what energetic operation he expanded them to such extent, and ramified them to so much variety, restrained as he was by religious reverence from licentiousness of fiction." But some subjects are too sacred for expansion. Invention is inadmissible where the Deity is the subject of it. And a step in advance beyond the actual declarations of Scripture may easily lead us into folly or impiety.

Take for example the description of the exaltation of the Son in the fifth book. This is founded no doubt on Ps. ii. 7. and on this slender basis what a detailed and degrading story is constructed of the eternal Son of God invested on a certain day with a species of vice-regal authority, his Sonship declared, and the angels henceforward required to obey and worship him: whilst the Son himself, if Abdiel did not declare of him that he took part in the creation of the angels, would appear little more than a superior angel, raised above his fellows, allowed to wield the thunder, and reflecting the glory of his Father. As a general picture this is at utter variance with the spirit of those notions which Revelation gives us of the Son of God; however it may be supported here and there by isolated texts, by the words of Scripture torn from their context, and divested of their genuine spirit. And it is greatly to be feared that the theology of the *Paradise Lost* has tainted many

of its readers, and others through them, with floating notions of materiality in the persons of the Trinity, tending obviously towards Tritheism, and tempting other minds, offended at errors of this nature, into the opposite errors of the Sabellian or Socinian schemes.

Milton perhaps was in part seduced into these speculations by the theology of his age. Hooker and Ridley indeed might have taught him humility and wisdom; but yet it is said, that the writings of Locke had the merit of first introducing generally into our theological works a just sobriety in the treatment of these mysterious subjects. In parthowever to pride, which was a prominent fault in Milton's character, and was perhaps at the root of many of his exaggerated ideas of domestic, civil, and ecclesiastical liberty, may be ascribed his presumptuous intrusions into the most awful mysteries.

I would not willingly be classed with the traduceurs of Milton's character; but having touched upon this subject, I am tempted to pursue it a little further; especially as one of Milton's latest biographers has described him as one of the most perfect of the human race. (Symmons, *Life of Milton*, p. 567, and p. 593. ed. 2.) A proud and an implacable spirit appear to have been his principal faults. His extraordinary abilities and attainments no doubt strongly tempted him to pride; and he had no slight provocations to bitterness and revenge. His treatment also of his

upon accumulating wealth; his ambition was more to enrich and adorn his mind. His father supported him in his travels, and for some time after. Then his pupils must have been of some advantage to him, and brought him either a certain stipend, or considerable presents at least; and he had scarcely any other method

first wife, or rather his generosity to her family, appears in brilliant contrast with his conduct in other instances. But his severity towards his children, undutiful as they were, and his merciless attacks upon his controversial opponents, even when they were beneath his notice, and when they sought to deprecate his anger, however they may be excused, can never be justified. Hence in many of his controversial works extremely vulgar, indelicate, and malignant passages are found in close and strange contact with pages breathing the most exalted benevolence, and the most ardent admiration of virtue.

The more gross and ordinary failings of mankind, indolence, sensuality, and covetousness, Milton appears to have conquered very early and easily. His ambition had very little in it of a merely worldly character. His love of fame was not separated from an ardent desire to benefit mankind, and to fulfil his appointed duties. The philosophy of Greece and Rome however seems to have warped in some degree his ideas of moral greatness, as well as some of his speculative opinions on other subjects. But we may remark in his mixed character; even from his earliest years, many genuine virtues of a purer quality—a

strong sense of his living in a state of trial, and having to render a strict account of the employment of all his talents—the devout and habitual study of the Scriptures—continual prayer for spiritual assistance—a profound reverence for the Deity, and a devotional spirit.

Had he perceived that any passages in his great poem were tinctured with irreverence, he would no doubt have eagerly expunged them. For the *Paradise Lost*, notwithstanding the error which I noticed above, demonstrates his reverence for the Scriptures, and for their Author, by this circumstance amongst many others—the scrupulous care with which he borrows the words attributed to the Creator, scarcely venturing to alter a syllable in order to bend them into his verse.

Even the reproach that has been thrown upon him of frequenting no place of public worship in his latter days should be received, as Dr. Symmons observes, with some caution. His blindness and other infirmities might be in part his excuse; and it is certain that his daily employments were always ushered in by devout meditation and study of the Scriptures. It is reasonable also to suppose, that had he lived in happier times fewer blemishes would have tarnished the lustre of his virtues. E.



of improving his fortune, as he was of no profession. When his father died, he inherited an elder son's share of his estate, the principal part of which I believe was his house in Bread-street: and not long after, he was appointed Latin Secretary with a salary of £200 a year<sup>1</sup>; so that he was now in opulent circumstances for a man, who had always led a frugal and temperate life, and was at little unnecessary expense besides buying of books. Though he was of the victorious party, yet he was far from sharing in the spoils of his country. On the contrary (as we learn from his second Defence) he sustained great losses during the civil war, and was not at all favoured in the imposition of taxes, but sometimes paid beyond his due proportion. And upon a turn of affairs he was not only deprived of his place, but also lost £2000 which he had for security and improvement put into the Excise Office. He lost likewise another considerable sum for want of proper care and management, as persons of Milton's genius are seldom expert in money matters. And in the fire of London his house in Bread-street was burnt, before which accident foreigners have gone out of devotion (says Wood) to see the house and chamber where he was born". His gains were inconsiderable in pro-

<sup>1</sup> Together with an estate of about sixty pounds a year, which belonged to the plundered abbey of Westminster, according to Mr. Todd; who probably depends only upon the account of Mrs. Foster, see below, p. cix. E.

<sup>2</sup> Wood speaks upon Aubrey's authority, who adds, that Milton "was much more admired abroad " than at home;" that "he was

" mightily importuned to go into France and Italy; foreigners " came much to see him, and " much admired him, and offered " to him great preferments to " come over to them; and the " chief inducement of several " foreigners that came over into " England was to see O. Protector, and Mr. J. Milton." E.

portion to his losses; for excepting the thousand pounds, which were given him by the government for writing his Defence of the people against Salmasius, we may conclude that he got very little by the copies of his works, when it doth not appear that he received any more than ten pounds for *Paradise Lost*. Some time before he died he sold the greatest part of his library, as his heirs were not qualified to make a proper use of it, and as he thought that he could dispose of it to greater advantage than they could after his decease. Finally, by one means or other he died worth one thousand five hundred pounds besides his household goods, which was no incompetent subsistence for him, who was as great a philosopher as a poet\*.

\* See the Nuncupative Will, and Mr. Warton's notes upon it, annexed to this account, by which it appears that Milton designed to leave every thing to his wife. What property, however, he possessed at his death does not appear from any of the papers connected with the Will. The account which Dr. Newton gives is taken from Philips.

Of the books which belonged to him, a copy of Euripides, with many marginal emendations in his own hand, is now the property of Mr. Cradock, of Gumly in Leicestershire. Some of the marginal notes have been given to the public by Joshua Barnes, and Mr. Jodrell. See Mr. Warton's note on v. 55 of the ode, *Ad J. Rousium*.

The Earl of Charlemon, (descended from a sister of Mr. King, Milton's Lycidas,) has a copy of

*Lycophron*, which belonged to Milton. In the margin are observations written in the same beautiful hand, if I remember right, with the ode to Rouse preserved in the Bodleian Library; but several years have elapsed since Lord Charlemont shewed me the *Lycophron*.

The Rev. Francis Blackburne, (grandson of Archdeacon Blackburne, who wrote the Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Life of Milton,) is also possessed of a copy of the Bible said to have belonged to Milton. There are two little drawings in it of a profile, with his name annexed, and one of them subscribed "Myself, 1640"; and occasionally a remark upon a text of Scripture, or upon the state of the times, apparently in his hand-writing. One is dated Canterbury, 1639, "This year

To this account of Milton it may be proper to add something concerning his family. We said before, that he had a younger brother and a sister. His brother Christopher Milton was a man of totally opposite principles; was a strong royalist, and after the civil war made his composition through his brother's interest; had been entered young a student in the Inner Temple, of which house he lived to be an ancient bencher; and being a professed papist, was in the reign of James II. made a judge and knighted; but soon obtained his quietus by reason of his age and infirmities, and retired to Ipswich, where he lived all the latter part of his life. His sister Anne Milton had a considerable fortune given her by her father in marriage with Mr. Edward Philips, (son of Mr. Edward Philips of Shrewsbury,) who coming young to London was bred up in the Crown Office in Chancery, and at length became secondary of the office under Mr. Bembo. By him she had, besides other children who died infants, two sons Edward and John, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention before. Among our author's juvenile poems there is a copy of verses on the death of a fair infant, a nephew, or rather niece of his, dying of a cough; and this being written in his 17th year, as it is said in the title, it may be naturally inferred that Mrs. Philips was elder than either of her brothers. She had

"and I weene will ensue murderous times of conflicting fight." Another, written opposite 1 Maccab. xiv. 22, consists of these lines,

When that day of death shall come,  
Then shall nightly shades prevail;  
Soon shall love and musick faile;

Soone the fresh turfe's tender blade  
Shall flourish ore my sleeping shade.  
E.

' At the easy price of eighty pounds, according to the record of *Compositions*, Lond. 1655. Todd.

likewise two daughters, Mary who died very young, and Anne who was living in 1694, by a second husband Mr. Thomas Agar, who succeeded his intimate friend Mr. Philips in his place in the Crown Office; which he enjoyed many years, and left to Mr. Thomas Milton, son of Sir Christopher before mentioned. As for Milton himself he appears to have been no enemy to the fair sex by having had three wives. What fortune he had with any of them is no where said, but they were gentlemen's daughters; and it is remarkable that he married them all maidens, for (as he says in his *Apology for Smectymnuus*, which was written before he married at all) he "thought with them, who both in "prudence and elegance of spirit would choose a virgin "of mean fortunes honestly bred before the wealthiest "widow." But yet he seemeth not to have been very happy in any of his marriages; for his first wife had justly offended him by her long absence and separation from him; the second, whose love, sweetness, and goodness he commends, lived not a twelvemonth with him; and his third wife is said to have been a woman of a most violent spirit, and a hard mother-in-law to his children\*. She died very old, about twenty years ago, at Nantwich in Cheshire; and from the accounts of those who had seen her, I have learned, that she confirmed several things which have been related before; and particularly that her husband used to compose his

\* Aubrey says, however, that she was "a gentle person, of a peaceful and agreeable humour;" and it appears by the witnesses to Milton's Nuncupative Will, that her daughters-in-law, excepting probably the youngest, were very far from amiable. She died, according to Mr. Todd, in the summer of 1730. E.

poetry chiefly in winter, and on his waking in a morning would make her write down sometimes twenty or thirty verses: and being asked whether he did, not often read Homer and Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from those authors, and answered with eagerness that he stole from nobody but the Muse who inspired him; and being asked by a lady present who the Muse was, replied it was God's grace, and the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly\*. She was likewise asked whom he approved most of our English poets, and answered Spenser, Shakespeare, and Cowley: and being asked what he thought of Dryden, she said Dryden used sometimes to visit him, but he thought him no poet, but a good rhymist: but this was before Dryden had composed his best poems, which made his name so famous afterwards. She was wont moreover to say, that her husband was applied to by message from the King, and invited to write for the Court, but his answer was,

\* Richardson collected still more minute information respecting Milton's habits of composition. "When he dictated, he sat leaning backward obliquely in an easy chair, with his leg flung over the elbow of it; he frequently composed lying in bed in a morning; I have been well informed, that when he could not sleep, but lay awake whole nights, he tried; not one verse could he make; at other times flowed easy his unpremeditated verse, with a certain impetus and æstro, as himself seemed to believe. Then, at what hour soever, he rung for his daugh-

ter to secure what came. I have been also told, he would dictate many, perhaps forty lines, as it were in a breath; and then reduce them to half the number. I would not omit the least circumstance. These indeed are trifles; but even such contract a sort of greatness, when related to what is great." *Remarks, &c.* p. cxiv.

Milton's grand-daughter, indeed, asserted, that he would not allow his daughters to be taught to write; but Aubrey, who was personally acquainted with the Poet, expressly mentions that his youngest daughter was his amanuensis. *E.*

that such a behaviour would be very inconsistent with his former conduct, for he had never yet employed his pen against his conscience. By his first wife he had four children, a son who died an infant, and three daughters who survived him; by his second wife he had only one daughter, who died soon after her mother, who died in childbed; and by his last wife he had no children at all<sup>b</sup>. His daughters were not sent to school, but were instructed by a mistress kept at home for that purpose: and he himself, excusing the eldest on account of an impediment in her speech, taught the two others to read and pronounce Greek and Latin, and several other languages, without understanding any but English, for he used to say that one tongue was enough for a woman; but this employment was very irksome to them, and this together with the sharpness and severity of their mother-in-law made them very uneasy at home; and therefore they were all sent abroad to learn things more proper for them, and particularly embroidery in gold and silver<sup>c</sup>. As Milton at his death left his affairs very much in the power of his widow, though she acknowledged that he died worth one thousand five hundred pounds, yet she

<sup>b</sup> The births of his children by his first wife are thus registered by himself in the blank leaf of his wife's Bible, whence I transcribed the account. "Anne, my daughter, was born July the 29th, the day of the monthly fast, between six and seven, or about half an hour after six in the evening, 1646. Mary, my daughter, was born on Wednesday, October the 25th, on the fast-day in the morning,

"about six of the clock, 1648. My son John was born on Saturday, March the 16th, about half an hour past nine at night, 1650. My daughter Deborah was born the 2d of May, being Sunday, somewhat before three of the clock in the morning, 1652." *Birch*.

<sup>c</sup> See below, the Nuncupative Will, and the depositions of the witnesses annexed to it. *E*.

allowed but one hundred pounds to each of his three daughters. Anne the eldest was decrepit and deformed, but had a very handsome face; she married a master-builder, and died in childbed of her first child, who died with her. Mary the second lived and died single. Deborah the youngest in her father's life time went over to Ireland with a lady, and afterwards was married to Mr. Abraham Clarke, a weaver in Spital Fields, and died in August 1727, in the 76th year of her age. She is said to have been a woman of good understanding and genteel behaviour, though in low circumstances. As she had been often called upon to read Homer and Ovid's *Metamorphosis* to her father, she could have repeated a considerable number of verses from the beginning of both these poets, as Mr. Ward, Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham College, relates upon his own knowledge: and another gentleman has informed me, that he has heard her repeat several verses likewise out of Euripides. Mr. Addison, and the other gentlemen, who had opportunities of seeing her; knew her immediately to be Milton's daughter by the similitude of her countenance to her father's picture: and Mr. Addison made her a handsome present of a purse of guineas, with a promise of procuring for her some annual provision for her life; but his death happening soon after, she lost the benefit of his generous design. She received presents likewise from several other gentlemen, and Queen Caroline sent her fifty pounds by the hands of Dr. Freind the physician. She had ten children, seven sons and three daughters; but none of them had any children, except one of her sons named Caleb, and one of her daughters named

Elizabeth. Caleb went to Fort St. George in the East Indies, where he married, and had two sons, Abraham and Isaac; the elder of whom came to England with the late governor Harrison, but returned upon advice of his father's death, and whether he or his brother be now living is uncertain. Elizabeth, the youngest child of Mrs. Clarke, was married to Mr. Thomas Foster a weaver in Spital Fields, and had seven children who are all dead; and she herself is aged about sixty, and weak and infirm. She seemeth to be a good plain sensible woman, and has confirmed several particulars related above, and informed me of some others, which she had often heard from her mother: that her grandfather lost two thousand pounds by a money-scrivener, whom he had intrusted with that sum, and likewise an estate at Westminster of sixty pounds a year, which belonged to the Dean and Chapter, and was restored to them at the Restoration; that he was very temperate in his eating and drinking, but what he had he always loved to have of the best: that he seldom went abroad in the latter part of his life, but was visited even then by persons of distinction, both foreigners and others: that he kept his daughters at a great distance, and would not allow them to learn to write, which he thought unnecessary for a woman; that her mother was his greatest favourite, and could read in seven or eight languages, though she understood none but English: that her mother inherited his head-aches and disorders, and had such a weakness in her eyes, that she was forced to make use of spectacles from the age of eighteen; and she herself, she says, has not been able to read a chapter in the Bible these



twenty years: that she was mistaken in informing Mr. Birch, what he had printed upon her authority, that Milton's father was born in France; and a brother of hers who was then living was very angry with her for it, and like a true-born Englishman resented it highly, that the family should be thought to bear any relation to France: that Milton's second wife did not die in childbed, as Mr. Philips and Toland relate, but above three months after of a consumption; and this too Mr. Birch relates upon her authority; but in this particular she must be mistaken as well as in the other, for our author's sonnet on his deceased wife plainly implies, that she did die in childbed. She knows nothing of her aunt Philips or Agar's descendants, but believes that they are all extinct: as is likewise Sir Christopher Milton's family, the last of which, she says, were two maiden sisters, Mrs. Mary and Mrs. Catharine Milton, who lived and died at Highgate; but unknown to her, there is a Mrs. Milton living in Grosvenor street, [A. D. 1749,] the granddaughter of Sir Christopher, and the daughter of Mr. Thomas Milton before mentioned: and she herself is the only survivor of Milton's own family, unless there be some in the East Indies, which she very much questions, for she used to hear from them sometimes, but has heard nothing now for several years; so that in all probability Milton's whole family will be extinct with her, and he can live only in his writings. And such is the caprice of fortune, this granddaughter of a man, who will be an everlasting glory to the nation, has now for some years with her husband kept a little chandler's or grocer's shop for their subsistence, lately at the lower Holloway in the

road between Highgate and London, and at present in Cock Lane, not far from Shoreditch church<sup>d</sup>. An-

<sup>d</sup> Of Sir C. Milton's daughters it is stated in a note signed H, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. 1794, that they were both "living at Holloway, about the year 1734, and "at that time possessed such a "degree of health and strength "as enabled them on Sundays "and prayer-days to walk a mile "up a steep hill to Highgate Chapel. One of these was "ninety-two at the time of her "death. Their parentage was "known to few, and their names "were corrupted into Melton."

Mr. Todd discovered in the parish registers of Allhallows, Bread-street, entries of the baptism of two other sisters of Milton younger than Anne. But one of these, and probably the other, died an infant.

The lives of Edward and John Philips have been lately written by W. Godwin; but it has not been ascertained whether either of them left children.

Mr. Godwin supposes that E. Philips, the elder brother, died about 1696, and John, not till after 1706. They were both of them authors by profession, and there is a very long catalogue of their writings and translations, most of which however are now neglected. E. Philips appears to have been a man of respectable character; but his brother was thoroughly profligate and unprincipled. They both quitted their uncle's political party early in life.

Of Milton's direct descendants a few particulars may yet be stated.

In April, 1750, *Comus* was

acted for the benefit of Mrs. Foster. Dr. Johnson, who wrote the prologue, says, "she had so "little acquaintance with diversion or gaiety, that she did not "know what was intended when "a benefit was offered her." The receipts of the house Mr. Todd ascertained to have been only £147. 14s. 6d. from which £80. were deducted for the expences; but Dr. Newton brought a large contribution, and £20. were given by Tonson the bookseller. And thus I presume the profits of the night were increased by subsequent contributions to £180. which Dr. Johnson and others say Mrs. Foster received; and with this little addition to their fortunes, she and her husband removed to Islington, where they both soon died; Mrs. Foster's death took place May 9, 1754. One of her brothers Mr. Urban Clarke was known to Dr. Birch in 1737. He was also a weaver, and died without children at the house of his sister, Mrs. Foster. In the *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1815, p. 493, I find it stated, professedly from an examination of the parish register of Fort St. George, that Caleb Clarke, who seems to have been parish-clerk of that place, from 1717 to 1719, was buried there Oct. 26, 1719. He had three children born at Madras; Abraham, baptized June 2d, 1703; Mary, baptized March 17th, and buried Dec. 15th, 1706; Isaac, baptized, Feb. 13, 1711. Of Isaac no further account appears. Abraham in 1725 married Anna Clarke, and the baptism of his

other thing let me mention, that is equally to the honour of the present age. Though Milton received not above ten pounds at two different payments for the copy of *Paradise Lost*, yet Mr. Hoyle author of the treatise on the Game of Whist, after having disposed of all the first impression, sold the copy to the bookseller, as I have been informed, for two hundred guineas.

As we have had occasion to mention more than once Milton's manuscripts preserved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, it may not be ungrateful to the reader, if we give a more particular account of them, before we conclude. There are, as we said, two draughts of a letter to a friend who had importuned him to take orders, together with a sonnet on his being arrived to the age of twenty-three: and by there being two draughts of this letter with several alterations and additions, it appears to have been written with great care and deliberation; and both the draughts have been published by Mr. Birch in his *Historical and Critical Account of the life and writings of Milton*°. There are also several of his poems, *Arcades*, *At a solemn music*, *On time*, *Upon the circumcision*, the *Mask*, *Lycidas*, with five or six of his sonnets, all in his own

daughter Mary is registered April 2d, 1727. With her all notices of this family cease. But the Reviewer remarks, that as neither Abraham nor Isaac Clarke died at Madras, and Abraham was only twenty-four years of age at the baptism of his daughter, it is probable that the family migrated to some other part of India, and that some trace of them may yet

be discovered. I heard however from Sir James Mackintosh that he took pains, when he resided in India, to ascertain whether any remained there of the family of Milton's grandson, and that his conclusion was that the family was extinct. E.

\* Dr. Newton also has given them in the notes on Sonnet vii. E.

hand-writing: and there are some others of his sonnets written by different hands, being most of them composed after he had lost his sight. It is curious to see the first thoughts and subsequent corrections of so great a poet as Milton: but it is remarkable in these manuscript poems, that he doth not often make his stops, or begin his lines with great letters. There are likewise in his own hand-writing different plans of *Paradise Lost* in the form of a tragedy: and it is an agreeable amusement to trace the gradual progress and improvement of such a work from its first dawnings in the plan of a tragedy to its full lustre in an epic poem. And together with the plans of *Paradise Lost* there are the plans or subjects of several other intended tragedies, some taken from the Scripture, others from the British or Scottish histories: and of the latter the last mentioned is *Macbeth*, as if he had an inclination to try his strength with Shakespeare; and to reduce the play more to the unities, he proposes “beginning at the arrival of Malcolm at Macduff; the matter of Duncan may be expressed by the appearing of his ghost.” These manuscripts of Milton were found by the learned Mr. Professor Mason among some other old papers, which, he says, belonged to Sir Henry Newton Puckering, who was a considerable benefactor to the library: and for the better preservation of such truly valuable reliques, they were collected together, and handsomely bound in a thin folio by the care and at the charge of a person who is now very eminent in his profession, and was always a lover of the Muses, and at that time a fellow of Trinity College, Mr Clarke, one of his Majesty’s counsel.



THE  
NUNCUPATIVE WILL  
OF  
JOHN MILTON\*,

WITH  
NOTES BY THE REV. T. WARTON.

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MEMORANDUM, that JOHN MILTON, late of the parish of S. Giles Cripplegate in the Countie of Middlesex gentleman, deceased, at severall times before his death, and in particular, on or about the twentieth day of July, in the year of our Lord God 1674, being of perfect mind and memorie, declared his Will and intent as to the disposall of his estate after his death, in these words following, or like effect: "The portion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her, having received no parte of it: but my meaning is, they shall have no other benefit of my estate than the said portion, and what I have besides done for them: they having been very undutifull to me. All the residue of my estate I leave to [the] disposall of Elizabeth my loving wife." Which words, or to the same effect, were spoken in the presence of CHRISTOPHER MILTON<sup>b</sup>.

✕ [Mark of] ELIZABETH FISHER<sup>c</sup>.

Nov. 23, 1674<sup>d</sup>.

\* As propounded in the Pre-rogative Court.

<sup>b</sup> John Milton's younger brother.

<sup>c</sup> A servant-maid of John Milton.

<sup>d</sup> Registr. Cur. Prærog. Cant. This Will was contested by Mary,

## I.

*The Allegation propounding the Will, on which Allegation the Witnesses be examined\*.*

Negotium Testamentarium, sive probæionis Testamenti nuncupativi, sive ultimæ Voluntatis, JOHANNIS MILTON, nuper dum vixit parochiæ S. Ægidii *Cripplegate* London generosi, defuncti, habent, &c. promotum per Elizabetham MILTON<sup>f</sup> Relictam, et Legatariam principalem nominatam in Testamento nuncupativo, sive ultima Voluntate, dicti defuncti, contra Mariam, Annam, et Deboraham MILTON, filias dicti defuncti.

THOMPSON. CLEMENTS.

Secundo Andreæ, A. D. 1674. Quo die . . . Thompson, nomine, procuratore, ac ultimus procurator legitimus, dictæ Elizabethæ MILTON, omnibus melioribus et effectualioribus

Deborah, and Anne Milton, daughters of the poet's first wife Mary, daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, of Forresthill in Oxfordshire. The cause came to a regular sentence, which was given against the Will; and the widow, Elizabeth, was ordered to take Administration instead of a Probate. I must add here, that this cause, the subject of which needed no additional lustre from great names, was tried by that upright and able statesman, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Judge of the Prerogative Court, and Secretary of State; and that the depositions were taken in part before Dr. Trumbull, afterwards Sir William Trumbull, Secretary of State, and the celebrated friend of Pope. As a circumstantial and authentic history of this process, the following instruments, which were otherwise thought too curious to be suppressed, are subjoined.

\* Viz. Christopher Milton, and John Milton's two servant-maids Elizabeth and Mary Fisher. Witnesses on the part of the widow.

<sup>f</sup> This was his third wife, Elizabeth Minshull, of a gentleman's family in Cheshire. The elder Richardson insinuates, that this lady, being no poet or philosopher like her husband, used frequently to tease him for his carelessness or ignorance about money-matters, and that she was a *termagant*. From these papers, however, it appears, that she consulted her husband's humours, and treated his infirmities with tenderness. After his death in 1674, she retired to Nantwich in Cheshire, where she died about 1729. Mr. Penant says, her father, Mr. Minshull, lived at Stoke in that neighbourhood. W. Tour, and Gough's Camden, Cheshire, p. 436.

[efficacioribus] via, modo, et meliori forma, necnon ad omnem juris effectum, exhibuit Testamentum nuncupativum dicti JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, sic incipiens, "MEMORANDUM, "that JOHN MILTON, late of the parish of S. Giles, Cripple- "gate, &c." Which words, or words to the same effect, were spoken in the presence of Christopher MILTON, and Elizabeth Fisher; et allegavit consimiliter, et dicens prout sequitur. I. Quod præfatus JOHANNES MILTON, dum vixit, mentis compos, ac in sua sana memoria existens, . . . Testamentum suum nuncupativum modo in hoc negotio exhibitum . . . tenoris schedulæ . . . testamentariæ condidit, nuncupavit, et declaravit; cæteraque omnia et singula dedit, donavit, reliquit, et disposuit, in omnibus, et per omnia, vel similiter in effectum, prout in dicto Testamento nuncupativo continetur, ac postea mortem obiit: ac Principalis Pars ista proponit conjunctim, divisim, et de quolibet. II. Item, quod tempore conditionis, declarationis, nuncupationis Testamenti, in hoc negotio exhibiti, præfatus JOHANNES MILTON perfecta fruebatur memoria; ac proponit ut supra<sup>2</sup>.

## II.

### *Interrogatories addressed to the Witnesses examined upon the Allegation.*

Decemb. 5, 1674. Interrogatoria ministrata et ministranda ex parte Annæ Mariæ et Deboræ MILTON, testibus ex parte Elizabethæ MILTON productis sive producendis sequuntur.

*Imprimis*, Aske each witsesse, what<sup>1</sup> relation to, or dependence on, the producent, they, or either of them, have; and to which of the parties they would give the victory were it in their power? Et interrogatur quilibet testis conjunctim, et divisim, et de quolibet.

2. *Item*, Aske each witsesse, what day, and what time of the day, the Will nuncupative was declared; what positive

<sup>1</sup> Registr. Cur. Prærog. Cant. ut supr.



words did the Deceased use in the declaring thereof? Can you positively swear, that the deceased did declare that hee did leave the residue of his estate to the disposall of his wife, or did hee not say, "I will leave the residue of my estate to my " wife?" *Et fiat ut supra.*

3. *Item*, Upon what occasion did the Deceased declare the said Will? Was not the Deceased in perfect health at the same time? Doe you not think, that the Deceased, if he declared any such Will, declared it in a present passion, or some angry humour against some or one of his children by his former [first] wife? *Et fiat ut supra.*

4. *Item*, Aske each witsnesse, whether the parties ministrant were not and are not greate frequenters of the Church<sup>b</sup>, and good livers; and what cause of displeasure had the Deceased against them? *Et fiat ut supra.*

5. *Item*, Aske Mr. [Christopher] MILTON, and each other witsnesse, whether the Deceased's Will, if any such was made, was not, that the Deceased's wife should have £1000, and the children of the said Christopher MILTON the residue; and whether she hath not promised him that they should have it, if shee prevailed in this Cause? Whether the said Mr. MILTON hath not since the Deceased's death confessed soe much, or some part thereof? *Et fiat ut supra.*

6. *Item*, Aske each witsnesse, whether what is left to the Ministrants by the said Will, is not reputed a very bad or altogether desperate debt<sup>c</sup>? *Et fiat ut supra.*

<sup>b</sup> Here seems to be an insinuation, that our poet's displeasure against those three daughters, arose partly from their adherence to those principles, which, in preference to his own, they had received, or rather inherited, from their mother's family, who were noted and active royalists. Afterwards, the description *good livers*

is not to be understood in its general and proper sense, which could not have offended Milton; but as arising from what went before, and meaning much the same thing, that is, *regular in their attendance on the established worship.*

<sup>c</sup> That is, the marriage portion, promised, but never paid, to

7. Aske the said Mr. MILTON, whether he did not gett the said Will drawn upp, and inform the writer to what effect he should draw it? And did he not enquire of the other witnesses, what they would or could depose? And whether he hath not solicited this Cause, and payd fees to the Proctour about it? *Et fiat ut supra.*

8. *Item*, Aske each witsesse, what fortune the Deceased did in his life-time bestow on the Ministrants? And whether the said Anne MILTON is not lame, and almost helplesse? *Et fiat ut supra.*

9. *Item*, Aske each witsesse, what value is the Deceased's estate of, as neare as they can guess? *Et fiat ut supra*<sup>1</sup>.

John Milton, by Mr. Richard Powell, the father of his first wife; and which the said John bequeathed to the daughters of that match, the ministrants, Anne, Mary, and Deborah.

They were married in 1643. I have now before me an original "Inventorie of the goods of Mr. Richard Powell of Forresthill, in the county of Oxon, taken the 10th of June, A. D. 1646." This seems to have been taken in consequence of a seizure of Mr. Powell's house by the rebels. His distresses in the royal cause probably prevented the payment of his daughter's marriage portion. By the number, order, and furniture of the rooms, he appears to have lived as a country gentleman, in a very extensive and liberal style of house-keeping. This I mention to confirm what is said by Phillips, that Mr. Powell's daughter abruptly left her husband within a month after their marriage, disgusted with

his spare diet and hard study, "after having been used at home to a great house, and much company and joviality, &c." I have also seen in Mr. Powell's house at Forresthill many papers, which shew the active part he took in favour of the Royalists. With some others relating to the Rangership of the Shotover forest, bearing his signature.

Mr. Mickle, the ingenious translator of the *Lusiad*, searched in vain for any of Milton's letters or papers at Forresthill. The Powells were sharers of Abbeyland in Oxfordshire. They were seated in the dissolved monastery of Sandford near Oxford; and one of them, in the reign of Elizabeth, built the gothic manerial stone-house, now standing at that village.

<sup>b</sup> She was deformed, and had an impediment in her speech.

<sup>1</sup> Registr. Cur. Prærog. Cant. ut supr.

## III.

*Depositions and cross-examinations of the said witnesses.*

Elizabetha MILTON, Relicta et Legataria principalis JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, contra Annam, Mariam, et Deboraham MILTON, filias ejusdem defuncti. Super Allegatione articulata et Testamento nuncupativo JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, ex parte Elizabethæ MILTON predictæ, in hoc negotio, secundo Andræ, 1674, dato\* et exhibitis.

Quinto Decembris 1674. Christopherus MILTON, villæ Gipwici in com. Suffolciæ ortus infra parochiam Omnium Sanctorum *Bredstreete*, London, ætat. 58 annor. aut eo circiter, testis, &c. Ad omnes articulos dictæ Allegationis, et ad Testamentum nuncupativum JOHANNIS MILTON, generosi, defuncti, in hoc negotio dat. et exhibit. deponit et dicit, That on or about the twentieth day of July, 1674, the day certaine he now remembreth not, this Deponent being a practicer in the Law, and a Bencher in the Inner Temple, but living in vacations at Ipswich, did usually at the end of the Terme visit JOHN MILTON, his this Deponent's brother the Testator articulate, deceased, before his going home; and soe at the end of Midsummer Terme last past, he this deponent went to visit his said brother, and then found him in his chamber within his owne house, scituate on Bunhill\* within the parish of S. Giles, Crepelgate, London: And at that tyme, he the said Testator, being not well, (and this Deponent being then going into the country,) in a serious manner, with an intent, (as he believes,) that what he then spoke should be his WILL, if he dyed before his this Deponent's comeing the next time to London, declared his Will in these very words as neare as this Deponent cann now call to mynd. Viz. " Brother, the  
" porcion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former [first] wife's  
" father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her: but I

\* Sic, ut et in infra, pro *Milton*.

\* Sometimes called the *Artillery-walk*, leading to Bunhill-

fields. This was his last settled place of abode, and where he lived longest.

“ have receaved noe part of it, and my Will and meaning is,  
 “ they shall have noe other benefit of my estate, than the said  
 “ porcion and what I have besides don for them: they have-  
 “ ing been very undutifull to me. And all the residue of my  
 “ estate I leave to the disposall of Elizabeth my loveing  
 “ wife.” She, the said Elizabeth his the Deceased’s wife,  
 and Elizabeth Fysher his the Deceased’s then maide-servant,  
 was [at the] same tyme goeing upp and downe the roome,  
 but whether she then heard the said deceased soe declare his  
 will as above or not, he knoweth not.

And the said testator at the premises was of perfect mind  
 and memory, and talked and discoursed sensibly and well, *et*  
*aliter nescit deponere.*

CHR. MILTON.

#### AD<sup>3</sup> INTERROGATORIA.

Ad 1<sup>a</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that the party producent in this  
 cause was and is the relict of the said deceased, who was his  
 this respondent’s brother; and the parties ministring these  
 interrogatories were and are in repute, and soe he beleeveth,  
 his the said deceased’s children by a former wife: and for his  
 part, he wisheth right to take place, and soe would give it if  
 in his power; and likewise wisheth that his brother’s will  
 might take effect.

Ad 2<sup>a</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that on what day of the moneth  
 or weeke the said deceased declared his will, as is above  
 deposed, he now remembreth not precisely; but well re-  
 membreth, that it was in a forenoone, and on the very day he  
 this deponent was goeing in the country in [the] Ipswich  
 coach, which goeth not out of towne till noone or thereabout:  
 and he verily beleeveth in his conscience, that the residue of  
 his estate he did then dispose of in these very words, viz.  
 “ And all the residue of my estate I leave to the disposall of  
 “ Elizabeth my loving wife;” or he used words to the selfe  
 same effect, *et aliter referendo se ad pe. depos. nescit respon-*  
*dere.*

Ad 3<sup>o</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that the said deceased was then ill of the goute, and what he then spake touching his will was in a very calme manner; only [he] complained, but without passion, that his children had been unkind to him, but that his wife had been very kind and careful of him; and he believeth the only reason induced the said deceased at that time to declare his will was, that he this deponent might know it before his going into the country, *et aliter referendo se ad pe. deposita, nescit respondere*.

Ad 4<sup>o</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that he knoweth not how the parties ministring these interrogatories frequent the church, or in what manner of behaviour of life and conversacion they are of, they living apart from their father four or five yeares last past; and as touching his the deceased's displeasure with them, he only heard him say at the tyme of declaring of his will, that they were undutifull and unkind to him, not expressing any particulars, but in former tymes he hath herd him complaine, that they were careless of him being blind, and made nothing of deserteing him, *et aliter nescit respondere*.

Ad 5<sup>o</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that since this respondent's coming to London this Michaelmas Terme last paste, this respondent's sister, the party now producent in this cause, told this respondent, that the deceased his brother did after his this respondent's going into the country in Trinity vacacion last summer [say,] that if she should have any overplus above a £1000. come to her hands of his the deceased's estate, she should give the same to this respondent's children: but the deceased himselfe did not declare any such thing to this respondent at the tyme of his declaring his will, the tyme above deposed of.

Ad 6<sup>o</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that he beleeveth that what is left to the parties ministring these interrogatories by the said deceased's will, is in the hands of persons of ability abell to

pay the same, being their grandmother and uncle; and he hath seen the grandfather's will, wherein 'tis particularly directed to be paid unto them by his executers, *et aliter nescit respondere*.

Ad 7<sup>a</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that he this respondent did draw upp the very will executed in this cause and write it with his owne hand, when he came to this court, about the 23d of November last past, and at that tyme this respondent did read the same all over to Elizabeth Fisher the said deceased's late maid servant, and she said she remembered the same, and in confirmation thereof set her marke thereto in manner as on the same Will executed in this cause is now to be seen. And this respondent waited on the said deceased's widow once at Doctor Exton's chambers about this suite, at which tyme she wanted some halfe crownes, and this respondent lent her then two halfe crownes, but more he hath at noe tyme paid either to Doctor or Proctor in this cause.

Ad 8<sup>a</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that he knoweth of noe fortune given by the said deceased to the parties ministring these interrogatories, besides the portion which he was promised with his former wife in marriage, being a £1000, which is still unpaid besides the interest thereof for about twenty yeares, saveing his charges in their maintenance and breeding, *et aliter nescit respondere*, saveing that Anne Milton interr. is lame and helples.

Ad ult. reddit causas scientiæ suæ ut supra.

Die prid.

Repetit. cor. Doctore.

CHR. MILTON.

Lloyd Surrog.

Milton con. Thompson.	Milton et Milton Clements.	Sup. All <sup>tes</sup> . artic. et Testamento nuncupativo Johan. Milton defuncti ex parte Elizabethæ Milton in hujusmodi Causa dat. et admiss. examinat.
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15<sup>th</sup>. Dec. 1674.

Maria Fisher soluta famul. domestica Johan. Batten habitan. in vico vocat Bricklane in Old Streete ubi moram fecit per Spacium sex hebdomadarum aut eo circiter, antea cum Benjamino Whitcomb Mercatore habitan. in vico vocat Coleman Streete London per Spacium 3m. Mensium, antea cum Guiddon Culcap infra locum vocat Smock Alley prope Spittlefields per Spacium unius anni, aut eo circiter, antea cum Johanne Bayley infra Oppidum Milton in Com. Stafford per Spacium duorum annorum, antea cum Johanne Baddily infra parochiam de Milton præd. per Spacium trium annorum, et antea cum quomodo Rogers Hargrave infra parochiam de Milton præd. per Spacium duorum annorum aut eo circiter, orta infra parochiam de Norton in Com. Stafford præd. ætatis 23 aut eo circiter, testis, &c.

Ad omnes articulos dictæ All<sup>tes</sup>. et ad testamentum nuncupativum Johan. Milton testatoris in hac causa defuncti in hujusmodi neg<sup>o</sup>. dat. et exhibit. *deponit* et *dicit*, that this deponent knew and was well acquainted with the articulate John Milton the testator in this cause deceased, for about a twelve moneth before his death, who dyed about a moneth since to the best of this deponent's remembrance; And saith, that on a day hapning about two moneths since, as neare as this deponent can remember, this deponent being then in the kitchen of the house of the foresaid John Milton scituate against the Artillery Ground neare Bunhill Feilds, and about noone of the same day, the said deceased and the producent Elizabeth his wife being then at dinner in the said kitchen, hee the said

deceased amongst other discourse then had betweene him and his said wife, did then speake to his said wife and utter these words, viz. "Make much of mee as long as I live, for thou knowest I have given thee all when I dye at thy disposall:" there being then present in the said kitchen this deponent's sister and *contest*\* namely Elizabeth Fysher. And the said deceased was at that time of perfect mind and memory, and talked and discoursed sensibly and well, and was very merry, and seemed to be in good health of body, *et aliter nescit*.

Signum

MARIE FISHER.

#### AD INTERROGATORIA.

Ad primum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent hath noe relation or dependance on the producent Elizabeth Milton, that it is indifferent to this respondent which of the parties in this suite obtaine, and would give the victory in this cause if in her power to that party that hath most right; but which party hath most right thereto this respondent knoweth not, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad secundum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent doth not remember the day when the deceased declared the words by her pre-deposed, but remembreth that it was about noone of such day that the words which hee then declared were these, viz. "Make much of mee as long as I live, for thou knowest I have given thee all when I dye at thy disposall;" then speaking to his wife Elizabeth Milton the party producent in this cause, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad tertium Interr. *respondet*, that the deceased when hee declared the words pre-deposed was then at dinner with his wife the party producent and was then very merry, and seemed to be in good health of body; but upon what occasion hee spoke the said words shee knoweth not, *et aliter nescit*.

\* i. c. Fellow-witness, Con-Testis.



Ad quartum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent knoweth neither of the parties ministrant in this cause saving this respondent once saw Anne Milton one of the ministrants, *et nescit respondere per parte sua.*

*Ad quintum Interr. nescit respondere.*

*Ad sextum Interr. nescit respondere.*

*Ad septimum Interr. non concernit eam, et nescit respondere.*

Ad octavum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent once saw the Interr. Anne Milton, but doth not remember whether shee was lame or helplesse, *et aliter nescit.*

Ad 9<sup>a</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent knoweth nothing of the deceased's estate or the value thereof, *et aliter nescit.*

Eodem Die

Repetit coram Doctore.

Digby Surro. &c. pnte.

Tho Welham, N. P.

Signum

MARIE FISHER.

Eodem Die

Elizabetha Fisher famula Domestica Elizabethæ Milton ptis producentis in hac causa cum qua et Johanne Milton ejus Marito defuncto vixit per Spacium 13 Mensium, antea cum quodam Thoma Adams apud Bagnall in Com. Stafford per Spacium trium annorum et sex Mensium, antea cum W<sup>m</sup>. Bourne Gen. infra parochiam de Woolstilstan in Com. Stafford præd. per Spacium duorum annorum, ortus infra parochiam de Norton in Com. præd. ætatis 28 annorum aut eo circiter, testis, &c.

Ad omnes articulos dictæ All<sup>ty</sup>. et ad testamentum nuncupativum Johan. Milton testatoris in hac causa defuncti in hujusmodi negotio dat. exhibit et admiss. *deponit et dicit*, that this deponent was servant unto Mr. John Milton the testator in this cause deceased for about a yeare before his death, who

dyed upon a Sunday the fiftenth of November last at night<sup>r</sup>, And saith that on a day hapning in the month of July last, the time more certainly she remembereth not, this deponent being then in the deceased's lodging chamber, hee the said deceased, and the party producent in this cause his wife, being then alsoe in the said chamber at dinner together, and the said Elizabeth Milton the party producent having provided something for the deceased's dinner which hee very well liked<sup>s</sup>, hee the said deceased then spoke to his said wife these or the like words as neare as this deponent can remember, viz. "God have mercy Betty, I see thou wilt performe according to thy promise in providing mee such dishes as I think fitt whilst I live, and when I dye thou knowest that I have left thee all," there being noebody present in the said chamber with the said deceased and his wife but this deponent: And the said testator at that time was of perfect mind and memory, and talked and discoursed sensibly and well, but was then indisposed in his body by reason of the distemper of the gout, which hee had then upon him. Further this deponent saith, that shee hath sevrall times heard the said deceased since the time above deposed of, declare and say, that hee had made provision for his children in his life time, and had spent the greatest part of his estate in providing for them, and that hee was resolved hee would doe noe more for them living or dyeing, for that little part which hee had left hee had given it to his wife the articulate Elizabeth the producent, or hee used words to that effect. And likewise told this deponent, that there was a thousand pounds left in Mr. Powell's hands to be disposed amongst his children hereafter. By all which words this respondent verily beleeveth that the said testator had given

<sup>p</sup> In the obituary also of his neighbour Mr. R. Smith, according to Dr. Birch, Milton is stated to have died on this day. But in the parish register his burial is entered on the 12th of No-

vember. E.

<sup>s</sup> His grand-daughter Elizabeth Foster, by his third daughter Deborah, used to say, that he was delicate, but temperate in his diet.

all his estate to the articulate Elizabeth his wife, and that shee should have the same after his decease, *et aliter nescit respondere*, saving that the said deceased was at the sevrall times of declaring the words last pre-deposed alsoe of perfect mind and memory.

Signum

ELIZAB. FISHER.

#### AD INTERROGATORIA.

Ad primum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent was servant to the deceased in his life time, and is now servant to the producent, and therefore hath a dependency upon her as her servant, that if the victory were in this respondent's power shee would give the deceased's estate equally to be shared betweene the ministrants and the producent, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad secundum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent doth not remember on what day the deceased declared the words first by her afore deposed, but it was about noone of such day when hee was at dinner that the precise words as neare as this respondent can remember which the deceased used at that time were these, viz. "God have mercy Betty, (speaking to "his wife Elizabeth Milton, for soe hee usually called her,) "I see thou wilt performe according to thy promise in providing mee such dishes as I think fitt whilst I live, and when "I dye thou knowest that I have left thee all," *et aliter nescit*, saving that this respondent well remembreth that the deceased declared the words last by her deposed to the articles of the allegation to this respondent once on a Sunday in the after-noone, but on what day of the month or in what month the said Sunday then happened this respondent doth not remember.

Ad tertium Interr. *respondet*, that the occasion of the deceased's speaking of the words deposed by this respondent in her answer to the next preecedent interrogatory was upon the producent's providing the deceased such victuals for his

dinner as hee liked, and that he was then indifferent well in health saying that some time he was troubled with the paine of the gout, and that hee was at that time very merry and not in any passion or angry humour, neither at that time spoke any thing against any of his children that this respondent heard of, *et aliter nescit.*

Ad quartum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent hath heard the deceased declare his displeasure against the parties ministrant his children, and particularly the deceased declared to this respondent, that a little before hee was married to Elizabeth Milton his now relict, a former maid servant of his told Mary one of the deceased's daughters and one of the ministrants, that shee heard the deceased was to be married, to which the said Mary replied to the said maid servant, that that was noe news to heare of his wedding, but if shee could heare of his death that was something: and further told this respondent, that all his said children did combine together and counsel his maid servant to cheat him the deceased in her markettings, and that his said children had made away some of his bookes, and would have sold the rest of his bookes to the dunghill women, or hee the said deceased spoke words to this respondent to the selfe same effect and purpose: that this respondent knoweth not what frequenters of the church, or what good livers, the parties ministrant or either of them are, *et aliter nescit.*

Ad quintum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent doth not know that the deceased's wife was to have £1000, and the interrogative children of Christopher Milton the residue, nor doth this respondent know that the said Elizabeth, the deceased's wife, hath promised the interrogative Christopher Milton or his children any such thing in case shee should prevaile in this cause, that the said Mrs. Milton never confessed soe much in this respondent's hearing, or to any body else that this respondent knoweth of, *et aliter nescit.*

Ad sextum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent believeth that what is left the deceased's children in the will nuncupa-

tive in this cause executed and mencioned therein to be due from Mr. Powell, is a good debt; for that the said Mr. Powell is reputed a rich man, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad septimum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent did voluntarily tell the interrogative Mrs. Milton, what shee heard the deceased say which was to the effect by her predeposed, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad octavum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent knoweth not what the deceased did in his life time bestow on the ministrants his children, and that the interrogative Anne Milton is lame, but hath a trade and can live by the same, which is the making of gold and silver lace, and which the deceased bred her up to, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad nonum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent knoweth not the deceased's estate, or the value thereof, *et aliter nescit*.

Eodem Die  
Repetit coram Doctore  
Trumbull Surro. &c,  
Tho. Welham, N. P<sup>a</sup>.

Signum  
ELIZABETHE FISHER.

GEORGE GOSTLING,  
JAMES TOWNLEY, } DEPUTY REGISTERS.  
ROBERT DODWELL, }

\* Cur Prærog. Cast. ut supra.

## IV.

*Grant of Letters of Administration to the widow Elizabeth<sup>1</sup>.*

Die 25<sup>to</sup>. Februarii 1674.

JOHANNES MILTON. Vicesimo quinto	} ult. Julii.
Die Februarii emanavit Commissio	
Elizabethæ Milton Relictæ Johannis	
Milton nuper Parochiæ Sancti Egidii	
Cripplegate in Com. Mid. Defuncti,	} ult. Dec.
hentis, &c. ad Administrand. bona,	
jura, et credita dicti defuncti, de bene	
&c. jurat, Testamento Nuncupativo	
dict. defuncti: aliter per ante-dictam	
Elizabetham Milton Allegato, nondum	
Probato.	

GEORGE GOSTLING,	} DEPUTY REGISTERS.
JAMES TOWNLEY,	
ROBERT DODWELL,	

<sup>1</sup>The reader will compare these evidences with the printed accounts of Milton's biographers on this subject; who say, that he sold his library before his death, and left his family fifteen hundred pounds, which his wi-

dow Elizabeth seized, and only gave one hundred pounds to each of his three daughters. Of this widow, Philips relates, rather harshly, that she persecuted his children in his life time, and cheated them at his death.

---

These seem to have been the grounds upon which Milton's Nuncupative Will was pronounced invalid. First, there was wanting what the Civil Law terms a *rogatio testium*, or a solemn bidding of the persons present, to take notice that the words he was going to deliver were to be his Will. The Civil Law requires this form, to make men's verbal declarations operate as Wills; otherwise, they are to be presumed to be words of common calling or loose conversation. And the Statute of the twenty-ninth of Charles the Second [c. iii.] has adopted this rule; as may be seen in the 19th clause of that Statute, usually called the *Statute of Frauds*, which passed in the year 1676, two years after Milton's death. Secondly, the words here attested by the three witnesses, are not words delivered at the same time; but one witness speaks to one declaration made at one

time, and another to another declaration made at another time. And although the declarations are of similar import, this circumstance will not satisfy the demands of the Law; which requires, that the three witnesses who are to support a Nuncupative Will, must speak to the identical words uttered at one and the same time. There is yet another requisite in Nuncupative Wills, which is not found here; namely, that the words be delivered in the last sickness of a party: whereas the words here attested appear to have been delivered when the party was in a tolerable state of health, at least under no immediate danger of death. On these principles we may presume Sir Leoline Jenkins to have acted in the rejection of Milton's Will: although the three witnesses apparently told the truth in what they deposed. The Judge, deciding against the Will, of course decreed administration of the Intestate's effects to the widow.

For an investigation of these papers in the Prerogative Registry, for an explanation of their nature and purport, and of other technical difficulties which they present to one unacquainted with the records and more ancient practice of the Prerogative Court in testamentary proceedings, I must confess myself indebted to the kind attention and friendship of Sir William Scott.

There are other papers in the Commons belonging to this business: but as they are mere forms of law, as they throw no new light on the cause, and furnish no anecdotes of Milton and his family, they are here omitted.

IN  
PARADISUM AMISSAM  
SUMMI POETÆ  
JOHANNIS MILTONI.

---

QUI legis Amissam Paradisum, grandia magni  
Carmina Miltoni, quid nisi cuncta legis?  
Res cunctas, et cunctarum primordia rerum,  
Et fata, et fines continet iste liber.  
Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,  
Scribitur et toto quicquid in orbe latet:  
Terræque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum,  
Sulphureumque Erebi, flammivomumque specus:  
Quæque colunt terras, pontumque, et Tartara cæca,  
Quæque colunt summi lucida regna poli:  
Et quodcunque ullis conclusum est finibus usquam,  
Et sine fine Chaos, et sine fine Deus:  
Et sine fine magis, si quid magis est sine fine,  
In Christo erga homines conciliatus amor.  
Hæc qui speraret quis crederet esse futura?  
Et tamen hæc hodie terra Britannia legit.  
O quantos in bella duces! quæ protulit arma!  
Quæ canit, et quanta prælia dira tuba!  
Cœlestes acies! atque in certamine cælum!  
Et quæ cœlestes pugna deceret agros!  
Quantus in æthereis tollit se Lucifer armis!  
Atque ipso graditur vix Michael minor!



Quantis, et quam funestis concurratur iris,  
 Dum ferus hic stellas protegit, ille rapit!  
 Dum vulsos montes ceu tela reciproca torquent,  
 Et non mortali desuper igne pluunt:  
 Stat dubius cui se parti concedat Olympus,  
 Et metuit pugnæ non superesse suæ.  
 At simul in cœlis Messiæ insignia fulgent,  
 Et currus animæ, armaque digna Deo,  
 Horrendumque rotæ strident, et sæva rotarum  
 Erumpunt torvis fulgura luminibus,  
 Et flammæ vibrant, et vera tonitrua rauco  
 Admistis flammis insonuere polo:  
 Excidit attonitis mens omnis, et impetus omnis,  
 Et cassis dextris irrita tela cadunt;  
 Ad pœnas fugiunt, et ceu foret Orcus asylum,  
 Infernis certant condere se tenebris.  
 Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii,  
 Et quos fama recens vel celebravit anus.  
 Hæc quicumque leget tantum cecinisse putabit  
 Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.

SAMUEL BARROW, M. D.

ON  
PARADISE LOST.

---

WHEN I beheld the Poet blind, yet bold,  
In slender book his vast design unfold,  
Messiah crown'd, God's reconcil'd decree,  
Rebelling Angels, the forbidden tree,  
Heaven, Hell, Earth, Chaos, all; the argument  
Held me a while misdoubting his intent,  
That he would ruin (for I saw him strong)  
The sacred truths to fable and old song,  
(So Samson grop'd the temple's posts in spite,)  
The world o'erwhelming to revenge his sight.

Yet as I read, still growing less severe,  
I lik'd his project, the success did fear;  
Through that wide field how he his way should find,  
O'er which lame faith leads understanding blind;  
Lest he perplex'd the things he would explain,  
And what was easy he should render vain.

Or if a work so infinite he spann'd,  
Jealous I was that some less skilful hand  
(Such as disquiet always what is well,  
And by ill imitating would excel)  
Might hence presume the whole creation's day  
To change in scenes, and show it in a play.

Pardon me, mighty Poet, nor despise  
My causeless, yet not impious, surmise.  
But I am now convinc'd, and none will dare  
Within thy labours to pretend a share.

Thou hast not miss'd one thought that could be fit,  
And all that was improper dost omit:  
So that no room is here for writers left,  
But to detect their ignorance or theft.

That majesty which through thy work doth reign,  
Draws the devout, deterring the profane.  
And things divine thou treat'st of in such state  
As them preserves, and thee, inviolate.  
At once delight and horror on us seize,  
Thou sing'st with so much gravity and ease;  
And above human flight dost soar aloft  
With plume so strong, so equal, and so soft.  
The bird nam'd from that Paradise you sing  
So never flags, but always keeps on wing.

Where could'st thou words of such a compass find?  
Whence furnish such a vast expense of mind?  
Just Heav'n thee like Tiresias to requite  
Rewards with prophecy thy loss of sight.

Well might'st thou scorn thy readers to allure  
With tinkling rhyme, of thy own sense secure;  
While the Town-Bays writes all the while and spells,  
And like a pack-horse tires without his bells:  
Their fancies like our bushy-points appear,  
The poets tag them, we for fashion wear.  
I too transported by the mode offend,  
And while I meant to praise thee must commend.  
Thy verse created like thy theme sublime,  
In number, weight, and measure, needs not rhyme.

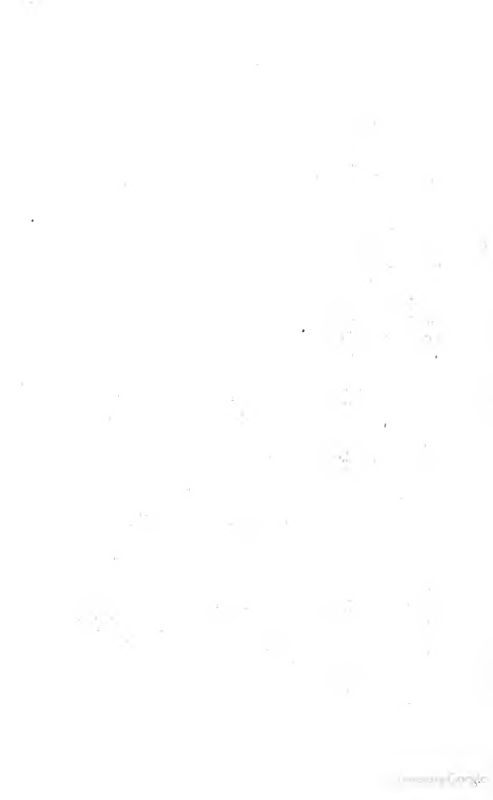
ANDREW MARVEL.

## THE VERSE.

THE measure is English heroic verse without rhyme, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin; rhyme being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame metre; graced indeed since by the use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse than else they would have expressed them. Not without cause therefore some both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note have rejected rhyme both in longer and shorter works, as have also long since our best English tragedies, as a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true musical delight; which consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another, not in the jingling sound of like endings, a fault avoided by the learned ancients both in poetry and all good oratory. This neglect then of rhyme so little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers, that it rather is to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem, from the troublesome and modern bondage of rhyming\*.

\* The Earl of Surrey had translated two books of Virgil's *Aeneid* without rhyme; and, beside our Tragedies, a few short poems had appeared in blank verse, particularly one tending to reconcile the nation to Raleigh's wild attempt upon Guiana, and probably written by Raleigh himself. These petty performances, however, cannot be supposed to have much influenced Milton, who more probably took his hint from Trissino's *Italia Liberata*. Johnson.

Rather, says Mr. Hayley, from Tasso, "who wrote a poem without rhyme on the Creation, and "is celebrated by his friend and "biographer, the Marquis of "Villa, for the introduction of "blank verse into the Italian "poetry; so little was even then "thought of Trissino's heavy performance." See however the remarks on this subject in Rolli's *Life of Milton*, in which several Italian writers of blank verse are noticed and commended between Trissino and Tasso. E.





Unquid tacuit melos  
Victis, et humum vix tetigit pede.

Antistrophe.

Quis te parve liber, quis te fratrous  
Subducit reliquis dolo?

Cum tu missus ab urbe,

Docto jugiter obsecrante amico,

Illustre tendebas iter

Thamesis ad incunabula

Cerulei patris,

Fontes ubi limpidi

Ionidum, thyasusq; sacer

Orbi notus per immensos

Temporum lapsus redeunte celo,

Celeberq; futurus in ævum;

# PARADISE LOST.

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## BOOK I.

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VOL. I.

B



## THE ARGUMENT.

**THIS** first book proposes, first in brief, the whole subject, Man's disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise wherein he was placed: then touches the prime cause of his fall, the Serpent, or rather Satan in the serpent; who revolting from God, and drawing to his side many legions of Angels, was by the command of God driven out of heaven with all his crew into the great deep. Which action passed over, the poem hastens into the midst of things, presenting Satan with his Angels now falling into hell, described here, not in the centre, (for heaven and earth may be supposed as yet not made, certainly not yet accursed,) but in a place of utter darkness, fitliest called chaos: here Satan with his Angels lying on the burning lake, thunder-struck and astonished, after a certain space recovers, as from confusion, calls up him who next in order and dignity ay by him; they confer of their miserable fall. Satan awakens all his legions, who lay till then in the same manner confounded; they rise, their numbers, array of battle, their chief leaders named, according to the idols known afterwards in Canaan and the countries adjoining. To these Satan directs his speech, comforts them with hopes yet of regaining heaven, but tells them lastly of a new world and new kind of creature to be created, according to an ancient prophecy or report in heaven; for that Angels were long before this visible creation, was the opinion of many ancient Fathers. To find out the truth of this prophecy, and what to determine thereon, he refers to a full council. What his associates thence attempt. Pandemonium the palace of Satan rises, suddenly built out of the deep: the infernal peers there sit in council.

# PARADISE LOST.

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## BOOK I.

---

**OF** Man's first disobedience, and the fruit  
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste

1. *Of Man's first disobedience, &c.*] Milton has proposed the subject of his poem in the following verses. These lines are perhaps as plain, simple, and unadorned as any of the whole poem, in which particular the author has conformed himself to the example of Homer and the precept of Horace. His invocation to a work, which turns in a great measure upon the creation of the world, is very properly made to the Muse who inspired Moses in those books from whence our author drew his subject, and to the Holy Spirit who is therein represented as operating after a particular manner in the first production of nature. This whole exordium rises very happily into noble language and sentiment, as I think the transition to the fable is exquisitely beautiful and natural. *Addison.*

Besides the plainness and simplicity of these lines, there is a farther beauty in the variety of the numbers, which of themselves

charm every reader without any sublimity of thought or pomp of expression: and this variety of the numbers consists chiefly in the pause being so artfully varied, that it falls upon a different syllable in almost every line, as it may easily be perceived by distinguishing the verses thus:

Of Man's first disobedience, | and the  
fruit  
Of that forbidden tree, | whose mortal  
taste  
Brought death into the world, | and  
all our woe,  
With loss of Eden, | till one greater  
Mao  
Restore us, | and regain the blissful  
seat,  
Sicg, heav'nly Muse. |

Mr. Pope, in a letter to Mr. Walsh containing some critical observations on English versification, remarks, that in any smooth English verse of ten syllables, there is naturally a pause at the fourth, fifth, or sixth syllable, and upon the judicious change and management of these depends the variety of versifica-

Brought death into the world, and all our woe,

tion. But Milton varies the pause according to the sense; and varies it through all the ten syllables, by which means he is a master of greater harmony than any other English poet: and he is continually varying the pause, and scarce ever suffers it to rest upon the same syllable in more than two, and seldom in so many as two, verses together. Here it is upon the first syllable of the verse,

—others on the grass  
Couch'd | and now filled with pasture  
gazing sat. IV. 351.

—such as in their souls infix'd  
Plagues; | they astonish'd all resist-  
ance lost. VI. 888.

Upon the second,

—these to their nests  
Were sunk, | all but the wakeful  
nightingale; IV. 602.

—Down thither prone in flight  
He speeds, | and through the vast  
ethereal sky V. 267.

Upon the third,

—what in me is dark  
Illumine, | what is low raise and sup-  
port; I. 23.

—as the wakeful bird  
Sings darkling, | and in shadiest co-  
vert hid III. 39.

Upon the fourth,

—on he led his radiant files,  
Dazzling the moon; | these to the  
bow'r direct IV. 798.

—at his right hand victory  
Sat eagle-wing'd; | beside him hung  
his bow, VI. 763.

Upon the fifth,

—bears, tigers, onces, pards,  
Gambol'd before them; | th' un-  
wieldy elephant IV. 345.

—and in the air  
Madd' horrid circles; | two broad suns  
thir shields VI. 305.

Upon the sixth,

His stature reach'd the sky, | and on  
his crest IV. 988.

Girt with omnipotence, | with radi-  
ance crown'd. VII. 194.

Upon the seventh,

Majestic though in ruin: | sage he  
stood II. 305.

Birds on the branches warbling; |  
all things smil'd VIII. 265.

Upon the eighth,

Hung on his shoulders like the  
moon, | whose orb I. 287.

A fairer person lost not heav'n; |  
he seem'd II. 110.

Upon the ninth,

Jehovah thund'ring out of Sion, |  
thron'd

Between the Cherubim I. 386.

And bush with frizzled hair implicit; |  
last

Rose as in dance the stately trees  
VII. 323.

And here upon the end,

—thou that day  
Thy Father's dreadful thunder didst  
not spare | III. 398.

Attended with ten thousand thousand  
saints | VI. 767.

And sometimes to give the  
greater variety to the verse,  
there are two or more pauses in  
the same line: as

—on the ground  
Ontstretch'd he lay, | on the cold  
ground, | and oft  
Curs'd his creation X. 851.

And swims, | or sinks, | or wades, |  
or creeps, | or flies: | II. 950.

Exhausted, | spiritless, | afflicted, |  
fall'n. | VI. 852.

But besides this variety of the  
pauses, there are other excellen-  
cies in Milton's versification.  
The English heroic verse ap-  
proaches nearest to the Iambic

With loss of Eden, till one greater Man

of the ancients, of which it wants only a foot; but then it is to be measured by the tone and accent, as well as by the time and quantity. An Iambic foot is one short and one long syllable  $\cup -$ , and six such feet constitute an Iambic verse: but the Ancients seldom made use of the pure Iambic, especially in works of any considerable length, but oftener of the mixed Iambic, that is, with a proper intermixture of other measures; and of these perhaps Milton has expressed as happy a variety as any poet whatever, or indeed as the nature of a verse will admit, that consists only of five feet, and ten syllables for the most part. Sometimes he gives us almost pure Iambics, as in I. 314.

He call'd so loud, that all the hollow deep  
Of hell resounded.

Sometimes he intermixes the Trochee or foot of one long and one short syllable  $- \cup$ , as in ver. 49.

Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms.

Sometimes the Spondee or foot of two long syllables  $- -$ , as in ver. 21.

Dove-like satst brooding on the vast abyss.

Sometimes the Pyrrichius or foot of two short syllables  $\cup \cup$ , as in ver. 64.

Serv'd only to discover sights of woe.

Sometimes the Dactyle or foot of one long and two short syllables  $- \cup \cup$ , as in ver. 45.

Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' æthereal sky.

Sometimes the Anapæst or foot of two short and one long syllable  $\cup \cup -$ , as in ver. 87.

Myriads though bright! If he whom mutual leaguè

Sometimes the Tribrachus or foot of three short syllables  $\cup \cup \cup$ , as in ver. 709.

To many a row of pipes the sound-board breathes.

And sometimes there is variety of these measures in the same verse, and seldom or never the same measures in two verses together. And these changes are not only rung for the sake of the greater variety, but are so contrived as to make the sound more expressive of the sense. And this is another great art of versification, the adapting of the very sounds, as well as words, to the subject matter, the style of sound, as Mr. Pope calls it: and in this Milton is excellent as in all the rest, and we shall give several instances of it in the course of these remarks. So that he has abundantly exemplified in his own practice the rules laid down by himself in his preface, his versification having all the requisites of true musical delight, which, as he says, consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another.

1.] Bishop Newton, although perfectly well-read in the Latin poets, appears to have paid but little attention to the very

Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,

wide difference which there is between the *quantity* of Latin verse, and the *accent*, or *ictus*, on which the rhythm of English verse entirely depends. Hence, reading with a classical eye, but laying aside his English ear, he thus marks Omnipotent. But, according to the invariable pronunciation of our language, the *ictus* falls so strong on the second syllable of Omnipotent, that the first is comparatively short; and the verse, scanned accordingly, becomes a pure English Iambic.

Who dūst | defy | th' Ōmipōtēnt |  
tō arms. |

Neither does he seem to have at all considered how much Milton availed himself both of *elisions* and *contractions*. Otherwise he would scarcely have cited the three following verses, as exhibiting the one a Dactyl, the other an Anapest, the third a Tribachius; for, in fact, the first and third are pure Iambics; and the second has no irregularity, except in the first foot, in which place much license is often taken, and the Trochee, particularly, is often introduced with the best effect.

Hōrl'd head | lōng flā | ming frōm |  
th' 7thē | reāl skē |  
Mȳriāds | thōugh bright; | if hē |  
whōm mē | tūāl leāgue |  
Tō mūn | y ā rōw | 8f pipes | thē  
sōund | -boārd breāthes. |

Dunster.

The following verses may perhaps be admitted to contain in-

stances of those feet which Bp. Newton desired to exhibit:

Shōuts in | vīsiblē | virtūē | even to  
the deep  
Stream, and perpet | ōāl drāw | their  
humid train  
Inhos | pttābly, | and kills their in-  
fant males.

The general principles of English rhythm may be found sufficiently laid down by Dr. Blair in his Lectures, vol. iii. lect. 38. Those who would examine more exactly into the merits and the faults of Milton's versification, should consult Johnson's remarks upon it in the Rambler, Nos. 86, 88, 90, 92, 94. But the subject was ill-suited to Johnson's genius; and although many of his remarks are good, many also appear fastidious or incorrect. Mr. Todd, in his notes and further remarks upon the Essay in the Rambler, has more correctly appreciated the beauties of Milton's verse. E.

#### 1. Of Man's first disobedience,]

Mnus audē. Iliad.

Andē mē smēs. Odysa.

Arma virumque cano. Æneid.

In all these instances, as in Milton, the subject of the poem is the very first thing offered to us, and precedes the verb with which it is connected. It must be confessed, that Horace did not regard this, when he translated the first line of the Odyssey, Dic mihi, musa, virum, &c. De Art. Poet. 141. And Lucian, if I remember right, makes a jest of this observation, where he introduces the shade of Homer as

Sing, heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top  
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire

expressly declaring that he had no other reason for making the word *parus* the first in his poem, but that it was the first which came into his head. However the uniform practice of Homer, Virgil, and Milton in this particular, seems to prove that it was not accidental, but a thing really designed by them.

4. *With loss of Eden,*] But Eden was not lost, and the last that we read of our first parents is that they were still in Eden,

*Through Eden* took their solitary way.

*With loss of Eden* therefore means no more than *with loss of Paradise*, which was planted in Eden, which word *Eden* signifies delight or pleasure, and the country is supposed to be the same that was afterwards called Mesopotamia; particularly by our author in iv. 210, &c. Here the whole is put for a part, as sometimes a part for the whole, by a figure called Synecdoche.

4. —*till one greater Man Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,*] As it is a *greater Man*, so it is a happier Paradise which our Saviour promised to the penitent thief, Luke xxiii. 43. *This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.* But Milton had a notion that after the conflagration and the general judgment, the whole earth would be made a Paradise, xii. 463.

— for then the earth  
Shall all be Paradise, far happier  
place

Than this of Eden, and far happier  
days.

6. —*that on the secret top Of Oreb, or of Sinai,*] Dr. Bentley says that Milton dictated *sacred top*: his reasons are such as follow: the ground of Horeb is said to be *holy*, Exod. iii. 5. and Horeb is called the *mountain of God*, 1 Kings xix. 8. But it may be answered, that though that place of Horeb, on which Moses stood, was *holy*, it does not follow that the top of the mountain was then *holy* too: and by the *mountain of God* (Dr. Bentley knows) may be meant only, in the Jewish style, a very great mountain: besides, let the mountain be never so *holy*, yet according to the rules of good poetry, when Milton speaks of the *top* of the mountain, he should give us an epithet peculiar to the *top* only, and not to the whole mountain. Dr. Bentley says farther, that the epithet *secret* will not do here, because the top of this mountain is visible several leagues off. But Sinai and Horeb are the same mountain, with two several eminences, the higher of them called Sinai: and of Sinai Josephus in his Jewish Antiquit. book iii. c. 5. says that it is so high, that the top of it cannot be seen without straining the eyes. In this sense therefore (though I believe it is not Milton's sense) the top of it may be well said to be *secret*. In Exod. xvii. it is said that the Israelites, when encamped at the foot of Horeb,

That shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed,  
In the beginning how the heav'ns and earth

could find no water; from whence Dr. Bentley concludes, that Horeb had no clouds or mists about its *top*; and that therefore *secret top* cannot be here meant as implying that high mountains against rainy weather have their heads surrounded with mists. I never thought that any reader of Milton would have understood *secret top* in this sense. The words of *Horeb* or of *Sinai* imply a doubt of the poet, which name was properest to be given to that mountain, on the top of which Moses received his inspiration; because Horeb and Sinai are used for one another in Scripture, as may be seen by comparing Exod. iii. 1. with Acts vii. 30. but by naming Sinai last, he seems to incline rather to that. Now it is well known from Exod. xix. 16. Eccclus. xlv. 5. and other places of Scripture, that when God gave his laws to Moses on the top of Sinai, it was covered with clouds, dark clouds, and thick smoke; it was therefore *secret* at that time in a peculiar sense: and the same thing seems intended by the epithet which our poet uses upon the very same occasion in xii. 227.

God from the mount of Sinai, whose  
gray top  
Shall tremble, he descending, &c.

Dr. Bentley shews that *sacred hill* is common among the poets in several languages; from whence I should conclude that *sacred* is a general epithet:

whereas *secret*, in the sense which I have given it, is the most peculiar one that can be; and therefore (to use Dr. Bentley's words) *if, as the best poets have adjudged, a proper epithet is to be preferred to a general one, I have such an esteem for our poet, that which of the two words is the better, that I say (viz. secret) was dictated by Milton.* Pearce.

We have given this excellent note at length, as we have met with several persons who have approved of Dr. Bentley's emendation. It may be too that the poet had a farther meaning in the use of this epithet in this place; for being accustomed to make use of words in the signification that they bear in the learned languages, he may very well be supposed to use the word *secret* in the same sense as the Latin *secretus*, set apart or separate, like the *secre'tosque pios* in Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 670. and it appears from Scripture, that while Moses was with God in the mount, the people were not to come near it or touch it, till after a signal given, and then they were only to approach, and not to ascend it, nor pass the bounds set for them upon pain of death, Exod. xix. So that upon all accounts *secret* is the most proper epithet, that could have been chosen.

8. *That shepherd, who first &c.*] For *Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law.* Exod. iii. 1.

9. *In the beginning how the*

Rose out of chaos : or, if Sion hill 10  
 Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flow'd  
 Fast by the oracle of God, I thence  
 Invoke thy aid to my adventrous song,  
 That with no middle flight intends to soar  
 Above th' Aonian mount, while it pursues 15  
 Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.

*heav'ns and earth*] Alluding to the first words of Genesis.

11. *and Siloa's brook*] Siloa was a small river that flowed near the temple at Jerusalem. It is mentioned Isa. viii. 6. So that in effect he invokes the heavenly Muse, that inspired David and the Prophets on mount Sion, and at Jerusalem, as well as Moses on mount Sinni.

15. *Above th' Aonian mount.*] A poetical expression for soaring to a height above other poets. The mountains of Bœotia, anciently called Aonia, were the haunt of the Muses; and thus Virgil, Ecl. vi. 65.

*Aonias in montes ut duxerit una sororum,*

And again, Georg. iii. 11.

*Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas;*

though afterwards, I know not by what fatality, that country was famous for the dulness of its inhabitants.

16. *Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.*] Milton appears to have meant a different thing by *rhyme* here, from *rime* in his preface, where it is six times

mentioned, and always spelt without an *h*; whereas in all the editions, till Dr. Bentley's appeared, *rhyme* in this place of the poem was spelt with an *h*. Milton probably meant a difference in the thing, by making so constant a difference in the spelling; and intended that we should here understand by *rhyme*, not the *jingling sound of like endings*, but *verse* in general; the word being derived from *rythmus*, *judicatus*. Ariosto had said

*Cosa non detta in prosa mai, ne in rima,*

which is word for word the same with what Milton says here.

*Pearce.*

So in Lycidas v. 11.

— He knew

Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.

The sense of the word *rhyme* in both places in unquestionably "*verse*."

It is wonderful that Bentley, with all his Grecian predilections, and his critical knowledge of the precise original meaning of *judicatus*, should have wished to substitute, in this passage of the *Paradise Lost*, *song* for *rhyme*.



And chiefly Thou, O Spi'rit, that dost prefer  
Before all temples th' upright heart and pure,

Gray, who studied and copied  
Milton with true penetration and  
taste, in his *music-ode* uses rhyme  
in Milton's sense.

Meek Newton's self bends from his  
state sublime  
And nods his hoary head, and listens  
to the rhyme.

T. Warton.

Milton probably thought it  
would sound too low and fami-  
liar to the ear to say in *prose* or  
*verse*, and therefore chose rather  
to say in *prose* or *rhime*. When  
he says in *prose* or *verse*, he adds  
an epithet to take off from the  
commonness of the expression,  
as in v. 150.

— such prompt eloquence  
Flow'd from their lips, in *prose* or  
*numerous verses*.

It is said that Milton took the  
first hint of this poem from an  
Italian tragedy called *Il Para-  
diso perso*; and it is pretended  
that he has borrowed largely  
from Masenius, a German Jesuit,  
and other modern authors; but  
it is all a pretence; he made use  
of all authors, such was his  
learning; but such is his ge-  
nius, he is no copyer; his poem  
is plainly an original, if ever  
there was one. His subject in-  
deed of the fall of Man, together  
with the principal episodes, may  
be said to be as old as Scripture,  
but his manner of handling them  
is entirely new, with new illus-  
trations and new beauties of his  
own; and he may as justly boast  
of the novelty of his poem, as

any of the ancient poets bestow  
that recommendation upon their  
works; as Lucretius, i. 925.

Avia Pieridum peragro loca, nullius  
ante  
Trita solo: &c.

and Virgil, Georg. iii. 3.

Cætera quæ vacans tenuissent car-  
mina mentes  
Omnia jam vulgata.—  
Primus ego in patriam &c.

iii. 292.

Juvat ire jugis, quæ nulla priorum  
Castaliæ molli divertitur orbita  
clivo.

17. *And chiefly Thou, O Spi'rit,*  
&c.] Invoking the Muse is  
commonly a matter of mere  
form, wherein the poets neither  
mean, nor desire to be thought  
to mean, any thing seriously.  
But the Holy Ghost here in-  
voked is too solemn a name to  
be used insignificantly: and be-  
sides, our author, in the begin-  
ning of his next work, *Paradise*  
*Regained*, scruples not to say to  
the same divine person,

—Inspire,  
As thou art wont, my prompted song,  
else mute.

This address therefore is no mere  
formality. Yet some may think  
that he incurs a worse charge of  
enthusiasm, or even profaneness,  
in vouching inspiration for his  
performance: but the Scrip-  
tures represent inspiration as of  
a much larger extent than is  
commonly apprehended, teach-  
ing that *every good gift*, in na-  
turals as well as in morals, de-

Instruct me, for Thou know'st; Thou from the first  
 Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread 20  
 Dove-like satst brooding on the vast abyss,  
 And mad'st it pregnant: what in me is dark  
 Illumine, what is low raise and support;  
 That to the height of this great argument  
 I may assert eternal Providence, 25  
 And justify the ways of God to men.

*ascendeth from the great Father of lights, Jam. i. 17. And an extraordinary skill even in mechanical arts is there ascribed to the illumination of the Holy Ghost. It is said of Bezaleel who was to make the furniture of the tabernacle, that the Lord had filled him with the Spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, and to devise curious works, &c. Exod. xxxv. 31. Heylin.*

It may be observed too in justification of our author, that other sacred poems are not without the like invocations, and particularly Spenser's Hymns of heavenly love and heavenly beauty, as well as some modern Latin poems. But I conceive that Milton intended something more; for I have been informed by those, who had opportunities of conversing with his widow, that she was wont to say that he did really look upon himself as inspired, and I think his works are not without a spirit of enthusiasm. In the beginning of his 2d book of *The Reason of Church Government*, speaking of his design of writing a poem

in the English language, he says, "It was not to be obtained by the invocation of 'dame Memory and her Siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases," p. 61. edit. 1738.

19. *Instruct me, for Thou know'st;*]  
 Theocrit. Idyll. xxii. 116.

*Eris Sin, su yag curia.*

21. *Dove-like satst brooding]*  
 Alluding to Gen. i. 2. *the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters;* for the word that we translate *moved* signifies properly *brooded*, as a bird doth upon her eggs; and he says like a *dove* rather than any other bird, because the descent of the Holy Ghost is compared to a dove in Scripture, Luke iii. 22. As Milton studied the Scriptures in the original languages, his images and expressions are oftener copied from them, than from our translation.

26. *And justify the ways of*

Say first, for heav'n hides nothing from thy view,  
 Nor the deep tract of hell, say first what cause  
 Mov'd our grand parents, in that happy state,  
 Favour'd of heav'n so highly, to fall off 30  
 From their Creator, and transgress his will  
 For one restraint, lords of the world besides?  
 Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?  
 Th' infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile,  
 Stirr'd up with envy and revenge, deceiv'd 35  
 The mother of mankind, what time his pride  
 Had cast him out from heav'n, with all his host

*God to men.*] A verse, which Mr. Pope has thought fit to borrow with some little variation, in the beginning of his *Essay on Man*,

But vindicate the ways of God to man.

It is not easy to conceive any good reason for Mr. Pope's preferring the word *vindicate*, but Milton makes use of the word *justify*, as it is the Scripture word, *That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings*, Rom. iii. 4. And *the ways of God to men* are justified in the many argumentative discourses throughout the poem, and particularly in the conferences between God the Father and the Son.

27. *Say first, for heav'n hides nothing from thy view, Nor the deep tract of hell,*] The poets attribute a kind of omniscience to the Muse, and very rightly, as it enables them to speak of things which could not otherwise be supposed to come to

their knowledge. Thus Homer, *Iliad*. ii. 485.

Ἵμῳ γὰρ Σὺν ἴσσι, παρὶς τι, ἴσσι τε κρυπτοῖσιν.

And Virgil, *Æn*. vii. 645.

Et meministis enim, Divæ, et memorare potestis.

Milton's Muse, being the Holy Spirit, must of course be omniscient. And the mention of *heaven and hell* is very proper in this place, as the scene of so great a part of the poem is laid sometimes in hell, and sometimes in heaven.

32. *For one restraint,*] For one thing that was restrained, every thing else being freely indulged to them, and only the tree of knowledge forbidden.

33. *Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt? Th' infernal Serpent;*] Homer, *Iliad*. i. 8.

Τὴν τ' ἀρ' ἔφαθ' ὅπως ἐπεὶ ἔσθηναι μάχης-  
 ὁδὸν;  
 Ἀντὶς καὶ Δίος υἱός.

Of rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring  
 To set himself in glory' above his peers,  
 He trusted to have equall'd the Most High, 40  
 If he oppos'd; and with ambitious aim  
 Against the throne and monarchy of God  
 Rais'd impious war in heav'n and battle proud  
 With vain attempt. Him the almighty Power  
 Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky, 45

38. — *by whose aid aspiring To set himself in glory' above his peers,*] Here Dr. Bentley objects, that Satan's crime was not, his aiming *above his peers*: he was in *place high above them* before, as the Doctor proves from v. 812. But though this be true, yet Milton may be right here; for the force of the words seems, not that Satan *aspired to set himself above his peers*, but that he *aspired to set himself in glory*, &c. that is in divine glory, in such glory as God and his Son were set in. Here was his crime; and this is what God charges him with in v. 725.

— who intends to' erect his throne  
 Equal to ours,—

And in vi. 88. Milton says that the rebel angels hoped

To win the mount of God, and on his throne  
 To set the envier of his state, the proud  
 Aspirer.

See also to the same purpose vii. 140, &c. From these passages it appears that there is no occasion for Dr. Bentley's alteration, which is this,

— aspiring  
 To place and glory above the Son of God.

Pearce.

Besides the other methods which Milton has employed to diversify and improve his numbers, he takes the same liberties as Shakespeare and others of our old poets, and in imitation of the Greeks and Latins often cuts off the vowel at the end of a word, when the next word begins with a vowel; though he does not like the Greeks wholly drop the vowel, but still retains it in writing like the Latins. Another liberty, that he takes likewise for the greater improvement and variety of his versification, is pronouncing the same word sometimes as two syllables, and sometimes as only one syllable or two short ones. We have frequent instances in *spirit, ruin, riot, reason, highest*, and several other words. We shall take care throughout this edition to mark such vowels as are to be cut off, and such as are to be contracted and abbreviated, thus'.

45. *Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky.*] Hom. Iliad. i. 591.

With hideous ruin and combustion, down  
 To bottomless perdition, there to dwell  
 In adamantine chains and penal fire,  
 Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms.  
 Nine times the space that measures day and night 50  
 To mortal men, he with his horrid crew  
 Lay vanquish'd, rolling in the fiery gulf,  
 Confounded though immortal : but his doom  
 Reserv'd him to more wrath ; for now the thought  
 Both of lost happiness and lasting pain 55  
 Torments him ; round he throws his baleful eyes,  
 That witness'd huge affliction and dismay  
 Mix'd with obdurate pride and stedfast hate :  
 At once, as far as angels ken, he views  
 The dismal situation waste and wild ; 60  
 A dungeon horrible on all sides round  
 As one great furnace flam'd, yet from those flames

Τριψι, σπιδος επιλογον, απο βηλου διασπαι-  
 σιαι.

Hurl'd headlong downward from th'  
 ethereal height. *Pope.*

46. *With hideous ruin and combustion,*] *Ruin* is derived from *ruo*, and includes the idea of falling with violence and precipitation, and *combustion* is more than *flaming* in the foregoing verse, it is burning in a dreadful manner. So that he was not only *hurl'd headlong flaming*, but he was hurled headlong flaming *with hideous ruin and combustion*; and what occasion is there then for reading with Dr. Bentley *confusion* instead of *combustion*?

48. *In adamantine chains*] *Æschylus*, *Prometh.* 6.

Αδαμαντιναις δεσμοις εν αβυσσους σπιδαι.

50. *Nine times, &c.*] The nine days' astonishment, in which the angels lay intranced after their dreadful overthrow and fall from heaven before they could recover either the use of thought or speech, is a noble circumstance, and very finely imagined. The division of hell into seas of fire, and into firm ground impregnated with the same furious element, with that particular circumstance of the exclusion of *hope* from those infernal regions, are instances of the same great and fruitful invention. *Addison.*

No light, but rather darkness visible  
 Serv'd only to discover sights of woe,  
 Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace 65  
 And rest can never dwell, hope never comes  
 That comes to all; but torture without end  
 Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed  
 With ever-burning sulphur unconsum'd :  
 Such place eternal Justice had prepar'd 70  
 For those rebellious, here their pris'on ordain'd  
 In utter darkness, and their portion set

63. —[darkness visible] Seneca has a like expression, speaking of the Grotto of Pausilipo, Epist. lvii. *Nihil illo carcere longius, nihil illis faucibus obscurius, quæ nobis præstant, non ut per tenebras videamus, sed ut ipsas.* And, as Mons. Voltaire observes, Antonio de Solis, in his excellent history of Mexico, hath ventured on the same thought, when speaking of the place wherein Montezuma was wont to consult his deities; " 'Twas a large dark subterraneous vault," says he, where some dismal tapers afforded just light enough to see the obscurity." See his Essay on Epic Poetry, p. 44. Euripides too expresses himself in the same poetical manner. Bac. 510.

—ὅς αὖ σκοτεινὸν ὕψος ἀνέβη.

There is much the same image in Spenser, but not so bold. Faery Queen, b. i. cant. i. st. 14.

A little glooming light, much like a shade.

Or, after all, the author might

perhaps take the hint from himself in his *Il Penseroso*,

Where glowing embers through the room  
 Teach light to counterfeit a gloom.

72. In *utter darkness*.] Dr. Bentley reads *outer* here and in many other places of this poem, because it is in Scripture *το ἔσθρος* to *ἐσθρος*: but my dictionaries tell me that *utter* and *outer* are both the same word, differently spelt and pronounced. Milton, in the argument of this book, says, in a place of *utter darkness*, and no where throughout the poem does the poet use *outer*. Pearce.

Spenser justifies the present reading, by frequently using the word *utter* for *outer*; as in *Faery Queen*, b. ii. cant. ii. st. 34.

And inly grieve, as doth an hidden moth  
 The inner garment fret, not *th'* utter touch.

And again, b. iv. cant. 10. st. 11.

Till to the bridge's *utter gate* I came.

*Thyger.*

As far remov'd from God and light of heav'n,  
 As from the centre thrice to th' utmost pole.  
 O how unlike the place from whence they fell ! 75  
 There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelm'd  
 With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,  
 He soon discerns, and welt'ring by his side  
 One next himself in pow'r, and next in crime,  
 Long after known in Palestine, and nam'd 80  
 Beëlzebub. To whom th' arch-enemy,  
 And thence in heav'n call'd Satan. with bold words  
 Breaking the horrid silence thus began.

74. *As from the centre thrice to th' utmost pole.*] Thrice as far as it is from the centre of the earth (which is the centre of the world according to Milton's system, ix. 103. and x. 671.) to the pole of the world; for it is the pole of the universe, far beyond the pole of the earth, which is here called the *utmost pole*. It is observable that Homer makes the seat of hell as far beneath the deepest pit of earth, as the heaven is above the earth,

*Tartarus ἑνὶ καὶ αἰῶνι, ἵeron σφραγιστὶς ἀπὸ γυναικός.* Iliad. viii. 16.

Virgil makes it twice as far,

— Tum Tartarus ipse  
*Bis patet in præceptis tantum tendit-  
 que sub umbras,  
 Quantum ad ætherem cæli inspectus  
 Olympum.* Æn. vi. 577.

And Milton thrice as far,

As far remov'd from God and light of  
 heaven,  
 As from the centre thrice to th' ut-  
 most pole.

But Milton's whole description of hell as much exceeds theirs, as in this single circumstance of the depth of it. And how cool and unaffecting is the *ταρταρον πρῶτον*, the *σιδηρῶν πυλῶν καὶ χαλκίον οὐδός* of Homer, and the *lugentes campi*, the *ferrea turris*, and *horrisono stridentes cardine portæ* of Virgil, in comparison with this description by Milton, concluding with that artful contrast,


O how unlike the place from whence  
 they fell!

81. *Beëlzebub.*] The lord of flies, an idol worshipped at Ekron, a city of the Philistines, 2 Kings i. 2. He is called *prince of the devils*, Matt. xii. 24. therefore deservedly here made second to Satan himself. *Hume.*

82. *And thence in heav'n called Satan.*] For the word *Satan* in Hebrew signifies an enemy; he is the enemy by way of eminence, the chief enemy of God and man.

If thou beest he ; but O how fall'n ! how chang'd  
 From him, who in the happy realms of light 85  
 Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine  
 Myriads though bright ! If he whom mutual league,  
 United thoughts and counsels, equal hope  
 And hazard in the glorious enterprise,  
 Join'd with me once, now misery hath join'd 90  
 In equal ru'in : into what pit thou seest

84. *If thou beest he ; &c.*] The thoughts in the first speech and description of Satan, who is one of the principal actors in this poem, are wonderfully proper to give us a full idea of him. His pride, envy, and revenge, obstinacy, despair, and impenitence, are all of them very artfully interwoven. In short, his first speech is a complication of all those passions, which discover themselves separately in several other of his speeches in the poem. *Addison.*

 The change and confusion of these enemies of God is most artfully expressed in the abruptness of the beginning of this speech : If thou art he, that Beëlzebub—He stops, and falls into a bitter reflection on their present condition, compared with that in which they lately were. He attempts again to open his mind ; cannot proceed on what he intends to say, but returns to those sad thoughts ; still doubting whether it is really his associate in the revolt, as now in misery and ruin ; by that time he had expatiated on this (his heart was oppressed with it) he is assured to whom he speaks, and goes on to declare his

proud unrelenting mind. *Richardson.*

84. — but O how fall'n ! how chang'd

From him,]

He imitates Isaiah and Virgil at the same time. Isaiah xiv. 12. *How art thou fallen, &c.* and Virgil's *Æn.* ii. 274.

*Hei mihi qualis erat ! quantum mutatus ab illo !*

86. *Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine*

*Myriads though bright !]*

Imitated from Homer, *Odys.* vi. 110. where Diana excels all her nymphs in beauty, though all of them be beautiful.

*ῥυα δ' ἀριγύνη πλείεται, καὶ αἱ δὲ νεώτεροι.*

*Bentley.*

91. *In equal ruin :*] So it is in all the editions. *And equal ruin* is Dr. Bentley's emendation, which Dr. Pearce allows (and I believe every body must allow) to be just and proper ; it being very easy to mistake one of these words for the other ; and other instances perhaps may occur in the course of this work. *Equal ruin* hath joined now, as *equal hope* joined before ; somewhat like that in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, i. 351.



From what height fall'n, so much the stronger prov'd  
 He with his thunder: and till then who knew  
 The force of those dire arms? yet not for those,  
 Nor what the potent victor in his rage 95  
 Can else inflict, do I repent or change,  
 Though chang'd in outward lustre, that fix'd mind,  
 And high disdain from sense of injur'd merit,  
 That with the Mightiest rais'd me to contend,  
 And to the fierce contention brought along 100  
 Innumerable force of Spirits arm'd,  
 That durst dislike his reign, and me preferring,  
 His utmost pow'r with adverse pow'r oppos'd  
 In dubious battle on the plains of heaven,  
 And shook his throne. What though the field be lost?

O soror, O conjux, O fœmina sola  
 superstes,  
 Quam commune mihi genus, et pa-  
 truelis origo,  
 Delude torus junxit, nunc ipsa peri-  
 cula jungunt.

*In equal ruin cannot answer to in the glorious enterprise, because Milton places a comma after enterprise, and in construction it follows after hazard, and not after join'd.*

98. *He with his thunder:*] There is an uncommon beauty in this expression. Satan disdains to utter the name of God, though he cannot but acknowledge his superiority. So again ver. 257.

—all but less than he  
 Whom thunder hath made greater.

94. —yet not for those,  
 Nor what the potent victor in  
 his rage  
 Can else inflict, do I repent or  
 change, &c.]

Milton in this and other pas-

sages, where he is describing the fierce and unrelenting spirit of Satan, seems very plainly to have copied after the picture that Æschylus gives of Prometheus. Thus Prometheus speaking of Jupiter. Prom. Vinc. 991

—πιστευθε μοι αιθαλιστα φλοξ.  
 Λιποσπινθη δὲ υἱοῦδ', καὶ βροντημασι  
 Χέροναι κακῶσι πάντα, καὶ ταροσπινθῶν  
 Τιμῆφι γὰρ εὐδινε σὺν δὲ μ', ὥστ' καὶ  
 φρεσιν. κ. τ. λ.

*Thyer.*

98. *And high disdain*] This is a favourite expression of Spenser's. Thus in the Faery Queen, b. i. cant. i. st. 19.

His gall did grate for grief and high  
 disdain,

This is the *alto sdegno* of the Italians, from whom no doubt he had it. *Thyer.*

105. —What though the field  
 be lost?

*All is not lost; &c.]*

All is not lost; th' unconquerable will, 106  
 And study of revenge, immortal hate,  
 And courage never to submit or yield,  
 And what is else not to be overcome;  
 That glory never shall his wrath or might 110  
 Extort from me. To bow and sue for grace  
 With suppliant knee, and deify his power,  
 Who from the terror of this arm so late  
 Doubted his empire; that were low indeed,  
 That were an ignominy' and shame beneath 115  
 This downfall; since by fate the strength of Gods  
 And this empyreal substance cannot fail,

This passage is an excellent improvement upon Satan's speech to the infernal Spirits in Tasso, cant. iv. st. 15. but seems to be expressed from Fairfax's translation rather than from the original.

We lost the field, yet lost we not our heart.

109. *And what is else not to be overcome;*] Here should be no note of interrogation, but only a semi-colon. The words *And what is else not to be overcome* signify *Et si quid sit aliud quod superari nequeat*, and if there be any thing else (besides the particulars mentioned) which is not to be overcome. *Pearce.*

110. *That glory, &c.*] *That* refers to what went before; his *unconquerable will and study of revenge, his immortal hate, and courage never to submit or yield, and what besides is not to be overcome*; these Satan esteems his glory, and *that glory* he says God never should extort from him.

And then begins a new sentence according to all the best editions, *To bow and sue for grace, &c.*—*that were low indeed, &c.* *that* still referring to what went before; and by observing this punctuation, this whole passage, which has perplexed and confounded so many readers and writers, is rendered plain and easy to be understood.

116. —*since by fate, &c.*] For Satan supposes the angels to subsist by fate and necessity, and he represents them of an *empyreal*, that is a *fiery* substance, as the Scripture itself doth; *He maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.* Psal. civ. 4. Heb. i. 7. Satan disdains to submit, since the angels (as he says) are necessarily immortal and cannot be destroyed, and since too they are now improved in experience, and may hope to carry on the war more successfully, notwithstanding the present triumph of their adversary in heaven.

Since through experience of this great event  
 In arms not worse, in foresight much advanc'd,  
 We may with more successful hope resolve 120  
 To wage by force or guile eternal war,  
 Irreconcilable to our grand foe,  
 Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy  
 Sole reigning holds the tyranny of heaven.

So spake th' apostate Angel, though in pain, 125  
 Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair:  
 And him thus answer'd soon his bold compeer.

O Prince, O Chief of many throned Powers,  
 That led th' embattled Seraphim to war  
 Under thy conduct, and in dreadful deeds 130  
 Fearless, endanger'd heav'n's perpetual king,

124. —*the tyranny of heaven.*] The poet speaking in his own person at ver. 42. of the supremacy of the Deity calls it *the throne and monarchy of God*; but here very artfully alters it to *the tyranny of heaven*. Thyer.

125. *So spake th' apostate Angel, though in pain, Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair:*]

The sense of the last verse rises finely above that of the former: in the first verse it is only said, that he *spoke though in pain*: in the last the poet expresses a great deal more; for Satan not only *spoke*, but he *vaunted aloud*, and yet at the same time he was not only *in pain*, but was *rack'd with deep despair*. Pearce.

The poet had probably in view this passage of Virgil, *Æn.* i. 212.

*Talia voce refert; curisque ingentibus æger  
 Spem vultu simulat, premit altum  
 corde dolorem.*

131. —*endanger'd heav'n's perpetual king.*] The reader should remark here the propriety of the word *perpetual*. Beëlzebub doth not say *eternal king*, for then he could not have boasted of *endangering* his kingdom: but he endeavours to detract as much as he can from God's everlasting dominion, and calls him only *perpetual king*, king from time immemorial or without interruption, as Ovid says *perpetuum carmen*, *Met.* i. 4.

— *primaque ab origine mundi  
 Ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora  
 carmen.*

What Beëlzebub means here is

And put to proof his high supremacy,  
 Whether upheld by strength, or chance, or fate;  
 Too well I see and rue the dire event,  
 That with sad overthrow and foul defeat 135  
 Hath lost us heav'n, and all this mighty host  
 In horrible destruction laid thus low,  
 As far as Gods and heav'nly essences  
 Can perish: for the mind and spi'rit remains  
 Invincible, and vigour soon returns, 140  
 Though all our glory' extinct, and happy state  
 Here swallow'd up in endless misery.  
 But what if he our conqu'ror (whom I now  
 Of force believe almighty, since no less 144  
 Than such could have o'er-pow'r'd such force as ours)  
 Have left us this our spi'rit and strength entire  
 Strongly to suffer and support our pains,  
 That we may so suffice his vengeful ire,  
 Or do him mightier service as his thralls  
 By right of war, whate'er his business be, 150

expressed more at large afterwards by Satan, ver. 637.

— But he who reigns  
 Monarch in heav'n, till then as one  
 secure  
 Sat on his throne, upheld by old re-  
 pule,  
 Consent or custom, &c.

149. *Or do him mightier service as his thralls*] *Thrall* is an old word for slave; frequently used by Spenser. *Dunster*.

The nature and purport of the services of Satan's imaginary crew, precisely correspond with those of Ariel in the *Tempest*, a. i. sc. 2.

— To tread the ooze  
 Of the salt deep.  
 To do me business in the veins of  
 earth.

— To dive into the fire.—

*Errands*, v. 152. is probably used in a contemptuous sense. See the note, b. iii. 652. *T. Warton*.

150. —*whate'er his business be,*] The business which God hath appointed for us to do. So in ii. 70. *His torments* are the torments which he hath appointed for us to suffer. Many instances of this way of speaking may be found in this poem. *Pearce*.

Here in the heart of Hell to work in fire,  
 Or do his errands in the gloomy deep;  
 What can it then avail, though yet we feel  
 Strength undiminish'd, or eternal being  
 To undergo eternal punishment? 155  
 Whereto with speedy words th' Arch-Fiend replied.

Fall'n Cherub, to be weak is miserable  
 Doing or suffering: but of this be sure,  
 To do ought good never will be our task,  
 But ever to do ill our sole delight, 160  
 As be'ing the contrary to his high will  
 Whom we resist. If then his providence  
 Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,  
 Our labour must be to pervert that end,  
 And out of good still to find means of evil; 165  
 Which oft-times may succeed, so as perhaps  
 Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb

156. *Whereto*—] To what he had said last, which had startled Satan, and to which he thinks it proper to make a *speedy* reply. *Speedy words* are better applied here than *τὸν πρῶτον* are always in Homer.

157. —*to be weak is miserable*

*Doing or suffering:*]

Satan having in his speech boasted that the *strength of Gods could not fail*, ver. 116. and Beëlzebub having said, ver. 146. *if God has left us this our strength entire to suffer pain strongly, or to do him mightier service as his thralls, what then can our strength avail us?* Satan here replies very properly, whether we are to *suffer* or to *work*, yet still it

is some comfort to have our strength undiminished; for it is a *miserable* thing (says he) *to be weak* and without strength, whether we are doing or suffering. This is the sense of the place; and this is farther confirmed by what Belial says in ii. 199.

—*To suffer as to do*  
*Our strength is equal.*—

Pearce.

159. *To do ought good never will be our task,*] Dr. Bentley would read it thus,

*To do ought good will never be our task,*

as of a smoother and stronger accent: but I conceive that Milton intended to vary the accent of *never* and *ever* in the next verse.

His inmost counsels from their destin'd aim.  
But see the angry victor hath recall'd

169. *But see the angry victor hath recall'd, &c.*] Dr. Bentley hath really made a very material objection to this and some other passages of the poem, wherein the good angels are represented, as pursuing the rebel host with fire and thunderbolts down through Chaos even to the gates of hell; as being contrary to the account, which the angel Raphael gives to Adam in the sixth book. And it is certain that there the good angels are ordered to *stand still only and behold*, and the Messiah alone expels them out of heaven; and after he has expelled them, and hell has closed upon them, vi. 880.

Sole victor from th' expulsion of his  
foes

Messiah his triumphal chariot turn'd:  
To meet him all his saints, who silent  
stood

Eye witnesses of his almighty acts,  
With jubilee advanc'd.

These accounts are plainly contrary the one to the other: but the author doth not therefore contradict himself, nor is one part of his scheme inconsistent with another. For it should be considered, who are the persons that give these different accounts. In book the sixth the angel Raphael is the speaker, and therefore his account may be depended upon as the genuine and exact truth of the matter. But in the other passages Satan himself or some of his angels are the speakers; and they were

too proud and obstinate ever to acknowledge the Messiah for their conqueror; as their rebellion was raised on his account, they would never own his superiority; they would rather ascribe their defeat to the whole host of heaven than to *him alone*; or if they did indeed imagine their pursuers to be so many in number, their fears multiplied them, and it serves admirably to express how much they were terrified and confounded. In book the sixth, 830, the noise of his chariot is compared to the *sound of a numerous host*; and perhaps they might think that a numerous host were really pursuing. In one place indeed we have Chaos speaking thus, ii. 996.

—*and heav'n gates*

Pour'd out by millions her victorious  
bands  
Pursuing;

But what a condition was Chaos in during the fall of the rebel angels? See vi. 871.

Nine days they fell; confounded  
Chaos roar'd,

And felt tenfold confusion in their  
fall

Through his wild anarchy, so huge a  
rout

Incumber'd him with ruin.

We must suppose him therefore to speak according to his own frightened and disturbed imagination; he might conceive that so much

Ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,  
Confusion worse confounded

His ministers of vengeance and pursuit 170  
 Back to the gates of heav'n : the sulphurous hail  
 Shot after us in storm, o'erblown hath laid  
 The fiery surge, that from the precipice  
 Of heav'n receiv'd us falling ; and the thunder,  
 Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage, 175  
 Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now  
 To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.  
 Let us not slip th' occasion, whether scorn,  
 Or satiate fury yield it from our foe.  
 Seest thou yon dreary plain, forlorn and wild, 180  
 The seat of desolation, void of light,  
 Save what the glimmering of these livid flames  
 Casts pale and dreadful ? Thither let us tend  
 From off the tossing of these fiery waves,  
 There rest, if any rest can harbour there, 185  
 And re-assembling our afflicted Powers,  
 Consult how we may henceforth most offend  
 Our enemy, our own loss how repair,  
 How overcome this dire calamity,  
 What reinforcement we may gain from hope, 190  
 If not what resolution from despair.

could not all be effected by a single hand : and what a sublime idea must it give us of the terrors of the Messiah, that he alone should be as formidable as if the whole host of heaven were pursuing ! So that this seeming contradiction, upon examination, proves rather a beauty than any blemish to the poem.

181. *The seat of desolation,*] As in *Comus*, 428.

—where very desolation dwells.

*T. Warton.*

186. —*our afflicted Powers,*] The word *afflicted* here is intended to be understood in the Latin sense, routed, ruined, utterly broken. *Richardson.*

191. *If not what resolution*] *What* reinforcement ; to which is returned *If not* : a vicious syntax : but the poet gave it *If none.* *Bentley.*

Thus Satan talking to his nearest mate  
 With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes  
 That sparkling blaz'd, his other parts besides  
 Prone on the flood, extended long and large 195  
 Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge  
 As whom the fables name of monstrous size,  
 Titanian, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove,  
 Briareos or Typhon, whom the den  
 By ancient Tarsus held, or that sea-beast 200

193. *With head up-lift above  
 the wave, and eyes  
 That sparkling blaz'd, his other  
 parts besides  
 Prone on the flood,]*

Somewhat like those lines in  
 Virgil of two monstrous ser-  
 pents. *Æn.* ii. 206.

*Pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta,  
 jubæque  
 Sanguineæ exuperant undas; pars  
 cætera pontum  
 Pone legit.*

196. *Lay floating many a rood,]*  
 A rood is the fourth part of an  
 acre, so that the bulk of Satan  
 is expressed by the same sort of  
 measure, as that of one of the  
 giants in Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 596.

*Per tota novem cui fugeva corpus  
 Porrigitur.*

And also that of the old dragon  
 in Spenser. *Faery Queen*, b. i.  
 cant. ii. st. 8.

That with his largeness measured  
 much land.

198. *Titanian, or Earth-born,]*

—Genus antiquum terræ, Titania  
 pubes. *Æn.* vi. 580.

199. *Briareos]* So Milton  
 writes it, that it may be pro-

nounced as four syllables; and  
 not *Briareus*, which is pro-  
 nounced as three.

*Et centum geminus Briareus.*

*Virg. Æn.* vi. 287.

And *Briareus* with all his hundred  
 hands. *Dryden.*

199. —or *Typhon, whom the den  
 By ancient Tarsus held,]*

*Typhon* is the same with *Typho-  
 æus*. That the den of *Typhœus*  
 was in Cilicia, of which *Tarsus*  
 was a celebrated city, we are  
 told by *Pindar* and *Pomponius  
 Mela*. I am much mistaken, if  
*Milton* did not make use of *Far-  
 naby's* note on *Ovid*, *Met.* v. 347.  
 to which I refer the reader. He  
 took *ancient Tarsus* perhaps from  
*Nonnus*:

*Τάρως αὐδαμένη πρυτανέεσσι,*

which is quoted in *Lloyd's Dic-  
 tionary*. *Jortin.*

—*Διὰς πολίμους*

*Τυφῶς ἰκατοστάναρος· τοῦ ποτι  
 Κίλικιον θρεψίς πολυ-  
 τιμον ἀνθρώπων.* *I'ind.* *Py.* i. 30.

*E.*

200. —that sea-beast  
*Leviathan,]*

The best critics seem now to be



Leviathan, which God of all his works  
 Created hugest that swim th' ocean stream :  
 Him haply slumb'ring on the Norway foam  
 The pilot of some small night-founder'd skiff  
 Deeming some island, oft, as sea-men tell,

205

agreed, that the author of the book of Job by the *leviathan* meant the *crocodile*; and Milton describes it in the same manner partly as a *fish* and partly as a *beast*, and attributes *scales* to it: and yet by some things one would think that he took it rather for a *whale*, (as was the general opinion,) there being no crocodiles upon the coasts of Norway, and what follows being related of the whale, but never, as I have heard, of the crocodile.

202. *Created hugest, &c.*] This verse is found fault with as being too rough and absonous, but that is not a fault but a beauty here, as it better expresses the hugeness and unwieldiness of the creature, and no doubt was designed by the author.

202. —*th' ocean stream:*] The Greek and Latin poets frequently turn substantives into adjectives. So Juvenal xi. 94. according to the best copies,

Qualis in oceano fluctu testudo nat-  
 taret: ver. 113.

Littore ab oceano Gallia venientibus—  
*Jortin.*

204. —*night-founder'd skiff*] Some little boat, whose pilot dares not proceed in his course for fear of the dark night; a metaphor taken from a foundered horse that can go no farther.  
*Hume.*

Dr. Bentley reads *nigh-founder'd*; but the common reading is better, because if (as the Doctor says) foundering is sinking by a leaking in the ship, it would be of little use to the pilot to fix his anchor on an island, the skiff would sink notwithstanding, if leaky. By *night-founder'd* Milton means overtaken by the night, and thence at a loss which way to sail. That the poet speaks of what befel the pilot by night, appears from ver. 207. *while night invests the sea*. Milton, in his poem called the Mask, uses the same phrase: the two brothers having lost their way in the wood, one of them says,

—for certain

Either some one, like us, *night-founder'd*, here, &c.

*Pearce.*

205. —*as sea-men tell,*] Words well added to obviate the incredibility of casting anchor in this manner. *Hume.*

That some fishes on the coast of Norway have been taken for islands, I suppose Milton had learned from Olaus Magnus and other writers; and it is amply confirmed by Pontoppidan's description of the Kraken in his account of Norway, which are authorities sufficient to justify a poet, though perhaps not a natural historian.

With fixed anchor in his scaly rind  
 Moors by his side under the lee, while night  
 Invests the sea, and wished morn delays :  
 So stretch'd out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay  
 Chain'd on the burning lake, nor ever thence 210  
 Had ris'n or heav'd his head, but that the will  
 And high permission of all-ruling heaven  
 Left him at large to his own dark designs,  
 That with reiterated crimes he might  
 Heap on himself damnation, while he sought 215  
 Evil to others, and enrag'd might see  
 How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth  
 Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shown  
 On Man by him seduc'd, but on himself  
 Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd. 220

207. *Moors by his side under the lee,*] Anchors by his side under wind. An instance this among others of our author's affectation in the use of technical terms.

207. —while night

*Invests the sea,*]

A much finer expression than *umbris nox operit terras* of Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 352. But our author in this (as Mr. Thyer remarks) alludes to the figurative description of night used by the poets, particularly Spenser. *Faery Queen*, b. i. cant. ii. st. 49.

By this the drooping day-light 'gan to fade,

And yield his room to sad succeeding night.

Who with her sable mantle 'gan to shade

The face of earth.

Milton also in the same taste

speaking of the moon, iv. 609.

And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw.

209. *So stretch'd out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay*] The length of this verse, consisting of so many monosyllables, and pronounced so slowly, is excellently adapted to the subject that it would describe. The tone is upon the first syllable in this line, *the Arch-Fiend lay*; whereas it was upon the last syllable of the word in ver. 156. *th' Arch-Fiend replied*; a liberty that Milton sometimes takes to pronounce the same word with a different accent in different places. We shall mark such words as are to be pronounced with an accent different from the common use.

Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool  
 His mighty stature ; on each hand the flames  
 Driv'n backward slope their pointing spires, and roll'd  
 In billows, leave i'th' midst a horrid vale.  
 Then with expanded wings he steers his flight 225  
 Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air  
 That felt unusual weight, till on dry land  
 He lights, if it were land that ever burn'd  
 With solid, as the lake with liquid fire ;  
 And such appear'd in hue, as when the force 230  
 Of subterranean wind transports a hill

221. *Forthwith upright he rears,*  
 &c.] The whole part of this  
 great enemy of mankind is filled  
 with such incidents as are very  
 apt to raise and terrify the  
 reader's imagination. Of this  
 nature is his being the first that  
 awakens out of the general  
 trance, with his posture on the  
 burning lake, his rising from it,  
 and the description of his shield  
 and spear. To which we may  
 add his call to the fallen angels,  
 that lay plunged and stupified  
 in the sea of fire.

He call'd so loud that all the hollow  
 deep  
 Of hell resounded.—

But there is no single passage in  
 the whole poem worked up to  
 a greater sublimity, than that  
 wherein his person is described  
 in those celebrated lines,

—He above the rest  
 In shape and gesture proudly eminent  
 Stood like a tow'r, &c.

Addison.

226. —*incumbent on the dusky  
 air  
 That felt unusual weight,*]

This conceit is borrowed from  
 Spenser, who speaking of the  
 old dragon has these lines, b. i.  
 cant. ii. st. 18.

Then with his waving wings displayed  
 wide,  
 Himself up high he lifted from the  
 ground,  
 And with strong sight did forcibly  
 divide  
 The yielding air, which nigh too fee-  
 ble found  
 Her sitting parts, and element un-  
 sound,  
 To bear so great a weight.

*Thyer.*

229. —*liquid fire ;*] Virg. Ecl.  
 vi. 33.

Et liquidi simul ignis.

231. *Of subterranean wind*]  
 Dr. Pearce conjectures that it  
 should be read *subterranean winds*,  
 because it is said *aid the winds*  
 afterwards, and the conjecture  
 seems probable and ingenious :  
 the *fuell'd entrails, sublim'd with*  
*mineral fury, aid* and increase the  
*winds* which first blew up the  
 fire.

Torn from Pelorus, or the shatter'd side  
 Of thund'ring Ætna, whose combustible  
 And fuell'd entrails thence conceiving fire,  
 Sublim'd with mineral fury, aid the winds, 235  
 And leave a singed bottom all involv'd  
 With stench and smoke: such resting found the sole  
 Of unblest feet. Him follow'd his next mate,  
 Both glorying to have 'scap'd the Stygian flood  
 As Gods, and by their own recover'd strength, 240  
 Not by the sufferance of supernal Power.

Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,  
 Said then the lost Arch-Angel, this the seat  
 That we must change for heav'n, this mournful gloom  
 For that celestial light? Be' it so, since he 245  
 Who now is Sovran can dispose and bid  
 What shall be right: farthest from him is best,  
 Whom reas'on hath equall'd, force hath made supreme  
 Above his equals. Farewell happy fields,  
 Where joy for ever dwells: Hail horrors, hail 250

232. *Pelorus*.] A promontory of Sicily, now Capo di Faro, about a mile and a half from Italy, whence Virgil *angusta à sede Pelori*, Æn. iii. 687. *Hume*.

238. *Of unblest feet*.] Dr. Bentley to make the accent smoother reads *Of feet unblest*; but Milton could have done the same thing, if he thought proper: on the contrary he chooses almost always to put the epithet before the substantive (excepting at the end of a verse) even though the verse be the rougher for it. A plain sign that he thought it poetical to do so. *Pearce*.

246. *Sovran*.] So Milton spells it after the Italian *Sovrano*. It is not easy to account for the formation of our word *Sovereign*.

247. —*farthest from him is best*.] This is expressed from the Greek proverb *πῶς Διὸς εἰς καὶ μακρὸν*, Far from Jupiter, but far too from thunder. *Bentley*.

248. *Whom reas'on hath equall'd*.] *Reason* is to be pronounced here as one syllable, or two short ones, as it is likewise in viii. 591. and ix. 559. See the note on ver. 39.

250. —*Hail horrors, hail &c.*] His sentiments are every

Infernal world, and thou profoundest hell  
 Receive thy new possessor ; one who brings  
 A mind not to be chang'd by place or time.  
 The mind is its own place, and in itself  
 Can make a heav'n of hell, a hell of heaven. 255  
 What matter where, if I be still the same,  
 And what I should be, all but less than he

way answerable to his character, and suitable to a created being of the most exalted and most depraved nature. Such is that in which he takes possession of his place of torments,

—Hail horrors, hail &c.

And afterwards,

—Here at least

We shall be free ; &c.

Amidst those impieties which this enraged Spirit utters in other places of the poem, the author has taken care to introduce none that is not higg with absurdity, and incapable of shocking a religious reader ; his words, as the poet himself describes them, bearing only a *semblance of worth, not substance*. He is likewise with great art described as owning his adversary to be almighty. Whatever perverse interpretation he puts on the justice, mercy, and other attributes of the Supreme Being, he frequently confesses his omnipotence, that being the perfection he was forced to allow him, and the only consideration which could support his pride under the shame of his defeat. Nor must I omit that beautiful circumstance of his bursting out into tears, upon his survey of those innumerable Spirits whom

he had involved in the same guilt and ruin with himself. Addison.

252. *Receive thy new possessor ;*] This passage seems to be an improvement upon Sophocles, Ajax 395, where Ajax, before he kills himself, cries out much in the same manner.

ἰὼ πάντες, ἰσὺς φέτος, ἱερμίζος  
 ὧ φαίνον ἄν ἱμοί,  
 'Ελίσσ' ἰλίσσ' αὐκτεροῦ.  
 'Ελίσσ'ε με. (Ed. Turneb.)

253. —*by place or time.*] Milton is excellent in placing his words : invert them only, and say *by time or place*, and if the reader has any ear, he will perceive how much the alteration is for the worse. For the pause falling upon *place* in the first line *by time or place*, and again upon *place* in the next line *The mind is its own place*, would offend the ear, and therefore is artfully varied.

254. *The mind is its own place,*] These are some of the extravagancies of the Stoics, and could not be better ridiculed than they are here by being put in the mouth of Satan in his present situation. *Thyer.*

257. —*all but*] I have heard it proposed to read *albeit*, that is although ; but prefer the common reading.

Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at least  
 We shall be free; th' Almighty hath not built  
 Here for his envy, will not drive us hence: 960  
 Here we may reign secure, and in my choice  
 To reign is worth ambition though in hell:  
 Better to reign in hell, than serve in heaven.  
 But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,  
 Th' associates and copartners of our loss, 965  
 Lie thus astonish'd on th' oblivious pool,  
 And call them not to share with us their part  
 In this unhappy mansion, or once more  
 With rallied arms to try what may be yet  
 Regain'd in heav'n, or what more lost in hell? 970  
 So Satan spake, and him Beëlzebub  
 Thus answer'd. Leader of those armies bright,  
 Which but th' Omnipotent none could have foil'd,  
 If once they hear that voice, their liveliest pledge

259. —*th' Almighty hath not built*

*Here for his envy,]*

This is not a place that God should envy us, or think it too good for us; and in this sense the word *envy* is used in several places of the poem, and particularly in iv. 517. viii. 494. and ix. 770.

263. *Better to reign in hell, than serve in heaven.]* This is a wonderfully fine improvement upon Prometheus's answer to Mercury in Æschylus. Prom. Vinct. 965.

Της σης λατρείας τῆς ἐμῆς δουραξίαν,  
 Σάφως στίγναις, οὐκ ἀν' ἀλλαξίαν' ἴγω'  
 Κρίνεται γὰρ ἡμῶς τῆς λατρείης πικρὰ,  
 ἢ πατρὶ φῦται Ζηνι πικρὸς ἀγγεῖλος.

My miseries, be assured, I would not change

For thy gay servitude, But rather choose

To live a vassal to this dreary rock,  
 Than lackey the proud heels of Jove.

(Potter.)

It was a memorable saying of Julius Cæsar, that he had rather be the first man in a country-village than the second at Rome. The reader will observe how properly the saying is here applied and accommodated to the speaker. It is here made a sentiment worthy of Satan, and of him only;

—nam te nec spernent Tartara regens,

Nec tibi regnandi veniat iam dira cupido. *Virg. Georg. i. 36.*

Of hope in fears and dangers, heard so oft 275  
 In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge  
 Of battle when it rag'd, in all assaults  
 Their surest signal, they will soon resume  
 New courage and revive, though now they lie  
 Grovelling and prostrate on yon lake of fire, 280  
 As we ere while, astounded and amaz'd,  
 No wonder, fall'n such a pernicious height.

He scarce had ceas'd when the superior Fiend  
 Was moving tow'ard the shore ; his pond'rous shield,  
 Ethereal temper, massy, large and round, 285  
 Behind him cast ; the broad circumference  
 Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb

276. —on the perilous edge  
 Of battle]  
 Perhaps he had in mind Virgil,  
*Æn.* ix. 528.

Et mecum iugentes oras evoluit  
 belli.

Jortin.

Shakespeare has an expression  
 very like this in 2 Hen. IV. act i.

You knew, he walk'd o'er perils, on  
 an edge

More likely to fall in, than to get  
 o'er:

and something like it in 1 Hen.  
 IV. act i.

I'll read you matter, deep and dan-  
 gerous;

As full of peril and advent'rous spirit,  
 As to o'er-walk a current, roaring  
 loud,

On the unstedfast footing of a spear.

Or after all may not the *edge* of  
 battle be expressed from the  
 Latin *acies*, which signifies both  
 the edge of a weapon, and also  
 an army in battle array? The

author himself would incline one  
 to think so by his use of this  
 metaphor in another place, vi.  
 108.

On the rough edge of battle ere it  
 join'd.

276.] The expression was  
 probably derived from the very  
 common Greek phrase *ἐν ῥυτίδι*  
*ἐκείνου*. See Lucian, tom. ii. p.  
 605. ed. Reitz. Dunster.

282 —fall'n such a pernicious  
 height.] Dr. Bentley reads *fall'n*  
 from such prodigious height: but  
 the epithet *pernicious* is much  
 stronger, and as for the want of  
 a preposition, that is common  
 in this poem ; for thus in i. 723.

Stood fix'd her stately height.

And in ii. 409.

—ere he arrive  
 The happy isle?

Pearce.

287. —like the moon, whose  
 orb, &c.] Homer compares the

Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views  
 At evening from the top of Fesolè,  
 Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands, 290  
 Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe.  
 His spear, to equal which the tallest pine  
 Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast  
 Of some great ammiral, were but a wand,  
 He walk'd with to support uneasy steps 295  
 Over the burning marle, not like those steps  
 On heaven's azure, and the torrid clime

splendor of Achilles' shield to  
 the moon, *Iliad*. xix. 373.

—*αὐτὰς ἰσχυτὰ χαλκὸς μὲν τι, στί-  
 λαισι τι,  
 Εἰσιεν, τοῦτ' ἀσπίδος εἰλας γένε', οὐτι  
 μῆνις.*

but the shield of Satan was  
 large as the moon seen through  
 a telescope, an instrument first  
 applied to celestial observations  
 by Galileo, a native of Tuscany,  
 whom he means here by *the  
 Tuscan artist*, and afterwards  
 mentions by name in v. 262. a  
 testimony of his honour for so  
 great a man, whom he had  
 known and visited in Italy, as  
 himself informs us in his *Areo-  
 pazifica*.

289. *Fesolè*,] Is a city in Tus-  
 cany; *Valdarno*, or the valley of  
 Arno, a valley there. *Richardson*.

292. *His spear, to equal which  
 the tallest pine, &c.*] Homer,  
*Odyss.* ix. 322. makes the club  
 of Polyphemos as big as the  
 mast of a ship,

*Quem f' iveras nos—*

and Virgil gives him a pine to  
 walk with, *Æn.* iii. 659.

VOL. I.

*Trunca manu pious regit et vestigia  
 firmat.*

and Tasso arms Tancred and  
 Argantes with two spears as big  
 as masts, *cant.* vi. st. 40.

*Posero in resta, e dirizzaro in alto  
 I due guerrier le noderose antenne.*

These sons of Marvora bore (instead of  
 spears)

*Two knotty masts, which none but  
 they could lift. Fairfax.*

well then might Milton assign  
 a spear so much larger to so  
 superior a being.

293. —*Norwegian hills*,] The  
 hills of Norway, barren and  
 rocky, but abounding in vast  
 woods, from whence are brought  
 masts of the largest size. *Hume*.

294. —*ammiral*,] According  
 to its German extraction *amiral*  
 or *amirael*, says Hume; from  
 the Italian *ammiraglio*, says  
 Richardson more probably. Our  
 author made choice of this, as  
 thinking it of a better sound  
 than *admiral*: and in Latin he  
 writes *ammiralatús curia*, the  
 court of admiralty.

294. —*ammiral*,] The ship  
 which carries the admiral. *John-  
 son's Dictionary*.

D



Smote on him sore besides, vaulted with fire :  
 Nathless he so endur'd, till on the beach  
 Of that inflamed sea he stood, and call'd 300  
 His legions, Angel forms, who lay entranc'd  
 Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks  
 In Vallombrosa, where th' Etrurian shades  
 High over-arch'd embow'r ; or scatter'd sedge  
 Afloat, when with fierce winds Orion arm'd 305  
 Hath vex'd the Red-sea coast, whose waves o'erthrew

299. *Nathless*] Nevertheless. This word is frequently used by Spenser, and the old poets.

299.] From *na*, that is, *not*, *the less*. Johnson's Dict.

302. *Thick as autumnal leaves*] Virg. *Æn.* vi. 309.

*Quam multa in sylvis autumni frigore primo*

*Lapsa cadunt folia.*

Thick as the leaves in autumn strow the woods. *J. ryden.*

But Milton's comparison is by far the exactest ; for it not only expresses a multitude, but also the posture and situation of the angels. Their lying confusedly in heaps, covering the lake, is finely represented by this image of the leaves in the brooks. And besides the propriety of the application, if we compare the similes themselves, Milton's is by far superior to the other, as it exhibits a real landscape. See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 23.

303. *Vallombrosa*,] A famous valley in *Etruria* or *Tuscany*, so named of *Vallis* and *Umbra*, remarkable for the continual cool shades, which the vast number

of trees that overspread it afford. *Hume.*

305. —when with fierce winds Orion arm'd, &c.] *Orion* is a constellation represented in the figure of an armed man, and supposed to be attended with stormy weather, *assurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion*. Virg. *Æn.* i. 539. And the Red-sea abounds so much with sedge, that in the Hebrew Scripture it is called the *Sedgy Sea*.

306. *Hath vex'd the Red-sea coast*] *Vexare* is commonly used by the Latin poets to describe the effects of a storm.

—aut mare Caspium

*Vexant inæquales procellæ*—

*Hor.* ii. *Od.* 9.

—vindemia nimbis

*Continuis vexata*—

*Martial*, i. *Ep.* 52.

—montesque supremos

*Sylvis fragis vexat flabris*—

*Lucret.* i. 276.

Milton frequently uses *to rex* in its Latin sense. See *Par. Lost*, iii. 429. *Par. Reg.* iv. 416.

*Dunster.*

306. —whose waves o'erthrew *Busiris* and his *Memphian* chivalry,]

Busiris and his Memphian chivalry,  
 While with perfidious hatred they pursued  
 The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld  
 From the safe shore their floating carcasses 310  
 And broken chariot wheels : so thick bestrown  
 Abject and lost lay these, covering the flood,  
 Under amazement of their hideous change.

Dr. Bentley throws out six lines here, as the Editor's, not Milton's: his chief reason is, That that single event of Moses's passing the Red-sea has no relation to a constant quality of it, that in stormy weather it is strowed with sedge. But it is very usual with Homer and Virgil (and therefore may be allowed to Milton) in a comparison, after they have shewn the resemblance, to go off from the main purpose and finish with some other image, which was occasioned by the comparison, but is itself very different from it. Milton has done thus in almost all his similitudes; and therefore what he does so frequently, cannot be allowed to be an objection to the genuineness of this passage before us. As to Milton's making Pharaoh to be *Busiris* (which is another of the Doctor's objections to the passage) there is authority enough for to justify a poet in doing so, though not an historian: it has been supposed by some, and therefore Milton might follow that opinion. *Chivalry* for *cavalry*, and *cavalry* (says Dr. Bentley) for *chariotry*, is twice wrong. But it is rather *twice right*: for *chivalry* (from the French *che-*

*valerie*) signifies not only *knight-hood*, but those who use horses in fight, both such as ride on horses and such as ride in chariots drawn by them: in the sense of riding and fighting on horseback this word *chivalry* is used in ver. 765. and in many places of Fairfax's *Tasso*, as in cant. v. st. 9. cant. viii. st. 67. cant. xx. st. 61. In the sense of riding and fighting in chariots drawn by horses, Milton uses the word *chivalry* in Par. Reg. iii. ver. 344. compared with ver. 328. *Pearce*.

308 —[*perfidious hatred*] Because Pharaoh, after leave given to the Israelites to depart, followed after them like fugitives. *Hume*.

310. *From the safe shore their floating carcasses &c.*] Much has been said of the long similitudes of Homer, Virgil, and our author, wherein they fetch a compass as it were to draw in new images, besides those in which the direct point of likeness consists. I think they have been sufficiently justified in the general: but in this before us, while the poet is digressing, he raises a new similitude from the floating carcasses of the Egyptians. *Heylin*.

He call'd so loud, that all the hollow deep  
 Of hell resounded. Princes, Potentates, 315  
 Warriors, the flow'r of heav'n, once yours, now lost,  
 If such astonishment as this can seize  
 Eternal Spi'rits ; or have ye chos'n this place  
 After the toil of battle to repose  
 Your wearied virtue, for the ease you find 320  
 To slumber here, as in the vales of heaven?  
 Or in this abject posture have ye sworn  
 To' adore the conqueror ? who now beholds  
 Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood  
 With scatter'd arms and ensigns, till anon 325  
 His swift pursuers from heav'n gates discern  
 Th' advantage, and descending tread us down  
 Thus drooping, or with linked thunderbolts  
 Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.  
 Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n. 330

They heard, and were abash'd, and up they sprung  
 Upon the wing, as when men wont to watch  
 On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,  
 Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake.  
 Nor did they not perceive the evil plight 335  
 In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel ;  
 Yet to their general's voice they soon obey'd  
 Innumerable. As when the potent rod

328. —with linked thunderbolts  
 Transfix us to the bottom of this  
 gulf.]

This alludes to the fate of Ajax  
 Oileus,

Illum expirantem transfixo pectore  
 flammis

Turbine corripit, scopuloque infixit  
 acuto. Virg. Æn. l. 44, 45.

Who pleaseth to read the Devil's  
 speech to his damned assembly  
 in Tasso, cant. iv. from stanza  
 9 to stanza 18, will find our  
 author has seen him, though  
 borrowed little of him. Hume.

338. As when the potent rod  
 &c.] See Exod. x. 13. Moses  
 stretched forth his rod over the

Of Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day,  
 Wav'd round the coast, up call'd a pitchy cloud 340  
 Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,  
 That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung  
 Like night, and darken'd all the land of Nile :  
 So numberless were those bad angels seen  
 Hovering on wing under the cope of hell 345  
 'Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding fires ;  
 Till, as a signal giv'n, th' up-lifted spear  
 Of their great Sultan waving to direct  
 Their course, in even balance down they light  
 On the firm brimstone, and fill all the plain ; 350  
 A multitude, like which the populous north

*land of Egypt, and the Lord brought an east-wind upon the land, and the east-wind brought the locusts : and the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt—so that the land was darkened.*

341 —*warping*] Working themselves forward, a sea term. *Hume and Richardson.*

351. *A multitude, like which &c.*] This comparison doth not fall below the rest, as some have imagined. They were thick as the leaves, and numberless as the locusts, but such a multitude the north never poured forth ; and we may observe that the subject of this comparison rises very much above the others, leaves and locusts. *The populous north*, as the northern parts of the world are observed to be more fruitful of people, than the hotter countries : Sir William Temple calls it *the northern hive*. *Poured never*, a very proper word to express the inundations of these northern nations. *From her fro-*

*zen loins*, it is the Scripture expression of children and descendants coming out of the loins, as Gen. xxxv. 11. *Kings shall come out of thy loins* ; and these are called *frozen loins* only on account of the coldness of the climate. *To pass Rhene or the Danaw*. He might have said consistently with his verse *The Rhine or Danube*, but he chose the more uncommon names *Rhene* of the Latin, and *Danaw* of the German, both which words are used too in Spenser. *When her barbarous sons &c.* They were truly barbarous ; for besides exercising several cruelties, they destroyed all the monuments of learning and politeness wherever they came. *Came like a deluge*, Spenser describing the same people has the same simile, *Faery Queen*, b. ii. cant. 10. st. 15.

And overflow'd all countries far away.  
 Like Noye's great flood with their  
 importune away.

Pour'd never from her frozen loins, to pass  
 Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons  
 Came like a deluge on the south, and spread  
 Beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian sands. 355  
 Forthwith from every squadron and each band  
 The heads and leaders thither haste where stood  
 Their great commander; Godlike shapes and forms  
 Excelling human, princely dignities,  
 And pow'rs that erst in heaven sat on thrones; 360  
 Though of their names in heav'nly records now  
 Be no memorial, blotted out and ras'd  
 By their rebellion from the books of life.  
 Nor had they yet among the sons of Eve  
 Got them new names, till wand'ring o'er the earth, 365  
 Through God's high sufferance for the tri'al of man,  
 By falsities and lies the greatest part  
 Of mankind they corrupted to forsake

They were the Goths, and Huns, and Vandals, who overrun all the southern provinces of Europe, and crossing the Mediterranean *beneath Gibraltar* landed in Africa, and spread themselves as far as the sandy country of Libya. *Beneath Gibraltar*, that is, more southward, the north being uppermost in the globe.

363. —*the books of life*.] Dr. Bentley reads *the book of life*, that being the Scripture expression. And Shakespeare says likewise *blotted from the book of life*, Richard II. act i.

My name be blotted from the *book of life*.

But the author might write *books*

in the plural as well as *records* just before; and the plural agrees better with the idea that he would give of the great number of angels.

367. *By falsities and lies*] That is, as Mr. Upton observes, by false idols, under a corporeal representation, *belying* the true God. The poet plainly alludes to Rom. i. 22, &c. *When they knew God, they glorified him not as God—and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image—who changed the truth of God into a lie.* So Amos ii. 4. *Their lies caused them to err*, Jer. xvi. 19. *Surely our fathers have inherited lies*, &c.

God their Creator, and th' invisible  
 Glory of him that made them to transform 370  
 Oft to the image of a brute, adorn'd  
 With gay religions full of pomp and gold,  
 And devils to adore for deities :  
 Then were they known to men by various names,  
 And various idols through the heathen world. 375  
 Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last,

369. —and th' invisible  
*Glory of him that made them to transform*

*Oft to the image of a brute.]*  
 Alluding to Rom. i. 23. *And changed the glory of the uncorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.*

372. *With gay religions full of pomp and gold,]* By religious Milton means religious rites, as Cicero uses the word, when he joins *religiones et ceremonias*. De Legib. lib. i. c. 15. and elsewhere. *Pearce.*

\* 376. *Say, Muse, &c.]* The catalogue of evil Spirits has abundance of learning in it, and a very agreeable turn of poetry, which rises in a great measure from its describing the places where they were worshipped, by those beautiful marks of rivers, so frequent among the ancient poets. The author had doubtless in this place Homer's catalogue of ships, and Virgil's list of warriors in his view. *Addison.*

Dr. Bentley says that this is not the finest part of the poem : but I think it is, in the design and drawing, if not in the colouring ; for the *Paradise Lost*

being a religious epic, nothing could be more artful than thus deducing the original of superstition. This gives it a great advantage over the catalogues he has imitated ; for Milton's becomes thereby a necessary part of the work, as the original of superstition, an essential part of a religious epic, could not have been shewn without it. Had Virgil's or Homer's been omitted, their poems would not have suffered materially, because in their relations of the following actions we find the soldiers, who were before catalogued : but by no following history of superstition that Milton could have brought in, could we find out these devils' agency, it was therefore necessary he should inform us of the fact. *Warburton.*

*Say, Muse, &c.* Homer at the beginning of his catalogue invokes his Muse afresh in a very pompous manner. Virgil does the like, and Milton follows both so far as to make a fresh invocation, though short ; because he had already made a large and solemn address in this very book, at the beginning of his poem.

376. —*their names then known,]*

Rous'd from the slumber, on that fiery couch,  
 At their great emp'ror's call, as next in worth  
 Came singly where he stood on the bare strand,  
 While the promiscuous crowd stood yet aloof. 380  
 The chief were those who from the pit of hell  
 Roaming to seek their prey on earth, durst fix  
 Their seats long after next the seat of God,  
 Their altars by his altar, Gods ador'd  
 Among the nations round, and durst abide 385  
 Jehovah thund'ring out of Sion, thron'd  
 Between the Cherubim; yea, often plac'd  
 Within his sanctuary itself their shrines,  
 Abominations; and with cursed things  
 His holy rites and solemn feasts profan'd, 390  
 And with their darkness durst affront his light.  
 First Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood

When they had got them new names. Milton finely considered that the names he was obliged to apply to these evil angels carry a bad signification, and therefore could not be those they had in their state of innocence and glory; he has therefore said their former names are now lost, rased from amongst those of their old associates who retain their purity and happiness. *Richardson.*

376. —*who first, who last,*]

Quem telo primum, quem postremum  
 &c. *Virg. Æn. xi. 664.*

386. — *thron'd*  
*Between the Cherubim;*]

This relates to the ark being placed between the two golden Cherubim, 1 Kings vi. 23. 1 Kings viii. 6, and 7. See also

2 Kings xix. 15. *O Lord God of Israel, which dwellest between the Cherubim.* Hume.

387. — *yea, often plac'd*  
*Within his sanctuary itself their shrines,*  
*Abominations;]*

Jeremiah vii. 30. *For the children of Judah have done evil in my sight, saith the Lord; they have set their abominations in the house which is called by my name, to pollute it.* And we read of Manasseh, 2 Kings xxi. 4, and 5. that he built altars in the house of the Lord, of which the Lord said, *In Jerusalem will I put my name: And he built altars for all the host of heaven, in the two courts of the house of the Lord.* See also Ezek. vii. 20. and viii. 5, 6.

392. *First Moloch, horrid king,]*

Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears,  
 Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud  
 Their children's cries unheard, that pass'd through fire  
 To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite 396  
 Worshipp'd in Rabba and her wat'ry plain,

*First* after Satan and Beëlzebub. The name *Moloch* signifies *king*, and he is called *horrid king*, because of the human sacrifices which were made to him. This idol is supposed by some to be the same as Saturn, to whom the heathens sacrificed their children, and by others to be the Sun. It is said in Scripture that the children *passed through the fire to Moloch*, and our author employs the same expression, by which we must understand not that they always actually burnt their children in honour of this idol, but sometimes made them only leap over the flames, or pass nimbly between two fires, to purify them by that lustration, and consecrate them to this false deity. The Rabbins assure us that the idol *Moloch* was of brass, sitting on a throne of the same metal, and wearing a royal crown, having the head of a calf, and his arms extended to receive the miserable victims which were to be consumed in the flames; and therefore it is very probably styled here *his grim idol*. He was the God of the *Ammonites*, and is called *the abomination of the children of Ammon*, 1 Kings xi. 7. and was worshipped in *Rabba*, the capital city of the Ammonites, which David conquered, and took from thence the crown of their God *Milcolm*, as some render the words 2 Sam.

xii. 30. and this *Rabba* being called *the city of waters*, 2 Sam. xii. 27. it is here said *Rabba and her watery plain*: and likewise in *Argob* and in *Basan*, neighbouring countries to *Rabba* and subject to the *Ammonites*, as far as to the stream of utmost *Arnon*, which river was the boundary of their country on the south. Solomon built a temple to *Moloch* on the mount of Olives, 1 Kings xi. 7. therefore called *that opprobrious hill*; and high places and sacrifices were made to him in *the pleasant valley of Hinnom*, Jer. vii. 31. which lay south-east of Jerusalem, and was called likewise *Tophet* from the Hebrew *Toph* a drum, drums and such like noisy instruments being used to drown the cries of the miserable children who were offered to this idol; and *Gehenna* or *the valley of Hinnom* is in several places of the New Testament, and by our Saviour himself, made *the name and type of hell*, by reason of the fire that was kept up there to *Moloch*, and of the horrid groans and outcries of human sacrifices. We might enlarge much more upon each of these idols, and produce a heap of learned authorities and quotations; but we endeavour to be as short as we can, and say no more than may serve as a sufficient commentary to explain and illustrate our author.



In Argob and in Basan, to the stream  
 Of utmost Arnon. Nor content with such  
 Audacious neighbourhood, the wisest heart 400  
 Of Solomon he led by fraud to build  
 His temple right against the temple' of God  
 On that opprobrious hill, and made his grove  
 The pleasant valley' of Hinnom, Tophet thence  
 And black Gehenna call'd, the type of hell. 405  
 Next Chemos, th' obscene dread of Moab's sons,

406. *Next Chemos, &c.*] He is rightly mentioned next after *Moloch*, as their names are joined together in Scripture 1 Kings xi. 7. and it was a natural transition from the God of the Ammonites to the God of their neighbours the Moabites. St. Jerom and several learned men assert *Chemos* and *Baal Peor* to be only different names for the same idol, and suppose him to be the same with *Priapus* or the idol of turpitude, and therefore called here *th' obscene dread of Moab's sons*, from *Aroar*, a city upon the river Arnon, the boundary of their country to the north, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Gad, to *Nebo*, a city eastward, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Reuben, and the wild of south-most *Abarim*, a ridge of mountains the boundary of their country to the south; in *Hesebon* or *Heshbon*, and *Horonaim*, *Seon's realm*, two cities of the Moabites, taken from them by *Sihon King* of the Amorites, Numb. xxi. 26. beyond the flowery dale of *Sibmah* clad with vines, a place famous for vineyards, as appears from Jer. xlviii. 32. O

*vine of Sibmah, I will weep for thee*, and *Eleülé*, another city of the Moabites not far from *Heshbon*, to the *Asphaltic pool*, the Dead Sea, so called from the *Asphaltus* or bitumen abounding in it; the river Jordan empties itself into it, and that river and this sea were the boundary of the Moabites to the west. It was this God under the name of *Baal Peor*, that the Israelites were induced to worship in *Sittim*, and committed whoredom with the daughters of Moab, for which there died of the plague twenty and four thousand, as we read in Numb. xxv. His high places were adjoining to those of *Moloch* on the mount of Olives, therefore called here *that hill of scandal* as before *that opprobrious hill*, for *Solomon* did build an high place for *Chemosh* the abomination of Moab in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for *Moloch* the abomination of the children of Ammon, 1 Kings xi. 7. But good *Josiah* brake in pieces their images, and cut down their groves. See 2 Kings xxiii. 13, 14.

From Aroar to Nebo, and the wild  
 Of southmost Abarim; in Hesebon  
 And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond  
 The flow'ry dale of Sibma clad with vines, 410  
 And Eleälé to the Asphaltic pool.  
 Peor his other name, when he entic'd  
 Israel in Sittim on their march from Nile  
 To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.  
 Yet thence his lustful orgies he enlarg'd 415  
 Ev'n to that hill of scandal, by the grove  
 Of Moloch homicide, lust hard by hate;  
 Till good Josiah drove them thence to hell.  
 With these came they, who from the bord'ring flood  
 Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts 420  
 Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names  
 Of Baälim and Ashtaroth, those male,

407. —the wild

*Of southmost Abarim]*

The southmost parts only of these mountains were the boundary of Moab, the principal part of which lay to the south-east of Abarim. E.

417. —lust hard by hate;]

What a fine moral sentiment has our author here introduced and couched in half a verse! He might perhaps have in view Spenser's Mask of Cupid, where Anger, Strife, &c. are represented as immediately following Cupid in the procession. See Faery Queen, b. iii. cant. 12. *Thyer.*

419. —from the bord'ring flood

*Of old Euphrates &c.]*

It is rightly called *old*, being mentioned by the oldest historian in the earliest accounts of time,

Gen. ii. 14. And it is likewise called the *bord'ring flood*, being the utmost limit or border eastward of the promised land, according to Gen. xv. 18. *Unto thy seed have I given this land from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates:* and the Psalmist speaking of the *vine that was brought out of Egypt* says, Psal. lxxx. 11. *she sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river,* that is from the Mediterranean to the river Euphrates: *to the brook that parts Egypt from Syrian ground*, most probably the brook Besor mentioned in Scripture, near Rhinocolura, which city is assigned sometimes to Syria and sometimes to Egypt.

422. *Baälim and Ashtaroth,]*

These feminine. For spirits when they please  
 Can either sex assume, or both ; so soft  
 And uncompounded is their essence pure, 425  
 Not tied or manacled with joint or limb,  
 Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,  
 Like cumbrous flesh ; but in what shape they choose  
 Dilated or condens'd, bright or obscure,  
 Can execute their aery purposes, 430  
 And works of love or enmity fulfil.  
 For those the race of Israel oft forsook  
 Their living strength, and unfrequented left  
 His righteous altar, bowing lowly down  
 To bestial Gods ; for which their heads as low 435  
 Bow'd down in battle, sunk before the spear

These are properly named together, as they frequently are in Scripture ; and there were many *Baalim* and many *Ashtaroth* ; they were the general names of the gods and goddesses of Syria, Palestine, and the neighbouring countries. It is supposed that by them is meant the Sun and the host of heaven.

423. *For spirits when they please &c.*] These notions about spirits seem to have been borrowed from Michael Psellus's dialogue about the operation of demons, where a story is related of a demon's appearing in the shape of a woman ; and upon this a doubt is raised whether some demons are males, and others females ; and it is asserted that they can assume either sex, and take what shape and colour they please, and contract or dilate themselves at pleasure, as they are of an airy nature. *δι*

και εκαστος γι αυταις, τοτε σωμα προς ε αν αιρετο σχημα μετατοκησης, και χρωματος τινος υδος προς το του σωματος εξανισχνη πινας, ποτι μιν ως ανηρ ευφαιζεται, ποτι δε προς γυναικα μεταβαλλυ μαρφη &c. See Μιχαηλου του Ψελλου περι επεργιας δαιμονων διαλογος, p. 70—77. edit. Lutet. Paris. 1615. Such an extraordinary scholar was Milton, and such use he made of all sorts of authors.

426. —*manacled*—] In Shakespeare's time, *manacle*, properly a hand-cuff, was not out of familiar use. *Cymbeline*, act v. sc. 4. "Knock off his *manacles* ;" and in other places. The verb is also in Shakespeare, and in Beaumont and Fletcher. See also our author's *Free Commonwealth*, Pr. W. vol. i. 595. "new injunctions to *manacle* the native liberty of mankind." Milton has *immanacle*, in *Comus*, 665. *T. War-*  
*ton.*

Of despicable foes. With these in troop  
 Came Astoreth, whom the Phœnicians call'd  
 Astarte, queen of heav'n, with crescent horns ;  
 To whose bright image nightly by the moon 440  
 Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs,  
 In Sion also not unsung, where stood  
 Her temple on th' offensive mountain, built  
 By that uxorious king, whose heart though large,  
 Beguil'd by fair idolatresses, fell 445  
 To idols foul. Thammuz came next behind,

437. *With these in troop &c.]* Astoreth or Astarte was the goddess of the Phœnicians, and the moon was adored under this name. She is rightly said to come in troop with Ashtaroth, as she was one of them, the moon with the stars. Sometimes she is called *queen of heaven*, Jer. vii. 18. and xlv. 17, 18. She is likewise called *the goddess of the Zidonians*, 1 Kings xi. 5. and *the abomination of the Zidonians*, 2 Kings xxiii. 13. as she was worshipped very much in Zidon or Sidon, a famous city of the Phœnicians, situated upon the Mediterranean. Solomon, who had many wives that were foreigners, was prevailed upon by them to introduce the worship of this goddess into Israel, 1 Kings xi. 5. and built her temple on the mount of Olives, which on account of this and other idols is called *the mountain of corruption*, 2 Kings xxiii. 13. as here by the poet *th' offensive mountain*, and before *that opprobrious hill*, and *that hill of scandal*.

446. *Thammuz came next &c.]*

The account of Thammuz is finely romantic, and suitable to what we read among the ancients of the worship which was paid to that idol. The reader will pardon me, if I insert as a note on this beautiful passage, the account given us by the late ingenious Mr. Maundrel of this ancient piece of worship, and probably the first occasion of such a superstition. "We came to a fair large river—doubtless the ancient river Adonis, so famous for the idolatrous rites performed here in lamentation of Adonis. We had the fortune to see what may be supposed to be the occasion of that opinion which Lucian relates, viz. that this stream at certain seasons of the year, especially about the feast of Adonis, is of a bloody colour; which the heathens looked upon as proceeding from a kind of sympathy in the river for the death of Adonis, who was killed by a wild boar in the mountains, out of which this stream rises. Something like this we saw actually come

Whose annual wound in Lebanon allur'd  
 The Syrian damsels to lament his fate  
 In amorous ditties all a summer's day,  
 While smooth Adonis from his native rock 450  
 Ran purple to the sea, suppos'd with blood  
 Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the love-tale  
 Infected Sion's daughters with like heat,  
 Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch  
 Ezekiel saw, when by the vision led 455  
 His eye survey'd the dark idolatries  
 Of alienated Judah. Next came one

"to pass; for the water was  
 "stained to a surprising red-  
 "ness; and as we observed in  
 "travelling, had discoloured the  
 "sea a great way into a reddish  
 "hue, occasioned doubtless by  
 "a sort of minium or red earth,  
 "washed into the river by the  
 "violence of the rain, and not  
 "by any stain from Adonis's  
 "blood." Addison.

*Thammuz* was the God of the  
 Syrians, the same with *Adonis*,  
 who according to the traditions  
 died every year and revived  
 again. He was slain by a wild  
 boar in mount *Lebanon*, from  
 whence the river *Adonis* de-  
 scends: and when this river be-  
 gan to be of a reddish hue, as it  
 did at a certain season of the  
 year, this was their signal for  
 celebrating their *Adonia* or feasts  
 of *Adonis*, and the women made  
 loud lamentations for him, sup-  
 posing the river was discoloured  
 with his blood. The like idola-  
 trous rites were transferred to  
 Jerusalem, where *Ezekiel* saw  
 the women lamenting *Tammuz*,

*Ezek. viii. 13, 14. He said also  
 unto me, Turn thee yet again, and  
 thou shalt see greater abominations  
 that they do. Then he brought  
 me to the door of the gate of the  
 Lord's house, which was towards  
 the north, and behold, there sat  
 women weeping for Tammuz. Dr.  
 Pemberton in his Observations  
 upon poetry quotes some of these  
 verses upon Thammuz as distin-  
 guishably melodious; and they  
 are observed to be not unlike  
 those beautiful lines in Shake-  
 speare, 1 Hen. IV. act iii. and  
 particularly in the sweetness of  
 the numbers:*

*As sweet as ditties highly pen'd,  
 Sung by a fair queen in a summer's  
 bower,*

*With ravishing division to her lute.*

457. —*Next came one*

*Who mourn'd in earnest, &c.]*

The lamentations for *Adonis*  
 were without reason, but there  
 was real occasion for *Dagon's*  
 mourning, when the ark of God  
 was taken by the Philistines, and  
 being placed in the temple of  
*Dagon*, the next morning behold

Who mourn'd in earnest, when the captive ark  
 Maim'd his brute image, head and hands lopt off  
 In his own temple, on the grunsel edge, 460  
 Where he fell flat, and sham'd his worshippers :  
 Dagon his name, sea monster, upward man  
 And downward fish : yet had his temple high  
 Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the coast  
 Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon, 465  
 And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds.  
 Him follow'd Rimmon, whose delightful seat

*Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold, (upon the grunsel or groundsail edge, as Milton expresses it, on the edge of the footpost of his temple gate,) only the stump of Dagon was left to him, as we read 1 Sam. v. 4. Learned men are by no means agreed in their accounts of this idol. Some derive the name from Dagan, which signifies corn, as if he was the inventor of it; others from Dag, which signifies a fish, and represent him accordingly with the upper part of a man, and the lower part of a fish. Our author follows the latter opinion, which is that commonly received, and has besides the authority of the learned Selden. This Dagon is called in Scripture the God of the Philistines, and was worshipped in the five principal cities of the Philistines, mentioned 1 Sam. vi. 17. Azotus or Ashdod, where he had a temple, as we read in 1 Sam. v. Gath, and Ascalon, and Accaron, or*

*Ekron, and Gaza, where they had sacrifices and feastings in honour of him, Juilg. xvi. Gaza's frontier bounds, says the poet, as it was the southern extremity of the promised land toward Egypt. It is mentioned by Moses as the southern point of the land of Canaan. Gen. x. 19.*

467. *Him follow'd Rimmon, &c.] Rimmon was a God of the Syrians, but it is not certain what he was, or why so called. We only know that he had a temple at Damascus, 2 Kings v. 18. the most celebrated city of Syria, on the banks of Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, as they are called 2 Kings v. 12. A leper once he lost, Naaman the Syrian, who was cured of his leprosy by Elisha, and who for that reason resolved thenceforth to offer neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice to any other god, but unto the Lord, 2 Kings v. 17. And gained a king, Ahaz his sottish conqueror, who with the assistance of the king of Assyria having taken Damascus, saw there an altar, and sent a pattern of it to Jerusalem to have an-*

Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks  
 Of Abana and Pharpar, lucid streams.  
 He also' against the house of God was bold: 470  
 A leper once he lost, and gain'd a king,  
 Ahaz his sottish conqu'ror, whom he drew  
 God's altar to disparage and displace  
 For one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn  
 His odious offerings, and adore the Gods 475  
 Whom he had vanquish'd. After these appear'd  
 A crew who under names of old renown,  
 Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train,  
 With monstrous shapes and sorceries abus'd  
 Fanatic Egypt and her priests, to seek 480  
 Their wand'ring Gods disguis'd in brutish forms

other made by it, directly contrary to the command of God, who had appointed what kind of altar he would have, (Exod. xxvii. 1, 2, &c.) and had ordered that no other should be made of any matter or figure whatsoever. Ahaz however upon his return removed the altar of the Lord from its place, and set up this new altar in its stead, and offered thereon, 2 Kings xvi. 10. &c. and thenceforth gave himself up to idolatry, and instead of the God of Israel he sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus, 2 Chron. xxviii. 23. whom he had subdued.

478. *Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train, &c.*] *Osiris* and *Isis* were the principal deities of the Egyptians, by which it is most probable they originally meant the sun and moon. *Orus* was

the son of *Osiris* and *Isis*, frequently confounded with *Apollo*: and these and the other Gods of the Egyptians were worshipped in monstrous shapes, bulls, cats, dogs, &c. and the reason alleged for this monstrous worship is derived from the fabulous tradition, that when the giants invaded heaven, the gods were so affrighted that they fled into Egypt, and there concealed themselves in the shapes of various animals; and the Egyptians afterwards out of gratitude worshipped the creatures, whose shapes the gods had assumed. *Ovid*, *Met.* v. 319, &c. where is an account of their transformations: and therefore *Milton* here calls them

*Their wand'ring gods disguis'd  
 in brutish forms  
 Rather than human.*

Rather than human. Nor did Israel 'scape  
Th' infection, when their borrow'd gold compos'd

482. —*Nor did Israel 'scape  
Th' infection, &c.]*

The Israelites by dwelling so long in Egypt were infected with the superstitions of the Egyptians, and in all probability made the golden calf, or ox (for so it is differently called, Psal. cxvi. 19, 20.) in imitation of that which represented Osiris, and out of the golden ear-rings, which it is most likely they borrowed of the Egyptians, Exod. xii. 35. *The calf in Oreb*, and so the Psalmist, *They made a calf in Horeb*, Psal. cvi. 19. while Moses was upon the mount with God. *And the rebel king*, Jeroboam made king by the Israelites who rebelled against Rehoboam, 1 Kings xii. *doubled that sin* by making two golden calves, probably in imitation of the Egyptians with whom he had conversed, who had a couple of oxen which they worshipped, one called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the upper Egypt, and the other Mnevis at Hierapolis the chief city of the lower Egypt: and he set them up in *Bethel and in Dan*, the two extremities of the kingdom of Israel, the former in the south, the latter in the north. *Likening his Maker to the grazed ox*, alluding to Psal. cvi. 20. *Thus they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass: Jehovah, who in one night when he passed from Egypt marching, for the children of Israel not only passed from Egypt, but marched in a warlike manner,*

and the Lord brought them out, the Lord went before them: *equalled with one stroke both her first-born and all her bleating gods*, for the Lord slew all the first-born in the land of Egypt both man and beast, and upon their gods also the Lord executed judgments, Exod. xii. 12. Numb. xxxiii. 4. and Milton means all their gods in general, though he says *bleating gods* in particular, burrowing the metaphor from sheep, and using it for the cry of any sort of beasts. Dr. Bentley says indeed that the Egyptians did not worship sheep, they only abstained from eating them: but (as Dr. Pearce replies) was not Jupiter Ammon worshipped under a ram, hence *corniger Ammon*? Clemens Alexandrinus tells us, that the people of Sais and Thebes worshipped sheep; and R. Jarchi upon Gen. xli. 34. says, that a shepherd was therefore an abomination to the Egyptians, because the Egyptians worshipped sheep as gods. We may farther add, that Onkelos, Jonathan, and several others are of the same opinion, and say that shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians, because they had no greater regard to those creatures which the Egyptians worshipped, than to breed them up to be eaten. These authorities are sufficient to justify our poet for calling them *bleating gods*; he might make use of that epithet as one of the most insignificant and contemptible, with the same air



The calf in Oreb ; and the rebel king  
 Doubled that sin in Bethel and in Dan, 485  
 Likening his Maker to the grazed ox,  
 Jehovah, who in one night when he pass'd  
 From Egypt marching, equall'd with one stroke  
 Both her first-born and all her bleating gods.  
 Belial came last, than whom a Spi'rit more lewd 490  
 Fell not from heaven, or more gross to love  
 Vice for itself : to him no temple stood  
 Or altar smok'd ; yet who more oft than he  
 In temples and at altars, when the priest  
 Turns atheist, as did Eli's sons, who fill'd 495  
 With lust and violence the house of God ?  
 In courts and palaces he also reigns  
 And in luxurious cities, where the noise  
 Of ri'ot ascends above their loftiest towers,  
 And injury and outrage : and when night 500  
 Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons

of disdain as Virgil says *Æn.*  
viii. 698.

*Omnigenûmque deûm monstra et la-  
trator Anubis ;*

and so returns to his subject,  
and ends the passage as he began  
it, with the gods of Egypt.

490. *Belial came last, &c.*]

The characters of *Moloch* and  
*Belial* prepare the reader's mind  
for their respective speeches and  
behaviour in the second and  
sixth book. *Addison.*

And they are very properly  
made, one the first, and the  
other the last, in this catalogue,  
as they both make so great a  
figure afterwards in the poem.

*Moloch* the first, as he was the  
*fiercest spirit that fought in hea-  
ven*, ii. 44. and *Belial* the last,  
as he is represented as the most  
*timorous and slothful*, ii. 117. It  
doth not appear that he was  
ever worshipped ; but lewd pro-  
fligate fellows, such as regard  
neither God nor man, are called  
in Scripture the *children of Belial*,  
Deut. xiii. 18. So the sons of  
Eli are called 1 Sam. ii. 12. *Now  
the sons of Eli were sons of Belial,  
they knew not the Lord.* So the  
men of Gibeah, who abused the  
Levite's wife, Judg. xix. 22. are  
called likewise *sons of Belial* ;  
which are the particular in-  
stances here given by our author.

Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.  
 Witness the streets of Sodom, and that night  
 In Gibeah, when the hospitable door  
 Expos'd a matron to avoid worse rape.  
 These were the prime in order and in might ;

505

502. — *flown with insolence and wine.*] I have heard a conjecture of somebody proposing to read *blown* instead of *flown*, blown with insolence and wine, as there is in Virgil *inflatus Iaccho*, Ec. vi. 13.

*Inflatum hesterno ventis, ut semper, Iaccho.*

But *flown* I conceive is a participle from the verb *fly*, and the meaning is that they were raised and heightened with insolence and wine, insolence and wine made them *fly out* into these extravagances. Or, as others think, it may be a participle from the verb *flow*, as *overflown* is sometimes used for overflowed. And the meaning is the same as *flushed* with insolence and wine. An expression very common from the verb *fluo*. In the same sense we use *flushed* with success, as Mr. Thyer observes.

502.] Warton would read *swoln*, comparing this passage with Comus, 178.

To meet the rudeness, and *swill'd*  
*insolence*  
 Of such late wassailers.

E.

504. — *when the hospitable door*  
*Expos'd a matron to avoid*  
*worse rape.*]

So Milton caused it to be printed in the second edition; the first ran thus,

— when hospitable doors  
 Yielded their matrons to prevent  
 worse rape.

And Milton did well in altering the passage, to make it more agreeable to the Scriptural story.  
*Pearce.*

506. *These were the prime*] It is observed by Macrobius and others, in commendation of Homer's catalogue of ships and warriors, that he hath therein mentioned every body who doth, and nobody who doth not, afterwards make his appearance in the poem: whereas it is otherwise in Virgil; some have a place in the list, who are never heard of in the battles, and others make a figure in the battles, who are not taken notice of in the list. Neither hath Milton in this respect attained Homer's excellence and beauty; but then it should be considered what was his intent and purpose in this catalogue. It was not possible for him to exhibit as complete a catalogue of the fallen angels, as Homer hath given us of the Grecian and Trojan commanders; and as it was not possible or indeed proper, so neither was it at all his intention. He proposed only to mention the chief, and such who were known in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, and had inroached upon the worship of the God of

The rest were long to tell, though far renown'd,  
 Th' Ionian Gods, of Javan's issue held  
 Gods, yet confess'd later than heav'n and earth,  
 Their boasted parents: Titan heav'n's first-born, 510  
 With his enormous brood, and birthright seiz'd  
 By younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove  
 His own and Rhea's son like measure found;  
 So Jove usurping reign'd: these first in Crete  
 And Ida known, thence on the snowy top 515  
 Of cold Olympus rul'd the middle air,

Israel: and what he proposed he hath executed with wonderful learning and judgment. He hath enlarged very much upon each of these idols, as he drew most of his materials from Scripture: *The rest were long to tell*, the rest he slightly passes over, as our knowledge of them is derived only from fabulous antiquity.

508. *Th' Ionian gods, of Javan's issue held*

*Gods, &c.]*

*Javan*, the fourth son of Japhet, and grandson of Noah, is supposed to have settled in the south-west part of Asia Minor, about *Ionis*, which contains the radical letters of his name. His descendants were the *Ionians* and *Grecians*; and the principal of their gods were heaven and earth; *Titan* was their eldest son, he was father of the giants, and his empire was seized by his younger brother *Saturn*, as *Saturn's* was by *Jupiter* son of *Saturn* and *Rhea*. These were first known in the island *Crete*, now *Candia*, in which is mount *Ida*, where *Jupiter* is said to have

been born; thence passed over into Greece, and resided on mount *Olympus* in Thessaly; *the snowy top of cold Olympus*, as *Homer* calls it *Ὀλύμπου ἁγαστοῦ*, Il. i. 420. and xviii. 615. *Ὀλύμπου ἁγαστοῦ*, which mountain afterwards became the name of heaven among their worshippers; or on the *Delphian cliff*, *Parnassus*, whereon was seated the city *Delphi*, famous for the temple and oracle of *Apollo*; or in *Dodona*, a city and wood adjoining, sacred to *Jupiter*; and through all the bounds of *Doric land*, that is of Greece, *Doris* being a part of Greece; or fled over *Adria*, the *Adriatic*, to th' *Hesperian fields*, to Italy; and o'er the *Celtic*, France and the other countries overrun by the *Celts*, roamed the utmost isles, Great Britain, Ireland, the *Orkneys*, *Thulé* or *Iceland*, *ultima Thule*, as it is called, the utmost boundary of the world. Such explications are needless to those who are conversant with the classic authors; they are written for those who are not.

Their highest heav'n ; or on the Delphian cliff,  
 Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds  
 Of Doric land ; or who with Saturn old  
 Fled over Adria to th' Hesperian fields, 520  
 And o'er the Celtic roam'd the utmost isles.

All these and more came flocking ; but with looks  
 Downcast and damp, yet such wherein appear'd  
 Obscure some glimpse of joy, to' have found their chief  
 Not in despair, to' have found themselves not lost 525  
 In loss itself ; which on his count'nance cast  
 Like doubtful hue : but he his wonted pride  
 Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore  
 Semblance of worth not substance, gently rais'd  
 Their fainting courage, and dispell'd their fears. 530  
 Then straight commands that at the warlike sound  
 Of trumpets loud and clarions be uprear'd  
 His mighty standard ; that proud honour claim'd  
 Azazel as his right, a cherub tall ;

529. *Semblance of worth not substance,*] Spenser, Faery Queen, b. ii. cant. 9. st. 2.

Full lively is the *semblant*, though the *substance* dead.

*Thyer.*

530. *Their fainting courage,*] In the first edition he gave it *Their fainted courage*, if that be not an error of the press.

532. *Of trumpets loud and clarions*] A clarion is a small shrill treble trumpet, à *claro* quem edit sono. *Hume.*

So Fairfax mentions and distinguishes them ; cant. i. st. 71.

When trumpets loud and clarions shrill were heard.

533. — *that proud honour claim'd Azazel as his right, a cherub tall ;*]

*Azazel* is not the *scape-goat*, as it is commonly called, but signifies some demon, as the learned Dr. Spencer hath abundantly proved in his dissertation *De hirco emissario*. He shews that this name is used for some demon or devil by several ancient authors Jewish and Christian, and derives it from two Hebrew words, *Az* and *Azel*, signifying *brave in retreating*, a proper appellation for the standard-bearer to the fallen angels.

Who forthwith from the glittering staff unfurl'd 335  
 Th' imperial ensign, which full high advanc'd  
 Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind,  
 With gems and golden lustre rich emblaz'd,  
 Seraphic arms and trophies ; all the while  
 Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds : 540  
 At which the universal host up sent  
 A shout, that tore hell's concave, and beyond  
 Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.  
 All in a moment through the gloom were seen  
 Ten thousand banners rise into the air 545

535. *Who forthwith &c.*] There are several other strokes in the first book wonderfully poetical, and instances of that sublime genius so peculiar to the author. Such is the description of Azazel's stature, and of the infernal standard which he unfurls ; as also of that ghastly light, by which the fiends appear to one another in their place of torments : the shout of the whole host of fallen angels when drawn up in battle array : the review which the leader makes of his infernal army : the flash of light which appeared upon the drawing of their swords : the sudden production of the Pandemonium : and the artificial illuminations made in it. *Addison.*

537. *Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind*] Gray and Campbell have imitated this passage, but neither of them seems to have perceived that the comparison of the ensign to the streaming meteor depends mainly upon this, that it was " with

gems and golden lustre rich emblaz'd."

Loose his beard and hoary hair  
 Stream'd like a meteor to the troubled air. *Gray's Bard.*  
 —Andes, giant of the western star,  
 His meteor standard to the winds unfurl'd  
 Looks from his throne of clouds o'er half the world. *Pleasures of Hope.*  
*E.*

543. *Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.*] *Reign* is used like the Latin *regnum* for kingdom : and so in Spenser's *Faery Queen*, b. ii. cant. 7. st. 21.

That strait did lead to Pluto's grisly reign.

545. *Ten thousand banners rise into the air.*

*With orient colours waving : with them rose*

*A forest huge of spears ;]*

So Tasso describing the Christian and Pagan armies preparing to engage, cant. xx. st. 28.

With orient colours waving ; with them rose  
 A forest huge of spears ; and thronging helms  
 Appear'd, and serried shields in thick array,  
 Of depth immeasurable : anon they move  
 In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood

550

Sparse al vento ondeggiando ir le  
 bandiere,  
 E ventolar su i gran cinnier le penne :  
 Habit, fregi, imprese, arme, e colori,  
 D'oro, e di ferro al sol, lampi, e ful-  
 gori.

29.

Sembra d'alberi densi alta foresta  
 L'un campo, e l'altro, di tant' haste  
 abbonda.

28.

Loose in the wind waved their en-  
 signs light,  
 Trembled the plumes that on their  
 crests were set ;  
 Their arms, imprese, colours, gold  
 and stone,  
 'Gainst the sun beams smil'd, flamed,  
 sparkled, shone.

29.

Of dry topt oaks they seem'd two  
 forests thick ;  
 So did each host with spears and  
 spikes abound. *Fairfax.*

Thyer.

546. *With orient colours wav-  
 ing:] Richly bright, from the  
 radiance of the East.* It was a  
 very common description of col-  
 our, and had long ago become  
 literal even in the plainest prose.  
 In old agreements of glass  
 painters for churches, they bar-  
 gain to execute their work in  
*orient colours.* T. Warton.

548. —*serried shields]* Locked  
 one within another, linked and  
 clasped together, from the French  
*errer*, to lock, to shut close.  
*Hum.*

550. —*to the Dorian mood &c.]*  
 All accounts of the music of the  
 ancients are very uncertain and

confused. There seem to have  
 been three principal modes or  
 measures among them, the *Ly-  
 dian*, the *Phrygian*, and the *Do-  
 rian*. The *Lydian* was the most  
 doleful, the *Phrygian* the most  
 sprightly, and the *Dorian* the  
 most grave and majestic. And  
 Milton in another part of his  
 works uses *grave* and *Doric* al-  
 most as synonymous terms. " If  
 " we think to regulate printing,  
 " thereby to rectify manners, we  
 " must regulate all recreations  
 " and pastimes, all that is de-  
 " lightful to man. No music  
 " must be heard, no song be set  
 " or sung, but what is *grave* and  
 " *Doric.*" (See his Speech for  
 the liberty of unlicensed Print-  
 ing, vol. i. p. 149. edit. 1738.)  
 This therefore was the measure  
 best adapted to the fallen angels  
 at this juncture ; and their in-  
 struments were *flutes* and *pipes*  
 and *soft recorders*, for the same  
 reason that Thucydides and other  
 ancient historians assign for the  
 Lacedemonians making use of  
 these instruments, because they  
 inspired them with a more cool  
 and deliberate courage, whereas  
 trumpets and other martial mu-  
 sic incited and inflamed them  
 more to rage. See Aulus Gel-  
 lius, lib. i. cap. 11. and Thucyd.  
 lib. 5.

Dr. Greenwood of Warwick,  
 (whom I have the pleasure to

Of flutes and soft recorder; such as rais'd  
 To heighth of noblest temper heroes old  
 Arming to battle, and instead of rage  
 Deliberate valour breath'd, firm and unmov'd  
 With dread of death to flight or foul retreat; 555  
 Nor wanting pow'r to mitigate and swage  
 With solemn touches troubled thoughts, and chase  
 Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow' and pain  
 From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they  
 Breathing united force with fixed thought 560  
 Mov'd on in silence to soft pipes, that charm'd  
 Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil; and now  
 Advanc'd in view they stand, a horrid front  
 Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, in guise  
 Of warriors old with order'd spear and shield, 565  
 Awaiting what command their mighty chief  
 Had to impose: he through the armed files  
 Darts his experienc'd eye, and soon traverse

call my friend as well as my relation) hath sent me the following addition to this note.  
 "Hence is to be observed the exactness of Milton's judgment in appropriating the several instruments to the several purposes which they were to serve, and the different effects they produced. Thus, when a doubtful hue was cast upon the countenance of Satan and his associates, and they were but little above despair; in order to raise their fainting courage and dispel their fears he commanded his standard to be upreared at the warlike sound of trumpets and clari-  
 "rions; which immediately in-

"spired them with such a flow  
 "of spirits, that they are represented as sending up a shout that tore hell's concave. But when this ardour was once blown up, and they were to move in perfect phalanx, then the instruments are changed for flutes and recorders to the Dorian mood, which composed them into a more cool and deliberate valour, so that they marched on with silence and resolution."

560. *Breathing united force with fixed thought*  
*Mov'd on in silence]*  
 Thus Homer. *Iliad* iii. 8.

Οἱ δ' ἀνὰ στήθεσιν ἑνὴν φωνὴν προέειπον Ἀχαιοί,  
 Ἐν θυμῷ κ. τ. λ.

The whole battalion views, their order due,  
 Their visages and stature as of Gods, 570  
 Their number last he sums. And now his heart  
 Distends with pride, and hard'ning in his strength  
 Glories: for never since created man,  
 Met such embodied force, as nam'd with these  
 Could merit more than that small infantry 575

575. —*that small infantry*  
*Warr'd on by cranes;}*

All the heroes and armies that ever were assembled were no more than pygmies in comparison with these angels; *though all the giant brood of Phlegra*, a city of Macedonia, where the giants fought with the gods, *with the heroic race were join'd that fought at Thebes*, a city in Bœotia, famous for the war between the sons of Ædipus, celebrated by Statius in his *Thebaid*, and *Ilium* made still more famous by Homer's *Iliad*, where on each side the heroes were assisted by the gods, therefore called *auxiliary gods*; and *what resounds even in fable or romance of Uther's son*, king Arthur, son of Uther Pendragon, whose exploits are romantically extolled by Geoffrey of Monmouth, *begirt with British and Armoric knights*, for he was often in alliance with the king of Armorica, since called Bretagne, of the Britons who settled there; and *all who since jousted in Asramont or Montalban*, romantic names of places mentioned in Orlando Furioso, the latter perhaps Montaubon in France, *Damasco or Marocco*, Damascus or Morocco, but he calls them as they are called in

romances, or *Trebisond*, a city of Cappadocia in the lesser Asia, all these places are famous in romances, for joustings between the *baptized and infidels*; or *whom Biserta*, formerly called Utica, sent from Afric shore, that is the Saracens who passed from Biserta in Africa to Spain, when Charlemain with all his peerage fell by Fontarabbia. Charlemain king of France and emperor of Germany about the year 800 undertook a war against the Saracens in Spain, and Mariana and the Spanish historians are Milton's authors for saying that he and his army were routed in this manner at Fontarabbia, (which is a strong town in Biscay at the very entrance into Spain, and esteemed the key of the kingdom;) but Mezeray and the French writers give a quite different and more probable account of him, that he was at last victorious over his enemies, and died in peace. And though we cannot agree with Dr. Bentley in rejecting some of these lines as spurious, yet it is much to be wished that our poet had not so far indulged his taste for romances, of which he professes himself to have been fond in his younger years, and had not been



Warr'd on by cranes; though all the giant brood  
 Of Phlegra with th' heroic race were join'd  
 That fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each side  
 Mix'd with auxiliar Gods; and what resounds  
 In fable or romance of Uther's son 580  
 Begirt with British and Armoric knights;  
 And all who since, baptiz'd or infidel,  
 Jousted in Aspramont or Montalban,  
 Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebisonde,  
 Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore, 585  
 When Charlemain with all his peerage fell  
 By Fontarabbia. Thus far these beyond  
 Compare of mortal prowess, yet observ'd  
 Their dread commander: he above the rest  
 In shape and gesture proudly eminent 590  
 Stood like a tow'r; his form had yet not lost  
 All her original brightness, nor appear'd  
 Less than Arch-Angel ruin'd, and th' excess  
 Of glory' obscur'd; as when the sun new risen  
 Looks through the horizontal misty air 595  
 Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon  
 In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds

ostentatious of such reading, as perhaps had better never have been read.

589. —*he above the rest &c.*] What a noble description is here of Satan's person! and how different from the common and ridiculous representations of him, with horns and a tail and cloven feet! and yet Tasso hath so described him, cant. iv. The

greatest masters in painting had not such sublime ideas as Milton, and among all their devils have drawn no portrait comparable to this; as every body must allow who hath seen the pictures or the prints of Michael and the devil by Raphael, and of the same by Guido, and of the last judgment by Michael Angelo.

On half the nations, and with fear of change  
 Perplexes monarchs. Darken'd so, yet shone  
 Above them all th' Arch-Angel: but his face 600  
 Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd, and care  
 Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows  
 Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride  
 Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but cast  
 Signs of remorse and passion to behold 605  
 The fellows of his crime, the followers rather  
 (Far other once beheld in bliss) condemn'd  
 For ever now to have their lot in pain,  
 Millions of spirits for his fault amerc'd  
 Of heav'n, and from eternal splendors flung 610  
 For his revolt, yet faithful how they stood,

598. —and with fear of change  
*Perplexes monarchs.*]

It is said that this noble poem was in danger of being suppressed by the Licencer on account of this simile, as if it contained some latent treason in it: but it is saying little more than poets have said under the most absolute monarchies; as Virgil, *Georg.* i. 464.

—Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus

Sæpe monet, fraudemque, et operta  
 tumescere bella.

598. In the same manner  
*Tasso, Hier. lib. cant. vii. st. 52.*

—Cometa—

A i purpurei tiranni infausta luce.

E.

600. —his face

*Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd]*

Had cut into, had made trenches  
 there, of the French *trencher* to

cut. Shakespeare uses the same word speaking of a scar, *It was this very sword intrenched it*, *All's well that ends well*, act ii.

609. —*amerc'd]* This word is not used here in its proper law-sense, of mulcted, fined, &c. but, as Mr. Hume rightly observes, has a strange affinity with the Greek *αμερδν*, to deprive, to take away, as Homer has used it much to our purpose.

ὀφθαλμοὶ μὴ ἀμερδν, ἔλεν γ' αὖτις αὐτοῦ.

The Muse amerc'd him of his eyes, but gave him the faculty of singing sweetly. *Odyss.* viii. 64. And the word is used in the same sense in Spenser.

611. —yet faithful how they stood,] To see the true construction of this we must go back to ver. 605. for the verb. The sense then is this, to behold the fellows of his crime condemned

Their glory wither'd: as when heaven's fire  
 Hath scath'd the forest oaks, or mountain pines,  
 With singed top their stately growth though bare  
 Stands on the blasted heath. He now prepar'd 615  
 To speak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend  
 From wing to wing, and half inclose him round  
 With all his peers: attention held them mute.  
 Thrice he assay'd, and thrice in spite of scorn  
 Tears, such as angels weep, burst forth: at last 620  
 Words interwove with sighs found out their way.

O Myriads of immortal Spi'rits, O Powers

&c. yet how they stood faithful.  
*Richardson.*

612. —as when heaven's fire  
 Hath scath'd &c.]

Hath hurt, hath damaged; a word frequently used in Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and our old writers. This is a very beautiful and close simile; it represents the majestic stature, and withered glory of the angels; and the last with great propriety, since their lustre was impaired by thunder, as well as that of the trees in the simile: and besides, the blasted heath gives us some idea of that singed burning soil, on which the angels were standing. Homer and Virgil frequently use comparisons from trees, to express the stature or falling of a hero, but none of them are applied with such variety and propriety of circumstances as this of Milton. See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 24.

619. Thrice he assay'd, and thrice—

Tears burst forth]

He had Ovid in his thought, *Metam.* xi. 419.

Ter conata loqui, ter fletibus ora rigavit.

*Bentley.*

*Tears such as angels weep*, like Homer's Ichor of the gods which was different from the blood of mortals. This weeping of Satan on surveying his numerous host, and the thoughts of their wretched state, puts one in mind of the story of Xerxes weeping on seeing his vast army, and reflecting that they were mortal, at the time that he was hastening them to their fate, and to the intended destruction of the greatest people in the world, to gratify his own vain glory.

621. *Words interwove with sighs found out their way.*] Not unlike a line in Fairfax's Tasso, xii. 26.

Her sighs her dire complaint did interlace.

*Interwove* is almost peculiar to Milton. He has it again, *Par. Reg.* ii. 263. and in *Comus*, 544. *T. Warton.*

Matchless, but with th' Almighty, and that strife  
 Was not inglorious, though th' event was dire,  
 As this place testifies, and this dire change 625  
 Hateful to utter: but what pow'r of mind  
 Foreseeing or presaging, from the depth  
 Of knowledge past or present, could have fear'd,  
 How such united force of Gods, how such  
 As stood like these, could ever know repulse? 630  
 For who can yet believe, though after loss,  
 That all these puissant legions, whose exile  
 Hath emptied heav'n, shall fail to re-ascend  
 Self-rai'd, and repossess their native seat?  
 For me be witness all the host of heaven, 635  
 If counsels different, or danger shunn'd  
 By me, have lost our hopes. But he who reigns  
 Monarch in heav'n, till then as one secure  
 Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,  
 Consent or custom, and his regal state 640  
 Put forth at full, but still his strength conceal'd,  
 Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.

623. —and that strife  
 Was not inglorious,]

Ovid, Met. ix. 6.

—nec nam

Turpe fuit vinci, quàm contendisse  
 decorum est.

633. *Hath emptied heav'n,*] It is conceived that a third part of the angels fell with Satan, according to Rev. xii. 4. *And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and cast them to the earth*; and this opinion Milton hath expressed in several places, ii. 692. v. 710. vi. 156: but Satan here talks big and mag-

nifies their number, as if their exile had emptied heaven.

634. *Self-rai'd,*] Milton is fond of *self* in composition. See other instances, in Par. Lost, iii. 130. v. 860, 254. vii. 154, 242, 510. viii. 572. ix. 183, 607, 1188. x. 1016. xi. 93. Comus, 597. T. Warton.

642. *Which tempted our attempt,*] Words though well chosen and significative enough, yet of jingling and unpleasant sound, and like marriages between persons too near of kin, to be avoided. Hume.

Henceforth his might we know, and know our own,  
 So as not either to provoke, or dread  
 New war, provok'd; our better part remains 645  
 To work in close design, by fraud or guile,  
 What force effected not: that he no less  
 At length from us may find, who overcomes  
 By force, hath overcome but half his foe.  
 Space may produce new worlds; whereof so rife 650  
 There went a fame in heav'n that he ere long  
 Intended to create, and therein plant  
 A generation, whom his choice regard  
 Should favour equal to the sons of heaven:  
 Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps 655  
 Our first eruption, thither or elsewhere:  
 For this infernal pit shall never hold  
 Celestial Spi'rits in bondage, nor th' abyss  
 Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts  
 Full counsel must mature: Peace is despair'd, 660  
 For who can think submission? War then, War  
 Open or understood must be resolv'd.

This kind of jingle was undoubtedly thought an elegance by Milton, and many instances of it may be shewn not only in his works, but I believe in all the best poets both ancient and modern, though the latter I am afraid have been sometimes too liberal of them.

647. —[that he no less &c.] Satan had owned just before, ver. 642. that they had been deceived by God's concealing his strength; he now says, He also shall find himself mistaken in his turn; He shall find our cunning such

as that though we have been overpowered, we are not more than half subdued. *Richardson.*

650. —[rife] Milton uses and explains *rife* which is *fresh, recent, common, customary*, and the like, in *Sams. Agon.* 666.

—that grounded maxim  
 So rife and celebrated in the mouths  
 Of wisest men.

*Rife* would be well translated into Latin by *celebris*. T. War-  
 ton.

*Rife* is *prevalent, abounding*.  
*Johnson.*

662. *understood*] Not expressed,

He spake: and to confirm his words, out-flew  
 Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs  
 Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze 666  
 Far round illumin'd hell: highly they rag'd  
 Against the High'est, and fierce with grasped arms  
 Clash'd on their sounding shields the din of war,  
 Hurling defiance tow'ard the vault of heav'n.

There stood a hill not far, whose grisly top 670  
 Belch'd fire and rolling smoke; the rest entire

not openly declared, and yet implied: as when we say that a substantive or verb is *understood* in a sentence. *Pearce.*

664. —*drawn from the thighs*] Milton, to keep up the dignity of language, has purposely avoided the trite phrase *drawn from the sides*, and adopted the Greek way of expressing it. Thus Homer, *Iliad* i. 190.

Ἦ δὲ φεγγαῖος ἔξ τευκαρπίων πρὸς  
 παρῶν.

*Thyer.*

667. —*with grasped arms*] The known custom of the Roman soldiers, when they applauded a speech of their general, was to smite their shields with their swords. *Bentley.*

And the epithet *grasped*, joined to *arms*, determines the expression to mean *swords* only, which were spoken of a little before, *ver.* 664. *Pearce.*

Mr. Upton is of opinion that Milton in what follows imitates both Spenser and Shakespeare, *Faery Queen*, b. i. cant. iv. st. 40.

And *clash their shields*, and shake their swords on high.

Julius Cæsar, act v.

*Defiance, traitors, hurl we in your teeth.*

Milton in his imitations scarcely ever confines himself to the beauties or expressions of one author, but enriches his diction with the spoils of many, and hence surpasses any one. *Letter to Mr. West on Spenser's Faery Queen*, p. 23.

669. *Hurling defiance tow'ard the vault of heav'n.*] Dr. Bentley reads *the walls of heav'n*. Heaven the habitation of God and angels being never described as *vaulted*; and Dr. Pearce approves the emendation; and without doubt the *wall* or *walls* of heaven is a common expression with our author. But may we not by *the vault of heaven* understand *cæli convexa*, our visible heaven, which is often described as vaulted, the sphere of the fixed stars above which God and angels inhabit? Hurling defiance toward the *visible* heaven is in effect hurling defiance toward the *invisible* heaven, the seat of God and angels.

671. *Belch'd*] So Virgil, *Æn.*

Shone with a glossy scurf, undoubted sign  
 That in his womb was hid metallic ore,  
 The work of sulphur. Thither wing'd with speed  
 A numerous brigade hasten'd: as when bands 675  
 Of pioneers with spade and pickaxe arm'd  
 Forerun the royal camp, to trench a field,  
 Or cast a rampart. Mammon led them on,  
 Mammon, the least erected Spi'rit that fell  
 From heav'n, for e'en in heav'n his looks and thoughts  
 Were always downward bent, admiring more 681

iii. 576. says *eructans* of *Ætna*, from which, or from mount *Vesuvius*, or the like, our poet took the idea of this mountain.

673. *That in his womb*] A very great man was observing one day a little inaccuracy of expression in the poet's making this mountain a person and a male person, and at the same time attributing a *womb* to it: and perhaps it would have been better if he had written *its womb*; but *womb* is used in as large a sense as the Latin *uterus*, which Virgil applies to a stag, *Æn.* vii. 490.

*Ille manum patiens, mensæque assuetus herili,*

but afterwards *Ascanius* wounds him, ver. 499.

*Perque uterum sonitu, perque ilia veni arundo.*

Virgil makes use of the same word again in speaking of a wolf, *Æn.* xi. 809.

*Ac velut ille—*

*Occiso pastore lupus—*

*—caudamque remulcens*

*Subjecit pavilantem ulcro, sylvasque petivit.*

674. *The work of sulphur.*] For metals were supposed to consist of two essential parts or principles; mercury, as the basis or metallic matter; and sulphur as the binder or cement, fixing the fluid mercury into a coherent malleable mass. See Chambers's Dict. of Sulphur. And so Johnson in the Alchemist, act ii. sc. 3.

It turns to sulphur, or to quicksilver, Who are the parents of all other metals.

678. *Mammon*] This name is Syriac, and signifies riches. *Ye cannot serve God and Mammon*, says our Saviour, Matt. vi. 24. and bids us *make to ourselves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness*, Luke xvi. 9. and ver. 11. *If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous Mammon, who will commit to your trust the true?* Some look upon *Mammon* as the god of riches, and *Mammon* is accordingly made a person by our poet, and was so by Spenser before him, whose description of *Mammon* and his cave our poet seems to have had his eye upon in several places.

The riches of heav'n's pavement, trodden gold,  
 Than ought divine or holy else enjoy'd  
 In vision beatific: by him first  
 Men also, and by his suggestion taught, 685  
 Ransack'd the centre, and with impious hands  
 Rifled the bowels of their mother earth  
 For treasures better hid. Soon had his crew  
 Open'd into the hill a spacious wound,  
 And digg'd out ribs of gold. Let none admire 690  
 That riches grow in hell; that soil may best  
 Deserve the precious bane. And here let those  
 Who boast in mortal things, and wond'ring tell  
 Of Babel, and the works of Memphian kings,

682. *The riches of heav'n's pavement, trodden gold,*] So Homer speaks of the pavement of heaven, as if it was of gold, χρυσόν ἐν δαμνίδι, Iliad. iv. 2. And so the heavenly Jerusalem is described by St. John, Rev. xxi. 21. *and the street of the city is pure gold.*

684. —by him first

*Men also, and by his suggestion taught,*]

Dr. Bentley says, the poet assigns as two causes him and his suggestion, which are one and the same thing. This observation has the appearance of accuracy. But Milton is exact, and alludes in a beautiful manner to a superstitious opinion, generally believed amongst the miners: That there are a sort of devils which converse much in minerals, where they are frequently seen to busy and employ themselves in all the operations of the workmen; they

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will dig, cleanse, melt, and separate the metals. See G. Agricola de Animantibus subterraneis. So that Milton poetically supposes Mammon and his clan to have taught the sons of earth by example and practical instruction, as well as precept and mental suggestion. Warburton.

684.] See T. Warton's note on Comus, 436. E.

687. *Rifled the bowels of their mother earth*]

—Itum est in viscera terre,  
 Quasque reconsiderat, Stygisque ad-  
 moverat umbris,  
 Effodiunt opes. *Or. Met.* i. 138, &c.  
 Hume.

688. *For treasures better hid.*] *Hor. Od.* iii.]lib. iii. 49.

Aurum irreperitum, et sic melius situm.

694. —and the works of Memphian kings.] He seems to al-

F



Learn how their greatest monuments of fame, 695  
 And strength and art are easily out-done  
 By Spirits reprobate, and in an hour  
 What in an age they with incessant toil  
 And hands innumerable scarce perform.  
 Nigh on the plain in many cells prepar'd, 700  
 That underneath had veins of liquid fire  
 Sluic'd from the lake, a second multitude  
 With wond'rous art founded the massy ore,  
 Severing each kind, and scumm'd the bullion dross:

lude particularly to the famous  
 Pyramids of Egypt, which were  
 near Memphis.

Barbara Pyramidum silent miracula  
 Memphis. Mart.

695. *Learn how their greatest  
 monuments of fame,  
 And strength and art &c.]*

This passage has been misunderstood by Dr. Bentley and others. *Strength and art* are not to be construed in the genitive case with *fame*, but in the nominative with *monuments*. And then the meaning is plainly thus, *Learn how their greatest monuments of fame*, and how their *strength and art are easily outdone*, &c.

699. *And hands innumerable]*  
 There were 360000 men employed for near twenty years upon one of the Pyramids, according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. and Pliny, lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.

702. —*a second multitude*

*With wondrous art founded the massy ore,]*

The first band dug the metal out of the mountain, a *second multitude on the plain hard by*

*founded or melted it; for founded it should be read as in the first edition, and not found out as it is in the subsequent ones; founded from fundere, to melt, to cast metal.*

704. —*and scumm'd the bullion dross:]* Dr. Bentley supposes that the author gave it, and *scumm'd from bullion dross*. But I believe that the common reading may be defended. The word *bullion* does not signify *purified ore*, as the Doctor says; but ore boiled or boiling; and when the dross is taken off, then it is purified ore. Agreeably to this Milton, in his tract called *Of the Reformation of England*, says, —*to extract heaps of gold and silver out of the drossy bullion of the people's sins*. And Milton makes *bullion* an adjective here, though commonly it is a substantive; just as in v. 140. we have *ocean brim*, and in iii. 284. *virgin seed*. And so *bullion dross* may signify the dross that came from the metal, as Spenser expresses it, or the dross that swam on the surface of the boiling ore. Pearce.

A third as soon had form'd within the ground 705  
 A various mould, and from the boiling cells  
 By strange conveyance fill'd each hollow nook,  
 As in an organ from one blast of wind  
 To many a row of pipes the sound-board breathes.  
 Anon out of the earth a fabric huge 710  
 Rose like an exhalation, with the sound  
 Of dulcet symphonies and voices sweet,  
 Built like a temple, where pilasters round  
 Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid

708. *As in an organ &c*] This simile is as exact, as it is new. And we may observe, that our author frequently fetches his images from music more than any other English poet, as he was very fond of it, and was himself a performer upon the organ and other instruments.

711. *Rose like an exhalation,*] The sudden rising of Pandemonium is supposed, and with great probability, to be a hint taken from some of the moving scenes and machines invented for the stage by the famous Inigo Jones.

712. *Of dulcet symphonies*] This word is used likewise by Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, act ii.

Uttering such *dulcet* and harmonious breath.

713. —*where pilasters round &c.*] One of the greatest faults of Milton is his affectation of shewing his learning and knowledge upon every occasion. He could not so much as describe this structure without bringing in I

know not how many terms of architecture, which it will be proper for the sake of many readers to explain. *Pilasters round*, pillars jutting out of the wall, *were set*, and *Doric pillars*, pillars of the Doric order; as their music was *to the Dorian mood*, ver. 550, so their architecture was of the Doric order; *overlaid with golden architrave*, that part of a column above the capital; *nor did there want cornice*, the uppermost member of the entablature of the column, or *frieze*, that part of the entablature of columns between the architrave and cornice, so denominated of the Latin *phrygio* an embroiderer, because it is commonly adorned with sculptures in basso relievo, imitating embroidery, and therefore the poet adds, *with bossy sculptures graven*; *the roof was fretted gold*, fret-work is fillets interwoven at parallel distances. This kind of work has usually flowers in the spaces, and must glitter much, especially by lamp-light, as Mr. Richardson observes.

With golden architrave ; nor did there want 715  
 Cornice or frieze, with bossy sculptures graven ;  
 The roof was fretted gold. Not Babylon,  
 Nor great Alcairo such magnificence  
 Equall'd in all their glories, to inshrine  
 Belus or Serapis their Gods, or seat 720  
 Their kings, when Egypt with Assyria strove  
 In wealth aud luxury. Th' ascending pile  
 Stood fix'd her stately highth, and straight the doors  
 Opening their brazen folds discover wide  
 Within, her ample spaces, o'er the smooth 725

717. *Not Babylon, &c.*] It must be confessed there is some weight in Dr. Bentley's objection, that in this same narration the author had challenged Babylon and Memphis, ver. 694. Babylon the capital of Assyria, and Memphis of old Egypt; and now as quite forgetful he reiterates it, *Babylon and Alcairo*: and this latter the worse; because Alcairo is the modern name of Memphis, and not so fit to join with *Belus or Serapis*. But though these lines may possibly be faulty, yet that is not authority sufficient for an editor to reject them as spurious.

720. *Belus or Serapis*] Belus the son of Nimrod, second king of Babylon, and the first man worshipped for a god, by the Chaldeans styled Bel, by the Phœnicians Baal. *Serapis* the same with Apis the god of the Egyptians. *Hume*.

Dr. Bentley objects, that *Sérapis* has the accent upon the first syllable, whereas he quotes

authorities to shew that it should have it upon the second, as Martial,

Vincebat nec quæ turba Serápin amat,

and another from Callimachus. But there are other authorities, which may serve to justify Milton; for we read in Martianus Capella, *Te Serápin Nilus &c.* and in Prudentius *Isis enim et Serápis &c.* *Pearce*.

725. *Within.*] An adverb here and not a preposition: and therefore Milton puts a comma after it, that it may not be joined in construction with *her ample spaces*. So Virgil, *Æn. ii. 483*.

Apparet domus intus, et atria longa patescunt.

725. —*her ample spaces,*] A beautiful Latinism this. So Seneca describing Hercules's descent into hell. *Herc. Fur. iii. 673*.

Hinc ampla vacuis spatia laxantur locis.

*Thyer.*

And level pavement: from the arched roof  
 Pendent by subtle magic many a row  
 Of starry lamps and blazing cressets fed  
 With Naphtha and Asphaltus yielded light  
 As from a sky. The hasty multitude 730  
 Admiring enter'd, and the work some praise  
 And some the architect: his hand was known  
 In heav'n by many a tow'ring structure high,  
 Where scepter'd Angels held their residence,  
 And sat as princes, whom the supreme King 735  
 Exalted to such pow'r, and gave to rule,  
 Each in his hierarchy, the orders bright.  
 Nor was his name unheard or unador'd  
 In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land

726. —from the arched roof  
 &c.] How much superior is  
 this to that in Virgil, *Æn.* i. 726.

—dependent *lychni laquearibus aureis*

*Incensi, et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.*

From gilded roofs depending lamps display

Nocturnal beams, that emulate the day. *Dryden.*

728. —and blazing cressets fed  
 With Naphtha and Asphaltus]  
 A cresset is any great blazing  
 light, as a beacon. *Naphtha* is  
 of so unctuous and fiery a nature,  
 that it kindles at approaching  
 the fire, or the sun-beams.  
*Asphaltus* or bitumen, another  
 pitchy substance. *Richardson.*

And the word *cresset* I find  
 used likewise in Shakespeare,  
 1 Hen. IV. act iii. Glendower  
 speaks,

—at my nativity  
 The front of heav'n was full of fiery  
 shapes,  
 Of burning cressets.

738. *Nor was his name unheard*  
 &c.] Dr. Bentley says, "This is  
 "carelessly expressed. Why does  
 "he not tell his name in Greece,  
 "as well as his Latin name?  
 "and *Mulciber* was not so common  
 "a name as *Vulcan*." I  
 think it is very exactly expressed.  
 Milton is here speaking of a  
 devil exercising the founder's art:  
 and says he was not unknown  
 in Greece and Italy. The poet  
 has his choice of three names to  
 tell us what they called him in  
 the classic world, *Hephæstos*,  
*Vulcan*, and *Mulciber*, the last  
 only of which designing the  
 office of a founder, he has very  
 judiciously chosen that. *Warburton.*

Men call'd him Mulciber; and how he fell 740  
 From heav'n, they fabled, thrown by angry Jove  
 Sheer o'er the crystal battlements; from morn  
 To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,  
 A summer's day; and with the setting sun  
 Dropt from the zenith like a falling star, 745  
 On Lemnos th' Ægean isle: thus they relate,

740. —and how he fell  
 From heav'n, &c.]  
 Alluding to these lines in Ho-  
 mer's Iliad, i. 590.

Ἦν γὰρ μὴ καὶ ἄλλος' ἀλιζέμεται μὴ-  
 μωτά,  
 ῥίψι, ποδὲς τετραγωνί, ἀπὸ βάλανθ' ἐστει-  
 νίω.  
 Πὰρ δ' ἡμᾶς φερέμεν, ἄμα δ' ἡλίου κα-  
 τὰ δύνει  
 Κανταρίοις ἐν Ἀημῶν' ἐλγυγὲς δ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
 ἱστίω.  
 Εἶδα μὲν Σινθίης ἀνδρὶς ἀφ' ἧς καμμέναν  
 σίσσεντα.

Once in your cause I felt his match-  
 less might,  
 Hurl'd headlong downward, from th'  
 ethereal height,  
 Tost all the day in rapid circles round;  
 Nor, till the sun descended, touch'd  
 the ground;  
 Breathless I fell, in giddy motion lost;  
 The Sinthians rais'd me on the Lem-  
 nian coast. Pope.

It is worth observing how Mil-  
 ton lengthens out the time of  
 Vulcan's fall. He not only says  
 with Homer, that it was all day  
 long, but we are led through the  
 parts of the day, from morn to  
 noon, from noon to evening, and  
 this a summer's day. There is a  
 similar passage in the Odyssey,  
 where Ulysses describes his sleep-  
 ing twenty-four hours together,  
 and to make the time seem the  
 longer, divides it into several  
 parts, and points them out dis-  
 tinctly to us, Odyss. vii. 288.

Εἶδοι παντοχόμης, καὶ ἰπ' αὐτῇ, καὶ μισοῖ  
 ἡμᾶς.  
 Δωκετο τ' ἡλίου, καὶ μὴ γλυκύος ὕπνου  
 ἀσπασιν.

746. On Lemnos th' Ægean  
 isle:] Dr. Bentley reads, *On Lem-  
 nos thence his isle*, and calls it a  
 scandalous fault, to write *Ægean*  
 with a wrong accent for *Ægean*.  
 But Milton in the same manner  
 pronounces *Thyestean* for *Thye-  
 stean* in x. 688. and in *Paradise*  
*Regained*, iv. 238. we read in  
 the first edition, which Dr. Bent-  
 ley pronounces to be without  
 faults,

Where on the Ægean shore a city  
 stands.

And Fairfax led the way to this  
 manner of pronouncing the word,  
 or rather to this poetical liberty;  
 for in his translation of Tasso,  
 c. i. st. 60. he says,

O'er Ægean seas thro' many a  
 Greekish hold;

and in c. xii. st. 63.

As Ægean seas &c.

Pearce.

The reading *Ægean* is perhaps  
 ascertained by his Latin text in  
 the *Sylvarum liber*,

Qualis in Ægeam proles Junonia  
 Lemnon  
 Deturbata sacro cecidit de limine  
 cœli.

naturam non pati senium. l. 23.  
 T. Warton.

Erring ; for he with this rebellious rout  
 Fell long before ; nor ought avail'd him now  
 T'have built in heav'n high tow'rs ; nor did he 'scape  
 By all his engines, but was headlong sent 750  
 With his industrious crew to build in hell.

Mean while the winged heralds by command  
 Of sovran pow'r, with awful ceremony  
 And trumpet's sound, throughout the host proclaim  
 A solemn council forthwith to be held 755  
 At Pandemonium, the high capital  
 Of Satan and his peers : their summons call'd  
 From every band and squared regiment  
 By place or choice the worthiest ; they anon  
 With hundreds and with thousands trooping came 760  
 Attended : all access was throng'd, the gates  
 And porches wide, but chief the spacious hall  
 (Though like a cover'd field, where champions bold  
 Wont ride in arm'd, and at the Soldan's chair

748. —*nor ought avail'd him now &c.*] Hom. Iliad. v. 53. ↓

'Αλλ' οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ χροῖον Ἀργείων νικῆσαι.  
 Οὐδὲ λαοκόλου.

Virg. Æn. xi. 843.

Nec tibi desertæ in dumis coluisse  
 Dianam  
 Profruit.

750. *By all his engines.*] This word in the old English was often used for devices, wit, contrivance ; so in the glossary to Chaucer, and in the Statute of Mortmain, 7 Edw. I. the words *aut alio quovis modo, arte, vel ingenio*, are Englished in our statute books, or by any other craft or engine.

752. —*the winged heralds*] He has given them wings not only as angels, but to express their speed. *Hume.*

*Herald* is spelt like the French *herault*, the Danish *herold*, and the Spanish *heraldo*, but Milton spells it *harald* after the Italian *araldo*.

763. *Though like a cover'd field,*] *Cover'd* here signifies inclosed ; *Champ clos* ; the field for combat, the lists. The hall of Pandemonium, one room only is like a field for martial exercises on horseback. *Richardson.*

764. —*and at the Soldan's chair &c.*] Milton frequently affects the use of uncommon words,

Defied the best of Panim chivalry  
 To mortal combat, or career with lance) 765  
 Thick swarm'd, both on the ground and in the air  
 Brush'd with the hiss of rustling wings. As bees  
 In spring time, when the sun with Taurus rides,

when the common ones would  
 suit the measure of the verse as  
 well, believing I suppose that  
 it added to the dignity of his  
 language. So here he says *the*  
*Soldan's chair* instead of *the*  
*Sultan's chair*, and *Panim chi-*  
*valry* instead of *Pagan chivalry*;  
 as before he said *Rhene* or *the*  
*Danaw*, ver. 353. when he might  
 have said *the Rhine* or *Danube*.  
 Spenser likewise uses the words  
*Soldan* and *Panim*. See Faery  
 Queen, b. v. cant. viii. st. 26.  
 and other places.

768. *As bees &c.*] Iliad. ii. 87.

Νοτι ἰθὺα καὶ μάλιστα αἰνῶται.  
 Πόρρις ἐν γλαφυρῇ αἰὲν ἐν ἐρχομένης,  
 Βοτρυδοὶ δὲ πικρῶταί τε ἀστὴρ μαρτυ-  
 ροί,  
 Δὶ μὲν τ' ἴθα ἄλλῃ πικρῶταί τε, αἱ δὲ τι  
 ἴθα.

Milton has very well expressed  
 the force of *Βοτρυδοὶ* by *in clusters*,  
 as Pope has done by *clust'ring*,  
 though in the rest of his trans-  
 lation he has by no means  
 equalled the beauties of the ori-  
 ginal.

As from some rocky clift the shep-  
 herd sees  
 Clust'ring in heaps on heaps the  
 driving bees,  
 Rolling, and black'ning, swarms suc-  
 ceeding swarms,  
 With deeper murmurs and more  
 hoarse alarms;  
 Dusky they spread, a close embodied  
 crowd,  
 And o'er the vale descends the living  
 cloud.

There are such similes likewise  
 in Virgil, *Æn.* i. 430.

Qualis apes æstate novâ per florea  
 rura  
 Exercent sub sole labor; cum gentis  
 adultos  
 Educunt fœtus, &c.  
 Such is their toll, and such their busy  
 pains,  
 As exercise the bees in flow'ry plains;  
 When winter past, and summer  
 scarce begun  
 Invites them forth to labour in the  
 sun:  
 Some lead their youth abroad, &c.  
 Dryden.

And again, *Æo.* vi. 707.

Ac veluti in pratibus, ubi apes æstate  
 serenâ  
 Floribus inacidunt variis &c.

But our poet carries the simili-  
 tude farther than either of his  
 great masters, and mentions the  
 bees *conferring their state affairs*,  
 as he is going to give an account  
 of the consultations of the devils.

769. *In spring time, when the*  
*sun with Taurus rides,*]

Candidus auratis aperit eum cornibus  
 annuam

Taurus. *Georg.* i. 217. In April.  
 Hume.

Dr. Bentley reads in *Taurus*  
*rides*, and says, Does *Taurus* ride  
 too, a constellation fixed? Yes,  
 or else Ovid is wrong throughout  
 his whole *Fasti*, where he de-  
 scribes the rising and setting of  
 the signs of the zodiac: see

Pour forth their populous youth about the hive 770  
 In clusters; they among fresh dewes and flowers  
 Fly to and fro, or on the smoothed plank,  
 The suburb of their straw-built citadel,  
 New rubb'd with balm, expatiate and confer  
 Their state affairs. So thick the aery crowd 775  
 Swarm'd and were straiten'd; till the signal given,  
 Behold a wonder! they but now who seem'd

what he says of the rising of Taurus, v. 603. and our author in x. 663, speaking of the fixed stars, says, *Which of them rising with the sun or falling, &c.* Pearce.

770. *Pour forth their populous youth about the hive*] Virg. Georg. iv. 21.

—Cum prima novi ducent examina reges  
 Vere suo, ludetque favis emissa juvenus.

777. *Behold a wonder! &c.*] The passage in the catalogue, explaining the manner how spirits transform themselves by contractions or enlargement of their dimensions, is introduced with great judgment, to make way for several surprising accidents in the sequel of the poem. There follows one, at the very end of the first book, which is what the French critics call *marvellous*, but at the same time *probable* by reason of the passage last mentioned. As soon as the infernal palace is finished, we are told the multitude and rabble of spirits immediately shrunk themselves into a small compass, that there might be room for such a numberless assembly in this ca-

pacious hall. But it is the poet's refinement upon this thought which I most admire, and which is indeed very noble in itself. For he tells us, that notwithstanding the vulgar, among the fallen spirits, contracted their forms, those of the first rank and dignity still preserved their natural dimensions. Addison.

Monsieur Voltaire is of a different opinion with regard to the contrivance of Pandemonium and the transformation of the devils into dwarfs; and possibly more may concur with him than with Mr. Addison. I dare affirm, says he, that the contrivance of the Pandemonium would have been entirely disapproved of by critics like Boileau, Racine, &c. That seat built for the parliament of the devils seems very preposterous; since Satan hath summoned them all together and harangued them just before in an ample field. The council was necessary; but where it was to be held, it was very indifferent. —But when afterwards the devils turn dwarfs to fill their places in the house, as if it was impracticable to build a room large enough to contain them in their



In bigness to surpass earth's giant sons,  
 Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room  
 Throng numberless, like that pygmean race

780

\* natural size; it is an idle story, which would match the most extravagant tales. And to crown all, Satan and the chief lords preserving their own monstrous forms, while the rabble of the devils shrink into pygmies, heightens the ridicule of the whole contrivance to an inexpressible degree. Methinks the true criterion for discerning what is really ridiculous in an epic poem, is to examine if the same thing would not fit exactly the mock-heroic. Then I dare say that nothing is so adapted to that ludicrous way of writing, as the metamorphosis is of the devils into dwarfs. See his Essay on epic poetry, p. 113, 114. I have been favoured with a letter from William Duncombe, Esq. justifying Milton against Monsieur Voltaire's objections. As to the contrivance of Pandemonium, he thinks it agreeable to the rules of decency and decorum to provide a saloon for his Satanic majesty and his mighty compeers (the progeny of heaven) in some measure adapted to the dignity of their characters; and the description is not inferior to any thing in Homer or Virgil of the like kind. We may farther add, that as Satan had his palace in heaven, it was more likely that he should have one in hell likewise; and as he had before harangued the fallen angels in the open field, it was proper for the sake of

variety as well as for other reasons that the council should be held in Pandemonium. As to the fallen angels contracting their shapes while their chiefs preserved their natural dimensions, Mr. Duncombe observes with Mr. Addison, that Milton had artfully prepared the reader for this incident by marking their power to contract or enlarge their substance; and Milton seems to have intended hereby to distinguish and aggrandize the idea of the chieftains, and to describe in a more probable manner the numberless myriads of fallen angels contained in one capacious hall. If Milton had represented the whole host in their enormous sizes, crowded in one room, the fiction would have been more shocking and more unnatural than as it stands at present. These arguments seem to carry some weight with them, and upon these we must rest Milton's defence, and leave the determination to the reader.

780. —*like that pygmean race &c.*] There are also several noble similes and allusions in the first book of Paradise Lost. And here I must observe, that when Milton alludes either to things or persons, he never quits his simile till it rises to some very great idea, which is often foreign to the occasion that gave birth to it. The resemblance does not, perhaps, last above a line or two, but the poet runs on

Beyond the Indian mount, or fairy elves,  
Whose midnight revels by a forest side

with the hint till he has raised out of it some glorious image or sentiment, proper to inflame the mind of the reader, and to give it that sublime kind of entertainment, which is suitable to the nature of an heroic poem. Those, who are acquainted with Homer's and Virgil's way of writing, cannot but be pleased with this kind of structure in Milton's similitudes. I am the more particular on this head, because ignorant readers, who have formed their taste upon the quaint similes and little turns of wit, which are so much in vogue among modern poets, cannot relish these beauties which are of a much higher nature, and are therefore apt to censure Milton's comparisons in which they do not see any surprising points of likeness. Monsieur Perrault was a man of this vitiated relish, and for that very reason has endeavoured to turn into ridicule several of Homer's similitudes, which he calls *comparisons à longue queue, long-tailed comparisons*. I shall conclude this paper on the first book of Milton with the answer, which Monsieur Boileau makes to Perrault on this occasion. "Comparisons," says he, "in odes and epic poems, are not introduced only to illustrate and embellish the discourse, but to amuse and relax the mind of the reader, by frequently disengaging him from too painful an attention to the principal subject, and by leading him into other

"agreeable images. Homer, says he, excelled in this particular, whose comparisons abound with such images of nature as are proper to relieve and diversify his subjects. He continually instructs the reader, and makes him take notice, even in objects which are every day before our eyes, of such circumstances as we should not otherwise have observed." To this he adds as a maxim universally acknowledged, "That it is not necessary in poetry for the points of the comparison to correspond with one another exactly, but that a general resemblance is sufficient, and that too much nicety in this particular savours of the rhetorician and epigrammatist." In short, if we look into the conduct of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, as the great fable is the soul of each poem, so to give their works an agreeable variety, their episodes are so many short fables, and their similes so many short episodes; to which you may add, if you please, that their metaphors are so many short similes. If the reader considers the comparisons in the first book of Milton, of the sun in an eclipse, of the sleeping leviathan, of the bees swarming about their hive, of the fairy dance, in the view wherein I have here placed them, he will easily discover the great beauties that are in each of those passages. Addison.

Or fountain some belated peasant sees,  
 Or dreams he sees, while over-head the moon  
 Sits arbitress, and nearer to the earth 785  
 Wheels her pale course, they on their mirth and dance  
 Intent, with jocund music charm his ear ;  
 At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.  
 Thus incorporeal Spi'rits to smallest forms  
 Reduc'd their shapes immense, and were at large, 790  
 Though without number still amidst the hall  
 Of that infernal court. But far within,  
 And in their own dimensions like themselves,  
 The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim  
 In close recess and secret conclave sat 795  
 A thousand demi-gods on golden seats,  
 Frequent and full. After short silence then

783. — *sees,*  
*Or dreams he sees,*  
*Virg. Æn. vi. 454.*  
*Aut videt, aut vidisse putat—*

785. *Sits arbitress,*] Arbitress  
 here signifies witness, spectatress. So Hor. Epod. v. 49.

*O rebus meis*  
*Non infideles arbitra*  
*Nox et Diana.*

*Heylin.*

785. — *and nearer to the earth*] This is said in allusion to the superstitious notion of witches and fairies having great power over the moon.

*Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere*  
*lunam. Virg. Ecl. viii. 69.*

790. *Reduc'd their shapes immense, and were at large, &c.*]

Though numberless, they had so contracted their dimensions, as to have room enough to be *At large* (French), *A largo* (Italian), and be yet in the hall. So xi. 626.

*Ere long to swim at large.*

*Richardson.*

795. *In close recess and secret conclave sat*] It is not improbable that the poet might allude here to what is strictly and properly called the *conclave*; for it is certain that he had not a much better opinion of the one than of the other of these assemblies.

797. *Frequent and full.*] So we have in Latin *frequens senatus*, a full house. And he makes

And summons read, the great consúlt began.

use of the same expression in "to summons." See his History of England in the reign of Edward the Confessor, "The assembly was *full and frequent* according

**PARADISE LOST.**

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**BOOK II.**

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## THE ARGUMENT.

**T**HE consultation begun, Satan debates whether another battle be to be hazarded for the recovery of heaven: some advise it, others dissuade: a third proposal is preferred, mentioned before by Satan, to search the truth of that prophecy or tradition in heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature, equal or not much inferior to themselves, about this time to be created: their doubt who shall be sent on this difficult search: Satan their chief undertakes alone the voyage, is honoured and applauded. The council thus ended, the rest betake them several ways, and to several employments, as their inclinations lead them, to entertain the time till Satan return. He passes on his journey to hell gates, finds them shut, and who sate there to guard them, by whom at length they are opened, and discover to him the great gulf between hell and heaven; with what difficulty he passes through, directed by Chaos, the Power of that place, to the sight of this new world which he sought.

# PARADISE LOST.

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## BOOK II.

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**HIGH** on a throne of royal state, which far  
Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,  
Or where the gorgeous east with richest hand

1. *High on a throne &c.*] I have before observed in general, that the persons whom Milton introduces into his poem, always discover such sentiments and behaviour, as are in a peculiar manner conformable to their respective characters. Every circumstance in their speeches and actions is with great justness and delicacy adapted to the persons who speak and act. As the poet very much excels in this consistency of his characters, I shall beg leave to consider several passages of the second book in this light. That superior greatness and mock-majesty, which is ascribed to the prince of the fallen angels, is admirably preserved in the beginning of this book. His opening and closing the debate; his taking on himself that great enterprise at the thought of which the whole infernal assembly trembled; his encountering the hideous phantom, who guarded the gates of hell and appeared

to him in all his terrors, are instances of that proud and daring mind, which could not brook submission even to omnipotence. The same boldness and intrepidity of behaviour discovers itself in the several adventures which he meets with during his passage through the regions of unformed matter, and particularly in his address to those tremendous powers who are described as presiding over it. *Addison.*

2. —*the wealth of Ormus and of Ind.*] That is diamonds, a principal part of the wealth of *India*, where they are found, and of the island *Ormuz* (in the Persian gulf) which is the mart for them. *Pearce.*

3. *Or where the gorgeous east &c.*] Not that *Ormuz* and *Ind* were in the west, but the sense is that the throne of Satan outshone diamonds, or pearl and gold, the choicest whereof are produced in the east. Thus, *Faery Queen*, b. lii. cant. iv. st. 23.

Show'rs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,  
 Satan exalted sat, by merit rais'd 5  
 To that bad eminence; and from despair  
 Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires  
 Beyond thus high, insatiate to pursue  
 Vain war with heav'n, and by success untaught  
 His proud imaginations thus display'd. 10  
 Pow'rs and dominions, deities of heaven,  
 For since no deep within her gulf can hold  
 Immortal vigour, though oppress'd and fall'n,  
 I give not heav'n for lost. From this descent  
 Celestial virtues rising, will appear 15  
 More glorious and more dread than from no fall,  
 And trust themselves to fear no second fate.  
 Me though just right, and the fix'd laws of heaven  
 Did first create your leader, next free choice,  
 With what besides, in counsel or in fight, 20

—that it did pass  
 Th' wealth of th' east, and pomp of  
 Persian kings.

This might be said, as Dr.  
 Pearce conceives, in allusion to  
 the custom used at the coro-  
 nation of some kings in the east,  
 of showering gold and precious  
 stones upon their heads. So  
 Shakespeare, *Ant. and Cleopat.*  
*act ii.*

I'll set thee in a show'r of gold, and  
 hail  
 Rich pearls upon thee.

And this pearl and gold is called  
*barbaric* after the manner of the  
 Greeks and Romans, who ac-  
 counted all other nations bar-  
 barous; as Virgil said, *Æn. ii.*  
 504.

*Barbarico postes auro spoliisque au-  
 perbi.*

and *Æn. viii.* 685.

*Hinc ope barbarica variisque Anto-  
 nius armis*

*Victor ab auroræ populis.*

Tasso also (as Mr. Thyer farther  
 adds) adopts this word. *Cant.*  
*xvii. st. 10.*

*E ricco di barbarico ornamento,  
 In habito regal splendor si vede.*

11. *Pow'rs and dominions,*] As  
 St. Paul calls the angels, *thrones*  
*or dominions or principalities or*  
*powers*, *Col. i. 16.*

18. *Me though just right, &c.]*  
*Me* is rightly placed first in the  
 sentence, being the emphatical  
 word and the accusative case  
 governed by the two verbs which  
 follow, *create and established.*



Hath been achiev'd of merit, yet this loss  
 Thus far at least recover'd, hath much more  
 Establish'd in a safe unenvied throne  
 Yielded with full consent. The happier state  
 In heav'n, which follows dignity, might draw 25  
 Envy from each inferior; but who here  
 Will envy whom the highest place exposes  
 Foremost to stand against the Thund'rer's aim  
 Your bulwark, and condemns to greatest share  
 Of endless pain? where there is then no good 30  
 For which to strive, no strife can grow up there  
 From faction; for none sure will claim in hell  
 Precedence, none, whose portion is so small  
 Of present pain, that with ambitious mind  
 Will covet more. With this advantage then 35  
 To union, and firm faith, and firm accord,  
 More than can be in heav'n, we now return  
 To claim our just inheritance of old,  
 Surer to prosper than prosperity  
 Could have assur'd us; and by what best way, 40

21. —*achiev'd*] We spell it as we pronounce it *atchieved*; but Milton writes it *achiev'd*, like the French *achever*, from whence it is derived.

24. —*The happier state*

*In heav'n, which follows dignity, &c.]*

He means that the higher in dignity any being was in heaven, the happier his state was; and that therefore inferiors might there envy superiors, because they were happier too. *Pearce.*

33. —*none, whose portion &c.]* Here seems to be some obscurity

and difficulty in the syntax. Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylin would read and point the passage thus:

—for none sure will claim in hell  
 Precedence, none. Whose portion is  
 so small  
 Of present pain, that with ambitious  
 mind  
 He'll covet more?

33. Milton probably intended the passage to be thus construed. (There are) none, whose portion is so small of present pain, that with ambitious mind (they) will covet more. *E.*

40. —*and by what best way,]*

G 2

Whether of open war or covert guile,  
We now debate ; who can advise, may speak.

He ceas'd, and next him Moloch, scepter'd king,  
Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest Spirit  
That fought in heav'n, now fiercer by despair : 45  
His trust was with th' Eternal to be deem'd  
Equal in strength, and rather than be less  
Car'd not to be at all ; with that care lost

Smoother and more emphatical  
thus,

—and by what way best.

Bentley.

43. —next him Moloch.] The part of Moloch is likewise in all its circumstances full of that fire and fury which distinguish this Spirit from the rest of the fallen Angels. He is described in the first book, as besmeared with the blood of human sacrifices, and delighted with the tears of parents and the cries of children. In the second book he is marked out as the fiercest spirit that fought in heaven : and if we consider the figure he makes in the sixth book, where the battle of angels is described, we find it every way answerable to the same furious enraged character. It may be worth while to observe, that Milton has represented this violent impetuous spirit, who is hurried on by such precipitate passions, as the first that rises in that assembly, to give his opinion upon their present posture of affairs. Accordingly he declares himself abruptly for war, and appears incensed at his companions, for losing so much time as even to deliberate upon it.

All his sentiments are rash, audacious, and desperate. Such is that of arming themselves with their tortures, and turning their punishments upon him who inflicted them. His preferring annihilation to shame or misery is also highly suitable to his character ; as the comfort he draws from their disturbing the peace of heaven, that if it be not victory it is revenge, is a sentiment truly diabolical, and becoming the bitterness of this implacable Spirit. Addison.

43. —scepter'd king,] As Homer says, Σκηπτουχος βασιλευς. Iliad. i. 279.

47. —and rather than be less  
Car'd not to be at all ;]

Dr. Bentley reads *He rather than* &c. because at present the construction is *and his trust cared not* &c. But such small faults are not only to be pardoned but overlooked in great geniuses. Fabius viii. 3. says of Cicero, In vitium sæpe incidit securus tam parvæ observationis : and in x. 1. Neque id statim legenti persuasum sit omnia, quæ magni auctores dixerint, esse perfecta ; nam et labuntur aliquando, et onercedunt &c. Pearce.

Went all his fear : of God, or hell, or worse  
He reck'd not, and these words thereafter spake. 50

My sentence is for open war : of wiles,  
More unexpert, I boast not : them let those  
Contrive who need, or when they need, not now.  
For while they sit contriving, shall the rest,  
Millions that stand in arms, and longing wait 55  
The signal to ascend, sit ling'ring here  
Heav'n's fugitives, and for their dwelling place  
Accept this dark opprobrious den of shame,  
The prison of his tyranny who reigns  
By our delay ? no, let us rather choose, 60  
Arm'd with hell flames and fury, all at once  
O'er heav'n's high tow'rs to force resistless way,  
Turning our tortures into horrid arms  
Against the torturer ; when to meet the noise  
Of his almighty engine he shall hear 65  
Infernal thunder, and for lightning see  
Black fire and horror shot with equal rage  
Among his angels, and his throne itself  
Mix'd with Tartarean sulphur, and strange fire,

50. *He reck'd not,*] He made no account of. To *reck* is much the same as to reckon. *And spake thereafter*, that is accordingly, as one who made no account of God or hell or any thing.

50. See note on *Comus*, 404. E.

56. — *sit ling'ring here*] Dr. Bentley reads *stay ling'ring here*, because we have before *stand in arms* : but *stand* does not always signify the posture ; see an instance of this in John i. 26. To

*stand in arms* is no more than to *be in arms*. So in xi. 1. it is said of Adam and Eve, that they *stood repentant*, that is, were repentant ; for a little before it is said that they *prostrate fell*. That *sit* is right here, may appear from ver. 164, 420, 475. *Pearce*.

*Sit lingering* to answer *sit contriving* before. While they sit contriving, shall the rest sit lingering ?

69. *Mix'd with Tartarean sul-*

His own invented torments. But perhaps 70  
 The way seems difficult and steep to scale  
 With upright wing against a higher foe.  
 Let such bethink them, if the sleepy drench  
 Of that forgetful lake benumb not still,  
 That in our proper motion we ascend 75  
 Up to our native seat: descent and fall  
 To us is adverse. Who but felt of late,  
 When the fierce foe hung on our broken rear  
 Insulting, and pursued us through the deep,  
 With what compulsion and laborious flight 80  
 We sunk thus low? Th' ascent is easy then;  
 Th' event is fear'd; should we again provoke  
 Our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find  
 To our destruction; if there be in hell  
 Fear to be worse destroy'd: what can be worse 85  
 Than to dwell here, driv'n out from bliss, condemn'd  
 In this abhorred deep to utter woe;  
 Where pain of unextinguishable fire  
 Must exercise us without hope of end  
 The vassals of his anger, when the scourge 90

*phur,]* *Mixed* signifies *filled with*;  
 it is an imitation of what Virgil  
 says in *Æn.* ii. 487.

At domus interior gemitu miseroque  
 tumultu  
*Misceatur.*

Pearce.

73. —if the sleepy drench,  
 &c.] That is, a *soaking* not a  
 draught. As in *Sonn.* xxi. 5.

To day deep thoughts resolve with  
 me to drench  
 In mirth.

And in *Macbeth*, act i. sc. 7.

—when in swinish sleep  
 Their *drenched* natures lie as in  
 death.

*T. Warton.*

89. *Must exercise us]* He uses  
 the word like the Latin *exerceo*,  
 which signifies to vex and trou-  
 ble as well as to practise and  
 employ: as in *Virg. Georg.* iv.  
 453.

Non te nullius *exerceat* nominis ira.  
 90. *The vassals of his anger,]*

Inexorably, and the torturing hour  
 Calls us to penance? More destroy'd than thus  
 We should be quite abolish'd and expire.  
 What fear we then? what doubt we to incense  
 His utmost ire? which to the highth enrag'd, 93  
 Will either quite consume us, and reduce  
 To nothing this essential, happier far  
 Than miserable to have eternal being:  
 Or if our substance be indeed divine,  
 And cannot cease to be, we are at worst 100  
 On this side nothing; and by proof we feel  
 Our pow'r sufficient to disturb his heaven,  
 And with perpetual inroads to alarm,  
 Though inaccessible, his fatal throne:

The devils are the *vassals* of the Almighty, thence Mammon says, ii. 252. *Our state of splendid vassalage*. And the *vassals of anger* is an expression confirmed by Spenser in his *Tears of the Muses*,

Ah, wretched world, and all that are therein,  
 The *vassals* of God's wrath, and slaves of sin.

But yet when I remember St. Paul's words, Rom. ix. 22. *The vessels of wrath fitted to destruction*, *ὑποκείμενα ὀργῇ*, I suspect that Milton here, as perpetually, kept close to the Scripture style, and leave it to the reader's choice, *vassals* or *vessels*. Bentley.

91. *Inexorably*,] In the first editions it is *inexorably*, in others *inexorable*: and it may be either, the scourge *inexorable* or *inexorably* calls.

92. *Calls us to penance?*] To punishment. Our poet here sup-

poses the sufferings of the damned spirits not to be always alike intense, but that they have some intermissions. *Hume*.

Compare, below, the passage from v. 596 to v. 603.

Thither by harpy-footed furies hold  
 At certain revolutions all the damn'd  
 Are brought; and feel by turns the  
 bitter change  
 Of fierce extremes, &c.

E.

97. —*happier far  
 Than miserable to have eternal  
 being:*]

That it is better not to be than to be eternally miserable, our Saviour himself hath determined, Matt. xxvi. 24. Mark xiv. 21.

100. —*we are at worst*] We are in the worst condition we can be.

104. —*his fatal throne:*] That is *upheld by fate*, as he elsewhere expresses it, i. 133.

Which if not victory is yet revenge. 105

He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd  
 Desp'rate revenge, and battle dangerous  
 To less than Gods. On th' other side up rose  
 Belial, in act more graceful and humane ;  
 A fairer person lost not heav'n ; he seem'd 110  
 For dignity compos'd and high exploit :  
 But all was false and hollow ; though his tongue  
 Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear

108. *To less than Gods*] He gave it *To less than God*. For it was dangerous to the angels. Bentley.

This emendation appears very probable at first view : but the angels though often called *gods*, yet sometimes are only compared or said to be *like the gods*, as in i. 570.

Their visages and stature *as of gods* :  
 and of the two chief, Michael and Satan, it is said vi. 301, that  
 —*likest gods they seem'd* :  
 and of two others we read, vi. 366.

Two potent thrones, that to be *less than gods*  
 Disdain'd :

and in another place a manifest distinction is made between gods and angels who are called demi-gods, ix. 937.

But to be gods, or angels demi-gods :  
 and therefore the present reading *To less than Gods* may be justified.

109. *Belial, in act more graceful and humane ;*] *Belial* is described in the first book as the idol of the lewd and luxurious.

He is in the second book, pursuant to that description, characterized as timorous and slothful ; and if we look into the sixth book, we find him celebrated in the battle of angels for nothing but that scoffing speech which he makes to Satan, on their supposed advantage over the enemy. As his appearance is uniform and of a piece in these three several views, we find his sentiments in the infernal assembly every way conformable to his character. Such are his apprehensions of a second battle, his horrors of annihilation, his preferring to be miserable rather than *not to be*. I need not observe, that the contrast of thought in this speech, and that which precedes, gives an agreeable variety to the debate. Addison.

The fine contrast, which Mr. Addison observes there is betwixt the characters of Moloch and Belial, might probably be first suggested to our poet by a contrast of the same kind betwixt Argantes and Aletes in the second Canto of Tasso's Jerusalem. Thyer.

113. *Dropt manna*] The same

The better reason, to perplex and dash  
 Maturest counsels ; for his thoughts were low ; 115  
 To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds  
 Timorous and slothful ; yet he pleas'd the ear,  
 And with persuasive accent thus began.

I should be much for open war, O Peers,  
 As not behind in hate ; if what was urg'd 120  
 Main reason to persuade immediate war,  
 Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast  
 Ominous conjecture on the whole success :  
 When he who most excels in fact of arms,  
 In what he counsels and in what excels 125  
 Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair  
 And utter dissolution, as the scope  
 Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.  
 First, what revenge ? the tow'rs of heav'n are fill'd  
 With armed watch, that render all access 130  
 Impregnable ; oft on the bord'ring deep  
 Encamp their legions, or with obscure wing  
 Scout far and wide into the realm of night,  
 Scorning surprise. Or could we break our way  
 By force, and at our heels all hell should rise 135

expression, but applied differently in Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice, act v.

Fair ladies, you drop manna in the way  
 Of starved people.

113. —and could make the worse appear  
 The better reason,]

Word for word, from the known profession of the ancient Sophists, *Τοι λόγος τοι ἔτι καὶ κερτα πονεί.* Bentley.

124. —in fact of arms,] Dr. Heylin says it is from the Italian *Fatto d'arme* a battle ; or else we should read here *feats of arms*, as in ver. 537.

—with feats of arms  
 From either end of heav'n the welkin  
 burns.

Or possibly the author might have given it *in facts of arms*, such errors of the press being very common and easy.

With blackest insurrection, to confound  
 Heav'n's purest light, yet our great enemy  
 All incorruptible would on his throne  
 Sit unpolluted, and th' ethereal mould  
 Incapable of stain would soon expel 140  
 Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire  
 Victorious. Thus repuls'd, our final hope  
 Is flat despair: we must exasperate  
 Th' almighty victor to spend all his rage,  
 And that must end us, that must be our cure, 145  
 To be no more; sad cure; for who would lose,  
 Though full of pain, this intellectual being,  
 Those thoughts that wander through eternity,  
 To perish rather, swallow'd up and lost  
 In the wide womb of uncreated night, 150  
 Devoid of sense and motion? and who knows,  
 Let this be good, whether our angry foe  
 Can give it, or will ever? how he can  
 Is doubtful; that he never will is sure.  
 Will he, so wise, let loose at once his ire, 155  
 Belike through impotence, or unaware,

138. —*would on his throne  
 Sit unpolluted,*] It is a reply to that part of Moloch's speech, where he had threatened to mix the throne itself of God with infernal sulphur and strange fire.

151. *Devoid of sense and motion?*] Dr. Bentley reads *Devoid of sense and action*: but *motion* includes *action*. Mr. Warburton and Mr. Upton in his *Critical Observations upon Shakespeare*, read *Devoid of sense and notion*: but the common reading

seems better; they should be deprived not only of all *sense* but of all *motion*, not only of all the intellectual but of all vital functions.

156. —*impotence,*] It is here meant for the opposite to wisdom, and is used frequently by the Latin authors to signify a weakness of mind, an unsteadiness in the government of our passions, or the conduct of our designs. In this sense Cicero in *Epist. ad Fam. ix. 9.* says *Victoria ferociore impotentioresque*



To give his enemies their wish, and end  
 Them in his anger, whom his anger saves  
 To punish endless? Wherefore cease we then?  
 Say they who counsel war, we are decreed, 160  
 Reserv'd, and destin'd to eternal woe;  
 Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,  
 What can we suffer worse? Is this then worst,  
 Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms?  
 What when we fled amain, pursued and struck 165  
 With heav'n's afflicting thunder, and besought  
 The deep to shelter us? this hell then seem'd  
 A refuge from those wounds: or when we lay  
 Chain'd on the burning lake? that sure was worse.  
 What if the breath that kindled those grim fires, 170  
 Awak'd should blow them into sev'nfold rage,  
 And plunge us in the flames? or from above  
 Should intermitted vengeance arm again  
 His red right hand to plague us? what if all

reddidit. And in Tusc. Disp. iv. 23. we read *Impotentia dictorum et factorum*: hence we often meet with *impotens animi*, *iræ*, *doloris* &c. and Horace in Od. i. xxxvii. 10. has *Quidlibet impotens sperare*. Pearce.

159. *Wherefore cease we then?* &c.] 'Belial is here proposing what is urged by those who counsel war; and then replies to it, *Is this then worst*, &c. and shews that they had been in a worse condition 165—169. *that sure was worse*; and might be so again 170—186. *this would be worse*.

170. *What if the breath that kindled those grim fires,*] Is. xxx.

33. *For Tophet is ordained of old, the pile thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it.*

174. *His red right hand*] So Horace says of Jupiter *rubente dextera*. But being spoken of *Vengeance*, it must be *her right hand*, as in the next line *her stores*. Bentley.

There is something plausible and ingenious in this observation: but by *his* seems to have been meant *God's*, who is mentioned so often in the course of the debate, that he might very well be understood without being named; and by *her stores* in the

Her stores were open'd, and this firmament 175  
 Of hell should spout her cataracts of fire,  
 Impendent horrors, threat'ning hideous fall  
 One day upon our heads ; while we perhaps  
 Designing or exhorting glorious war,  
 Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurl'd 180  
 Each on his rock transfix'd, the sport and prey  
 Of wracking whirlwinds, or for ever sunk  
 Under yon boiling ocean, wrapt in chains ;  
 There to converse with everlasting groans,  
 Unrespited, unpitied, unrepriev'd, 185  
 Ages of hopeless end ? this would be worse.  
 War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike  
 My voice dissuades ; for what can force or guile  
 With him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye  
 Views all things at one view ? he from heav'n's highth

next line, I suppose, are meant  
*Hell's*, as mention is made after-  
 wards of *her cataracts of fire*.

180. *Caught in a fiery tempest  
 shall be hurl'd*

*Each on his rock transfix'd,]*  
 Borrowed of Virgil in his de-  
 scription of the fate of Ajax  
 Oileus, *Æn.* i. 44, 45.

*Ilum expirantem transfixo pectore  
 flammas  
 Turbine corripuit, scopuloque infixit  
 acuto.*

*Hume.*

181. —*the sport and prey  
 Of wracking whirlwinds,]*  
*Virg. Æn.* vi. 75.

—*rapidis ludibria ventis.*

185. *Unrespited, unpitied, un-  
 repriev'd,]* This way of intro-  
 ducing several adjectives begin-  
 ning with the same letter with-

out any conjunction is very fre-  
 quent with the Greek tragedians,  
 whom our author I fancy imi-  
 tated. What strength and beauty  
 it adds needs not to be mentioned.  
*Thyer.*

185. In the same manner  
 Shakespeare, in *Hamlet*.

*Unbousel'd, unanointed, unanneal'd.*  
 And Spenser, *Faery Queen*, b.  
 vii. c. vii. st. 46.

*Unbodied, unsoul'd, unheard, unseen.*  
 And Milton again, *P. L.* iii. 231.

*Comes unprevented, unimplor'd, un-  
 sought.*

*E.*

190. —*he from heav'n's highth  
 All these our motions vain sees  
 and derides ;]*

Alluding to *Ps.* ii. 4. *He that  
 sitteth in the heavens shall laugh,*

All these our motions vain sees and derides ; 191  
 Not more almighty to resist our might  
 Than wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.  
 Shall we then live thus vile, the race of heaven  
 Thus trampled, thus expell'd to suffer here 195  
 Chains and these torments ? better these than worse  
 By my advice ; since fate inevitable  
 Subdues us, and omnipotent decree,  
 The victor's will. To suffer, as to do,  
 Our strength is equal, nor the law unjust 200  
 That so ordains : this was at first resolv'd,  
 If we were wise, against so great a foe  
 Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.  
 I laugh, when those who at the spear are bold  
 And vent'rous, if that fail them, shrink and fear 205  
 What yet they know must follow, to endure  
 Exile, or ignominy', or bonds, or pain,  
 The sentence of their conqu'ror : this is now  
 Our doom ; which if we can sustain and bear,  
 Our súpreme foe in time may much remit 210  
 His anger, and perhaps thus far remov'd  
 Not mind us not offending, satisfied  
 With what is punish'd ; whence these raging fires  
 Will slacken, if his breath stir not their flames.  
 Our purer essence then will overcome 215

*the Lord shall have them in derision.* Nor let it pass unobserved, that this is constantly Milton's way, and the true way of spelling *highth*, and not as commonly *height*, where what the *e* has to do or how it comes in it is not easy to apprehend.

199. *To suffer, as to do,*] Et facere, et pati. So Scævola boasted that he was a Roman, and knew as well how to suffer as to act. Et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Liv. ii. 12. So in Horace, Od. iii. xxiv. 43. Quidvis et facere et pati.

Their noxious vapour, or inur'd not feel,  
 Or chang'd at length, and to the place conform'd  
 In temper and in nature, will receive  
 Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain ;  
 This horror will grow mild, this darkness light,      220  
 Besides what hope the never-ending flight  
 Of future days may bring, what chance, what change  
 Worth waiting, since our present lot appears  
 For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,  
 If we procure not to ourselves more woe.      225

Thus Belial with words cloth'd in reason's garb  
 Counsell'd ignoble ease, and peaceful sloth,  
 Not peace : and after him thus Mammon spake.

Either to disenthronè the King of heaven

220. *This horror will grow mild, this darkness light,*] It is quite too much, as Dr. Bentley says, that the darkness should turn into light : but *light*, I conceive, is an adjective here as well as *mild* ; and the meaning is, This darkness will in time become easy, as this horror will grow mild ; or, as Mr. Thyer thinks, it is an adjective used in the same sense as when we say *It is a light night*. It is not well expressed, and the worse as it rimes with the following line.

227. *Counsell'd ignoble ease,*] Virgil. *Studiis ignobilis otæ*, Georg. iv. 564.

228. *Mammon spake.*] Mammon's character is so fully drawn in the first book, that the poet adds nothing to it in the second. We were before told, that he was the first who taught mankind to ransack the earth for

gold and silver, and that he was the architect of Pandemonium, or the infernal palace, where the evil spirits were to meet in council. His speech in this book is every way suitable to so depraved a character. How proper is that reflection, of their being unable to taste the happiness of heaven were they actually there, in the mouth of one, who while he was in heaven, is said to have had his mind dazzled with the outward pomps and glories of the place, and to have been more intent on the riches of the pavement, than on the beatific vision ! I shall also leave the reader to judge how agreeable the following sentiments are to the same character.

—This deep world  
 Of darkness do we dread ? How oft  
 amidst, &c.

Addison.

We war, if war be best, or to regain 230  
 Our own right lost: him to unthroned we then  
 May hope, when everlasting Fate shall yield  
 To fickle Chance, and Chaos judge the strife:  
 The former vain to hope argues as vain  
 The latter: for what place can be for us 235  
 Within heav'n's bound, unless heav'n's Lord supreme  
 We overpower? Suppose he should relent,  
 And publish grace to all, on promise made  
 Of new subjection; with what eyes could we  
 Stand in his presence humble, and receive 240  
 Strict laws impos'd, to celebrate his throne  
 With warbled hymns, and to his Godhead sing  
 Forc'd Halleluiah's; while he lordly sits  
 Our envied sovran, and his altar breathes  
 Ambrosial odours and ambrosial flowers, 245  
 Our servile offerings? This must be our task

233. —and Chaos judge the strife:] Between the King of heaven and us, not between Fate and Chance, as Dr. Bentley supposes. *Pearce.*

234. The former vain to hope] That is to unthroned the King of heaven, argues as vain the latter, that is to regain our own lost right.

242. With warbled hymns,] "Warbled song," *Comus*, 854. "Warbled string," *Arcades*, 87. *T. Warton.*

244. —and his altar breathes Ambrosial odours and ambrosial flowers,]

Dr. Bentley would read from for and,

Ambrosial odours from ambrosial flowers,

and asks how an altar can breathe flowers, especially when flowers are, as here, distinguished from odours? But when the altar is said to breathe, the meaning is that it smells of, it throws out the smell of, or (as Milton expresses it, iv. 265.) it breathes out the smell of &c. In this sense of the word breathe, an altar may be said to breathe flowers, and odours too as a distinct thing; for by odours here Milton means the smells of gums and sweet spicy shrubs, see viii. 517. Not unlike is what we read in Fairfax's Tasso, cant. xviii. 517.

Flowers and odours sweetly smell'd.

*Pearce.*

In heav'n, this our delight ; how wearisome  
 Eternity so spent in worship paid  
 To whom we hate ! Let us not then pursue  
 By force impossible, by leave obtain'd 250  
 Unacceptable, though in heav'n, our state  
 Of splendid vassalage ; but rather seek  
 Our own good from ourselves, and from our own  
 Live to ourselves, though in this vast recess,  
 Free, and to none accountable, preferring 255  
 Hard liberty before the easy yoke  
 Of servile pomp. Our greatness will appear  
 Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,  
 Useful of hurtful, prosp'rous of adverse  
 We can create, and in what place so e'er 260  
 Thrive under ev'il, and work ease out of pain  
 Through labour and indurance. This deep world  
 Of darkness do we dread ! How oft amidst  
 Thick clouds and dark doth heav'n's all-ruling Sire  
 Choose to reside, his glory unobscur'd, 265  
 And with the majesty of darkness round  
 Covers his throne ; from whence deep thunders roar  
 Must'ring their rage, and heav'n resembles hell ?  
 As he our darkness, cannot we his light  
 Imitate when we please ? This desert soil 270

254. *Live to ourselves,*] Hor. Imitated from Psalm xviii. 11,  
 Epist. i. xviii. 107.

—Ut mihi vivam  
 Quod superest ævi.

and Persius, Sat. iv. 52.

Tecum habita.

263. —*How oft amidst*  
*Thick clouds and dark &c.]*

13. *He made darkness his secret place ; his pavilion round about him were dark waters, and thick clouds of the skies.—The Lord also thundered in the heavens, and the Highest gave his voice, hail-stones and coals of fire. And from Ps. xcvi. 2. Clouds and darkness are round about him, &c.*

Wants not her hidden lustre, gems and gold ;  
 Nor want we skill or art, from whence to raise  
 Magnificence ; and what can heav'n show more ?  
 Our torments also may in length of time  
 Become our elements, these piercing fires 275  
 As soft as now severe, our temper chang'd  
 Into their temper ; which must needs remove  
 The sensible of pain. All things invite  
 To peaceful counsels, and the settled state  
 Of order, how in safety best we may 280  
 Compose our present evils, with regard

274. *Our torments also may in length of time*

*Become our elements, &c.]*

Enforcing the same argument that Belial had urged before, ver. 217; and indeed Mammon's whole speech is to the same purpose as Belial's; the argument is improved and carried farther, only with such difference as is suitable to their different characters.

278. *The sensible of pain.]* The sense of pain. *T*he sensible, the adjective used for a substantive. *Hume.*

279. *To peaceful counsels,]* There are some things wonderfully fine in these speeches of the infernal spirits, and in the different arguments so suited to their different characters; but they have wandered from the point in debate, as is too common in other assemblies. Satan had declared in i. 660.

—Peace is despair'd,

For who can think submission? War then, war,

Open or understood, must be resolv'd.

Which was approved and con-

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firmed by the whole host of angels. And accordingly at the opening of the council he proposes for the subject of their consideration, which way they would make choice of, ii. 41.

Whether of open war or covert guile,  
 We now debate:

Moloch speaks to the purpose, and declares for open war, ver. 51.

My sentence is for open war: of wiles

More unexpert, I boast not, &c.

But Belial argues alike against war open or concealed, ver. 187.

War therefore, open or conceal'd,  
 alike

My voice dissuades; for what can force or guile &c.

Mammon carries on the same arguments, and is for *dismissing quite all thoughts of war*. So that the question is changed in the course of the debate, whether through the inattention or intention of the author it is not easy to say.

281. —*with regard*

*Of what we are and where,]*

H

Of what we are and where, dismissing quite  
All thoughts of war : ye have what I advise.

He scarce had finish'd, when such murmur fill'd  
Th' assembly, as when hollow rocks retain 285  
The sound of blust'ring winds, which all night long  
Had rous'd the sea, now with hoarse cadence lull  
Sea-faring men o'er-watch'd, whose bark by chance  
Or pinnace anchors in a craggy bay  
After the tempest : Such applause was heard 290  
As Mammon ended, and his sentence pleas'd,  
Advising peace : for such another field

It is thus in the first edition : in the second edition it is, *with regard of what we are and were* : and it is varied sometimes the one and sometimes the other in the subsequent editions. If we read *with regard of what we are and were*, the sense is, with regard to our present and our past condition ; if we read *with regard of what we are and where*, the sense is, with regard to our present condition and the place where we are ; which latter seems much better.

285. —as when hollow rocks retain &c.] Virgil compares the assent given by the assembly of the gods to Juno's speech, *Æn.* x. 96. to the rising wind, which our author assimilates to its decreasing murmurs,

—cunctique fremebant  
Cælicolæ assensu vario : oeu flamina  
prima,  
Cum deprensa fremunt sylvis, et  
cæca volutant  
Murmura, venturos nautis proden-  
tia ventos.

*Hume.*

The conduct of both poets is

equally just and proper. The intent of Juno's speech was to rouse and inflame the assembly of the gods, and the effect of it is therefore properly compared by Virgil to the *rising* wind : but the design of Mammon's speech is to quiet and compose the infernal assembly, and the effect of this therefore is as properly compared by Milton to the wind *falling* after a tempest. Claudian has a simile of the same kind in his description of the infernal council. In Rufinum, i. 70.

—ceū murmurat alti  
Impacata quies pelagi, cum flamine  
fracto  
Durat adhuc sævitque tumor, da-  
biumque per æstum  
Lassa recedentis fluitant vestigia  
venti.

And in other particulars our author seems to have drawn his council of devils with an eye to Claudian's council of furies ; and the reader may compare Alecto's speech with Moloch's, and Megæra's with Belial's or rather with Beëlzebub's.



They dreaded worse than hell: so much the fear  
 Of thunder and the sword of Michaël  
 Wrought still within them; and no less desire 295  
 To found this nether empire, which might rise  
 By policy, and long process of time,  
 In emulation opposite to heaven.  
 Which when Beëlzebub perceiv'd, than whom,  
 Satan except, none higher sat, with grave 300  
 Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd  
 A pillar of state; deep on his front engraven  
 Deliberation sat and public care;  
 And princely counsel in his face yet shone,  
 Majestic though in ruin: sage he stood 305  
 With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear  
 The weight of mightiest monarchies; his look  
 Drew audience and attention still as night  
 Or summer's noon-tide air, while thus he spake.

294. —*the sword of Michaël*] The words *Michael*, *Raphael*, &c. are sometimes pronounced as of two syllables, and sometimes they are made to consist of three. When they are to be pronounced as of three syllables, we shall distinguish them in printing thus, *Michaël*, *Raphaël*.

302. *A pillar of state*;] *Pillar* is to be pronounced contractedly as of one syllable, or two short ones; and again in book xii. 202, 203. The metaphor is plain and easy enough to be understood; and thus James, and Peter, and John are called *pillars* in Gal. ii. 9. And so Shakespeare, 2 Hen. VI. act i.

Brave peers of England, *pillars of the state*.

306. *With Atlantean shoulders*] A metaphor to express his vast capacity. Atlas was so great an astronomer, that he is said to have borne heaven on his shoulders. The whole picture from ver. 299. to the end of the paragraph is admirable! *Richardson*.

309. *Or summer's noon-tide air*.] *Noon-tide* is the same as *noon-time*, when in hot countries there is hardly a breath of wind stirring, and men and beasts, by reason of the intense heat, retire to shade and rest. This is the custom of Italy particularly, where our author lived some time.

Thrones and Imperial Pow'rs, Offspring of Heaven,  
 Ethereal Virtues ; or these titles now 311  
 Must we renounce, and changing style be call'd  
 Princes of Hell ? for so the popular vote  
 Inclines, here to continue', and build up here  
 A growing empire ; doubtless ; while we dream, 315  
 And know not that the King of heav'n hath doom'd  
 This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat  
 Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt

309. Thomson's Seasons,  
 Summer, 630.

While nature lies around deep-lull'd  
 in noon.

E.

309. —*while thus he spake.*] *Beëlzebub*, who is reckoned the second in dignity that fell, and is, in the first book, the second that awakens out of the trance, and confers with Satan upon the situation of their affairs, maintains his rank in the book now before us. There is a wonderful majesty described in his rising up to speak. He acts as a kind of moderator between the two opposite parties, and proposes a third undertaking, which the whole assembly gives into. The motion he makes of detaching one of their body in search of a new world is grounded upon a project devised by Satan, and cursorily proposed by him in the following lines of the first book.

Space may produce new worlds, &c.  
 ver. 660.

It is on this project that *Beëlzebub* grounds his proposal,

—What if we find  
 Some easier enterprise ? &c.

The reader may observe how just it was not to omit in the first book the project upon which the whole poem turns : as also that the prince of the fallen angels was the only proper person to give it birth, and that the next to him in dignity was the fittest to second and support it. There is besides, I think, something wonderfully beautiful, and very apt to affect the reader's imagination in this ancient prophecy or report in heaven, concerning the creation of man. Nothing could shew more the dignity of the species, than this tradition which ran of them before their existence. They are represented to have been the talk of heaven, before they were created. Virgil, in compliment to the Roman commonwealth, makes the heroes of it appear in their state of pre-existence ; but Milton does a far greater honour to mankind in general, as he gives us a glimpse of them even before they are in being. *Ad-*

From heav'n's high jurisdiction, in new league  
 Banded against his throne, but to remain 320  
 In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd  
 Under th' inevitable curb, reserv'd  
 His captive multitude: for he, be sure,  
 In highth or depth, still first and last will reign  
 Sole king, and of his kingdom lose no part 325  
 By our revolt, but over hell extend  
 His empire, and with iron sceptre rule  
 Us here, as with his golden those in heaven.  
 What sit we then projecting peace and war?  
 War hath determin'd us, and foil'd with loss 330  
 Irreparable; terms of peace yet none  
 Vouchsaf'd or sought; for what peace will be given  
 To us enslav'd, but custody severe,  
 And stripes, and arbitrary punishment  
 Inflicted? and what peace can we return, 335

327. —and with iron sceptre  
 rule

Us here, as with his golden  
 those in heaven.]

The iron sceptre is in allusion to Psalm ii. 9. as that of gold to Esther v. 2. *Hume*.

329. *What sit we then projecting peace and war?*] *What* seems to be used here like the Latin *Quid*, which signifies both what and why.

332. *Vouchsaf'd*] Milton constantly writes this verb *voutsafe*, and this is rather of a softer sound, but the other seems more agreeable to the etymology of the word.

332. —for what peace will be  
 given

To us enslav'd, but custody se-  
 vere?

—and what peace can we re-  
 turn

But to our pow'r hostility and  
 hate?]

In both these passages there is an unusual construction of the particle *but*; it seems to put *custody severe* &c. in the one, and *hostility and hate* &c. in the other on the foot of peace. There are some very few instances where the Latins have used *nisi* (except, or but) in a like construction. One is in *Plautus's Menæchmi* Prolog. 59. *Ei liberorum, nisi divitiarum, nihil erat.* *Richardson*.

But to our pow'r hostility and hate,  
 Untain'd reluctance, and revenge though slow,  
 Yet ever plotting how the conqu'ror least  
 May reap his conquest, and may least rejoice  
 In doing what we most in suffering feel ? 340  
 Nor will occasion want, nor shall we need  
 With dang'rous expedition to invade  
 Heav'n, whose high walls fear no assault or siege,  
 Or ambush from the deep. What if we find  
 Some easier enterprise ? There is a place, 345  
 (If ancient and prophetic fame in heaven  
 Err not,) another world, the happy seat  
 Of some new race call'd Man, about this time  
 To be created like to us, though less  
 In pow'r and excellence, but favour'd more 350  
 Of him who rules above ; so was his will  
 Pronounc'd among the Gods, and by an oath,  
 That shook heav'n's whole circumference, confirm'd.  
 Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn

352. —and by an oath,

*That shook heav'n's whole circumference, confirm'd.]*

*He confirmed it by an oath* are the very words of St. Paul, Heb. vi. 17. and this oath is said to *shake heav'n's whole circumference* in allusion to Jupiter's oath in Virgil, Æn. ix. 104.

Dixerat : idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,  
 Per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas  
 Annuit, et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.  
 To seal his sacred vow, by Styx he swore,  
 The lake with liquid pitch, the dreary shore,

And Phlegethon's innavigable flood,  
 And the black regions of his brother God :  
 He said ; and shook the skies with his imperial nod. *Dryden.*

As Virgil had imitated Homer, Iliad. i. 528.

Η, και κομνησις εν' σφραγι νιου Κρονου  
 Αμζροται δ' αρα χυται επιβυσσαντο  
 ανακταις  
 Κρονος απ' αθανατου μεγας δ' ελλυξεν  
 Ολυμπος.

The Monarch spake, and bending his dark brow  
 Majestic bow'd : straight o'er his awful head  
 Wav'd locks ambrosial, and Olympus' height  
 To its foundation trembled.

*Howes.*

What creatures there inhabit, of what mould, 355  
 Or substance, how endued, and what their power,  
 And where their weakness, how attempted best,  
 By force or subtlety. Though heav'n be shut,  
 And heaven's high arbitrator sit secure  
 In his own strength, this place may lie expos'd, 360  
 The utmost border of his kingdom, left  
 To their defence who hold it: here perhaps  
 Some advantageous act may be achiev'd  
 By sudden onset, either with hell fire  
 To waste his whole creation, or possess 365  
 All as our own, and drive, as we were driven,  
 The puny habitants, or if not drive,

360. —*this place may lie expos'd*  
*The utmost border of his king-*  
*dom, left*

*To their defence who hold it:]*

It has been objected, that there is a contradiction between this part of Beëlzebub's speech, and what he says afterwards, speaking of the same thing and of a messenger proper to be sent in search of this new world, ver. 410.

—what strength, what art can then  
 Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe  
 Through the strict senteries and sta-  
 tions thick  
 Of angels watching round?

How can this earth be said to lie exposed &c. and yet to be strictly guarded by stationed angels? The objection is very ingenious: but it is not said that the earth *doth* lie exposed, but only that it *may* lie exposed: and it may be considered, that the design of Beëlzebub is different in these different speeches;

in the former, where he is encouraging the assembly to undertake an expedition against this world, he says things to *lessen* the difficulty and danger; but in the latter, when they have determined upon the expedition, and are consulting of a proper person to employ in it, then he says things to *magnify* the difficulty and danger, to make them more cautious in their choice.

362. —*here perhaps*] That is, in the place which I am speaking of. Milton frequently uses *now* and *here*, not meaning a time or place *then* present to him or his speakers *when* they are speaking; but that time and that place, which he or they are speaking of. *Pearce.*

367. *The puny habitants,*] The author by *puny* might mean no more than weak or little; but yet if we reflect how frequently he uses words in their proper and primary signification, it seems

Seduce them to our party, that their God  
 May prove their foe, and with repenting hand  
 Abolish his own works. This would surpass 370  
 Common revenge, and interrupt his joy  
 In our confusion, and our joy upraise  
 In his disturbance; when his darling sons,  
 Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, shall curse  
 Their frail original, and faded bliss, 375  
 Faded so soon. Advise if this be worth  
 Attempting, or to sit in darkness here  
 Hatching vain empires. Thus Beëlzebub  
 Pleaded his devilish counsel, first devis'd  
 By Satan, and in part propos'd: for whence, 380  
 But from the author of all ill, could spring  
 So deep a malice, to confound the race  
 Of mankind in one root, and earth with hell  
 To mingle and involve, done all to spite  
 The great Creator? But their spite still serves 385  
 His glory to augment. The bold design  
 Pleas'd highly those infernal states, and joy  
 Sparkled in all their eyes; with full assent  
 They vote: whereat his speech he thus renews.

Well have ye judg'd, we'll ended long debate, 390  
 Synod of gods, and like to what ye are,  
 Great things resolv'd, which from the lowest deep,  
 Will once more lift us up, in spite of fate,  
 Nearer our ancient seat; perhaps in view  
 Of those bright confines, whence with neighb'ring arms

probable that he might include *nè*, born since, created long after  
 likewise the sense of the French *us*.  
 (from whence it is derived) *puis*

And opportune excursion we may chance 396  
 Re-enter heav'n ; or else in some mild zone  
 Dwell not unvisited of heav'n's fair light  
 Secure, and at the bright'ning orient beam  
 Purge off this gloom ; the soft delicious air, 400  
 To heal the scar of these corrosive fires,  
 Shall breathe her balm. But first whom shall we send  
 In search of this new world ? whom shall we find  
 Sufficient ? who shall tempt with wand'ring feet  
 The dark unbottom'd infinite abyss, 405  
 And through the palpable obscure find out  
 His uncouth way, or spread his aery flight  
 Upborne with indefatigable wings  
 Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive

398. *Dwell not unvisited of heav'n's fair light.*] See P. L. iii. 23. and *Comus*, 339.

—*visit us*

With thy long-levell'd rule of streaming light.

St. Luke i. 78. "The day-spring from on high hath visited us." *T. Warton.*

406. —*the palpable obscure*] It is remarkable in our author's style, that he often uses adjectives as substantives, and substantives again as adjectives. Here are two adjectives, the latter of which is used for a substantive, as again in ver. 409, *the vast abrupt*. And sometimes there are two substantives, the former of which is used for an adjective, as *the ocean stream*, i. 702. *the bullion dross*, i. 704. Milton often enriches his language in this manner.

409. —*ere he arrive*  
*The happy isle ?*]

The earth hanging in the sea of air, like a happy or fortunate island, as the name is. And so Cicero de Nat. Deor. ii. 66. calls the earth quasi magnam quandam insulam, quam nos orbem terræ vocamus. *Ere he arrive the happy isle* ; so the word *arrive* is used by our author in the preface to *the Judgment of Martin Bucer*, p. 276. edit. 1738. "And he, if our things here below *'arrive him where he is &c.*" and again in his *Treatise of civil power in ecclesiastical causes*, p. 553, "Let him also forbear *'force—lest a worse woe arrive him.*" And by Shakespeare, 3 Hen. VI. act v.

—those powers, that the Queen  
 Hath rais'd in Gallia, have arriv'd our coast.

The happy isle ? what strength, what art can then 410  
 Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe  
 Through the strict senteries and stations thick  
 Of Angels watching round ? Here he had need  
 All circumspection, and we now no less  
 Choice in our suffrage ; for on whom we send, 415  
 The weight of all and our last hope relies.

This said, he sat ; and expectation held  
 His look suspense, awaiting who appear'd  
 To second, or oppose, or undertake  
 The perilous attempt : but all sat mute, 420  
 Pond'ring the danger with deep thoughts ; and each  
 In other's count'nance read his own dismay  
 Astonish'd : none among the choice and prime  
 Of those heav'n-warring champions could be found  
 So hardy as to proffer or accept 425  
 Alone the dreadful voyage ; till at last  
 Satan, whom now transcendent glory rais'd  
 Above his fellows, with monarchal pride  
 Conscious of highest worth, unmov'd thus spake.

O progeny of heav'n, empyreal thrones, 430  
 With reason hath deep silence and demur  
 Seiz'd us, though undismay'd : long is the way

420. —*but all sat mute,*] Homer often uses words to the same effect, when an affair of difficulty is proposed, such as sending a spy into the Trojan camp, or a single combat with Hector. *Iliad.* vii. 92.

ὅτι ἴσθαι οἱ δ' ἄρα παρρησίᾳ καὶ ἰσχυρῶς  
 αἰσώσθῃ.  
 Ἀδριανὸς πρὸς ἀντιοχέα, διονυσίου δ' ἱερο-  
 δόχου.

429. —*unmov'd*] With any of those dangers which deterred others.

430. *O progeny of heav'n,*] *Virg. Ecl. iv. 7.*

*Jam nova progenies cœlo dimittitur alto.*

*Hume.*

432. —*long is the way*  
*And hard, that out of hell leads*  
*up to light ;]*



And hard, that out of hell leads up to light ;  
 Our prison strong ; this huge convex of fire,  
 Outrageous to devour, immures us round 435  
 Ninefold, and gates of burning adamant  
 Barr'd over us prohibit all egress.  
 These pass'd, if any pass, the void profound  
 Of unessential Night receives him next  
 Wide gaping, and with utter loss of being 440  
 Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf.  
 If thence he scape into whatever world,  
 Or unknown region, what remains him less

Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 128.

Sed revocare gradum, superasque  
 evadere ad auras,  
 Hoc opus, hic labor est.  
 But to return, and view the cheerful  
 skies,  
 In this the task, and mighty labour  
 lies. *Dryden.*

as in what follows of the fire  
 immuring them round *ninefold*,  
 and of *the gates of burning ada-*  
*mant*, he alludes to what Virgil  
 says in the same book, of Styx  
 and of the gates of hell.

—novies Styx interfusa coerct.  
 ver. 439.  
 Porta adversa ingens solidoque ada-  
 mante columnæ. ver. 552.

434. —*this huge convex of fire,*  
 This huge vault of fire, bending  
 down on all sides round us. *Con-*  
*vez* is spoken properly of the ex-  
 terior surface of a globe, and  
*concave* of the interior surface  
 which is hollow : but the poets  
 do not always speak thus exactly,  
 but use them promiscuously ;  
 and hence in Virgil *caeli convexa*  
 and *supera convexa* in several  
 places. And what is here the

*convex of fire* is afterwards called  
 the *fiery concave*, ver. 635.

438. —*the void profound*] *Inave*  
*profundum*, as Lucretius has it  
 in several places.

439. *Of unessential Night*] *Un-*  
*essential*, void of being ; dark-  
 ness approaching nearest to, and  
 being the best resemblance of  
 non-entity. *Hume.*

443. —*what remains him less*  
*Than unknown dangers, and as*  
*hard escape ?]*

So again, b. ix. 41. *me* higher  
 argument *remains*. This is a  
 bolder Latinism than is quite  
 consonant with English poetry.  
 Dr. Johnson, in his life of Mil-  
 ton, observes, that “ he formed  
 “ his style by a perverse and pe-  
 “ dantic principle. He was de-  
 “ sirous to use English words  
 “ with a foreign idiom. But  
 “ such,” he adds, “ is the power  
 “ of his poetry, that his call is  
 “ obeyed without resistance, the  
 “ reader feels himself in capti-  
 “ vity to a higher and nobler  
 “ mind, and criticism sinks in  
 “ admiration.” *Dunster.*

Than unknown dangers, and as hard escape ?  
 But I should ill become this throne, O peers, 445  
 And this imperial sovrantry, adorn'd  
 With splendour, arm'd with power, if ought propos'd  
 And judg'd of public moment, in the shape  
 Of difficulty or danger could deter  
 Me from attempting. Wherefore do' I assume 450  
 These royalties, and not refuse to reign,  
 Refusing to accept as great a share  
 Of hazard as of honour, due alike  
 To him who reigns, and so much to him due  
 Of hazard more, as he above the rest 455  
 High honour'd sits ? Go therefore mighty powers,  
 Terror of heav'n, though fall'n ; intend at home,

450. — *Wherefore do I assume*  
 &c.] Our author has here  
 caught the spirit of Homer in  
 that divine speech of Sarpedon  
 to Glaucus, *Iliad*. xii. 310.

Γλαυκι, τίη δὲ νῦν ἐντιμαίμεθα μάλιστα  
 ἔλθῃ τι, κρείσσον τι, ἢ δὲ πλείους διπλοῦ-  
 σσι,  
 Ἐξ Ἀναιρῶ; πάντες δὲ, θεοὺς ὡς, ὑπε-  
 ρβῶμεν ;  
 Καὶ τιμῆς τιμαίμεθα μὲγα Πανδῶς  
 παρ' ὄχθας,  
 Καλοῖ, φρονέουσιν αἰεὶ κρείσσει παρὰ φρονέουσιν ;  
 Τῇ νῦν χρεὶ Ἀναιρῶσι μετὰ πρῶτον αἰ-  
 τῶται,  
 Ἐσθαρῶσι, ἢ δὲ μάχῃσι κρείσσει αἰ-  
 τῶμεθα &c.

Why boast we, Glaucus, our ex-  
 tended reign,  
 Where Xanthus' streams enrich the  
 Lycian plain,  
 Our numerous herds that range the  
 fruitful field,  
 And hills where vines their purple  
 harvest yield,  
 Our foaming bowls with purer nectar  
 crown'd,  
 Our feasts enhance'd with music's  
 sprightly sound ?

Why on those shores are we with  
 joy survey'd,  
 Admir'd as heroes, and as gods  
 obey'd ?  
 Unless great acts superior merit prove,  
 And vindicate the bounteous pow'rs  
 above.  
 'Tis our's, the dignity they give, to  
 grace ;  
 The first in valour, as the first in  
 place, &c. Pope.

This is one of the noblest and  
 best-spirited speeches in the  
 whole *Iliad* : but (as Mr. Hume  
 says) is as much exalted in the  
 imitation, as a seraphim is su-  
 perior to a man. And is it not  
 a probable presumption, that  
 Milton (whose dislike to kings  
 is very well known) by putting  
 these sentiments into the mouth  
 of the king of hell intended an  
 oblique satire upon the kings of  
 the earth, whose practice is  
 so often directly contrary to  
 them ?

While here shall be our home, what best may ease  
 The present misery, and render hell  
 More tolerable ; if there be cure or charm 460  
 To respite, or deceive, or slack the pain  
 Of this ill mansion : intermit no watch  
 Against a wakeful foe, while I abroad  
 Through all the coasts of dark destruction seek  
 Deliverance for us all : this enterprise 465  
 None shall partake with me. Thus saying rose  
 The Monarch, and prevented all reply,  
 Prudent, lest from his resolution rais'd  
 Others among the chief might offer now  
 (Certain to be refus'd) what erst they fear'd ; 470  
 And so refus'd might in opinion stand  
 His rivals, winning cheap the high repute  
 Which he through hazard huge must earn. But they  
 Dreaded not more th' adventure than his voice  
 Forbidding ; and at once with him they rose ; 475  
 Their rising all at once was as the sound  
 Of thunder heard remote. Tow'ards him they bend  
 With awful reverence prone ; and as a God  
 Extol him equal to the Highest in heav'n :  
 Nor fail'd they to express how much they prais'd, 480  
 That for the general safety he despis'd  
 His own : for neither do the spirits damn'd

465. — *this enterprise*

*None shall partake with me.]*

The abruptness of Satan's conclusion is very well expressed by the speech breaking off in the middle of the verse.

476. *Their rising all at once was as the sound*

*Of thunder heard remote.]*

The rising of this great assembly is described in a very sublime and poetical manner. — Addison.

Lose all their virtue ; lest bad men should boast  
 Their specious deeds on earth, which glory' excites,  
 Or close ambition varnish'd o'er with zeal. 485  
 Thus they their doubtful consultations dark  
 Ended rejoicing in their matchless chief:  
 As when from mountain tops the dusky clouds  
 Ascending, while the north-wind sleeps, o'erspread

483. —*lest bad men should boast &c.*] Here Dr. Bentley asks, whether the devils retain some of their virtue, on purpose *lest bad men should boast &c.* This being an absurdity, he reads, *less should bad men boast &c.* But there is no occasion for the alteration. 'To take the force of the word *lest*, we must suppose the author to have left his reader to supply some such expression as this, This remark (of the devils not *losing all their virtue*) I make, *lest bad men should boast &c.* Dr. Bentley knows that *μὴ* in Greek and *ne* in Latin are often thus used. Milton here seems to have had in view Eph. ii. 8, 9. *By grace ye are saved through faith—not of works, lest any man should boast.* Not, that they were *sored not of works*, on purpose *lest any man should boast*; but St. Paul puts them in mind of that, and made that remark to prevent their *boasting*. Pearce.

As our author has drawn Satan with some remains of the beauty, so he represents him likewise with some of the other perfections of an arch-angel; and herein he has followed the rule

of Aristotle in his Poetics, chap. 15. that the manners should be as good as the nature of the subject would possibly admit. A devil all made up of wickedness would be too shocking to any reader or writer.

489. —*while the north-wind sleeps,*] So Homer expresses it, Iliad. v. 524.

—*αὐρὴ' ὑπναι μινος βορέας,*—

that wind generally clearing the sky, and dispersing the clouds. Every body must be wonderfully delighted with this similitude. The images are not more pleasing in nature, than they are refreshing to the reader after his attention to the foregoing debate. We have a simile of the same kind in Homer, but applied upon a very different occasion. Iliad. xvi. 297.

Ὡς δ' ἐν' αὐρῇ ὑψηλὸς κεφαλῆς οὐρὸς μι-  
 γαλῶν  
 Κινεῖται πικρὸντο νηϊλὸν στρεπταγχεῖα  
 Ζεὺς,  
 Ἐκ τ' ἰφθίμῳ παρὰ στασίαι, καὶ πρηνεὶς  
 ἀκρῇ  
 καὶ ταπαι, οὐρανὸν δ' αὐρῇ ὑπερβαρὺν  
 ἀσπερὶς αἶθερ.

So when thick clouds inwrap the  
 mountain's head,  
 O'er heav'n's expanse like one black  
 ceiling spread;

Heav'n's cheerful face, the low'ring element 490  
 Scowls o'er the darken'd landscape snow, or shower ;  
 If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet  
 Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,  
 The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds  
 Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings. 495  
 O shame to men ! devil with devil damn'd

Sudden, the Thund'rer with a flash-  
 ing ray,  
 Bursts through the darkness, and  
 lets down the day :  
 The hills shine out, the rocks in  
 prospect rise,  
 And streama, and vales, and forests  
 strike the eyes,  
 The smiling scene wide opens to the  
 sight,  
 And all th' unmeasur'd æther flames  
 with light.

Mr. Pope translates it as if Jupiter lightened, which makes it a horrid rather than a pleasing scene; but Homer says only that he removed the thick clouds from the mountain top, and so it is explained in the note of Pope's Homer, which shews that the translation and notes were not always made by the same person. We have a simile too, much of the same nature in a Sonnet of Spenser, as Mr. Thyer hath observed. Sonnet 40.

Mark when she smiles with amiable  
 cheer,  
 And tell me whereto can you liken  
 it:  
 When on each eye-lid sweetly do  
 appear  
 An hundred graces as in shade to  
 sit.  
 Likeliest it seemeth, in my simple wit,  
 Upto the fair sun-shine in summer's  
 day;  
 That when a dreadful storm away is  
 flit,  
 Through the broad world doth  
 spread his goodly ray:

At sight whereof each bird that sits  
 on spray,  
 And every beast that to his den  
 was fled,  
 Come forth afresh out of their late  
 dismay,  
 And to the light lift up their  
 drooping head.  
 So my storm beaten heart likewise is  
 cheered,  
 With that sun-shine, when cloudy  
 looks are cleared.

See also a simile of the same kind in Boethius *De Cons.* l. 1. and in Dante's *Inferno*, c. 24.

489. —*o'erspread*  
*Heav'n's cheerful face,*]  
 Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, b. ii. cant.  
 xii. st. 34.

And *heav'n's cheerful face* enveloped,  
*Thyer.*

494. —*bleating herds*] Dr. Bentley reads *flocks*, and says that *herd* is a word proper to rattle, that do not *bleat*. But *herd* is originally the common name for a number of any sort of cattle: hence *shepherd*, that is *sheepherdsman*, see vii. 462. *Pearce.*

—*bleating herds* is much such an expression as Spenser's *fleecy cattle* in *Colin Clout's come home again*.

496. *O shame to men ! &c.*] This reflection will appear the more pertinent and natural, when one considers the contentious

Firm concord holds, men only disagree  
 Of creatures rational, though under hope  
 Of heav'nly grace: and God proclaiming peace,  
 Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife 500  
 Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,  
 Wasting the earth, each other to destroy:  
 As if (which might induce us to accord)  
 Man had not hellish foes enough besides,  
 That day and night for his destruction wait. 505

The Stygian council thus dissolv'd; and forth  
 In order came the grand infernal peers:  
 Midst came their mighty paramount, and seem'd  
 Alone th' antagonist of heav'n, nor less  
 Than hell's dread emperor with pomp supreme. 510  
 And God-like imitated state; him round  
 A globe of fiery seraphim inclos'd  
 With bright imblazonry, and horrent arms.  
 Then of their session ended they bid cry  
 With trumpets' regal sound the great result: 515  
 Tow'ards the four winds four speedy cherubim  
 Put to their mouths the sounding alchemy

age, in which Milton lived and wrote. *Thyer.*

512. *A globe of fiery seraphim]* A globe signifies here a battalion in circle surrounding him, as Virgil says, *Æn. x. 373.*

—*quà globus ille virum densissimus urget.*

513. —*horrent arms.*] *Horrent* includes the idea both of terrible and prickly, set up like the bristles of a wild boar.

*Horrentia Martis arma. Virg. Æn. i.*

—*densos acle atque horrentibus hastis.*  
*Æn. x. 178.*

517. —*the sounding alchemy]* Dr. Bentley reads *orichalc*: but since he allows that *gold and silver coin, as well as brass and pewter, are alchemy, being mixed metals*, for that reason *alchemy* will do here; especially being joined to the epithet *sounding*, which determines it to mean a trumpet, made perhaps of the mixed metals of brass, silver, &c. *Pearce.*

*Alchemy*, the name of that art which is the sublimer part of chemistry, the transmutation of

By heralds' voice explain'd; the hollow' abyss  
 Heard far and wide, and all the host of hell  
 With deaf'ning shout return'd them loud acclaim. 520  
 Thence more at ease their minds, and somewhat rais'd  
 By false presumptuous hope, the ranged powers  
 Disband, and wand'ring, each his several way  
 Pursues, as inclination or sad choice  
 Leads him perplex'd, where he may likeliest find 525  
 Truce to his restless thoughts, and entertain  
 The irksome hours, till his great chief return.  
 Part on the plain, or in the air sublime,

metals. Milton names no particular metal, but leaves the imagination at large, any metal possible to be produced by that mysterious art; it is a metonymy, the efficient for the effect; vastly poetical. *Richardson.*

*Alchemy* is in short what is corruptly pronounced *Ockamy*, that is, any mixed metal.

527. —till his great chief return.] So it is in the first edition: but in the second and some others it is, till this great chief return; which is manifestly an error of the press.

528. Part on the plain, &c.] The diversions of the fallen angels, with the particular account of their place of habitation, are described with great pregnancy of thought and copiousness of invention. The diversions are every way suitable to beings, who had nothing left them but strength and knowledge misapplied. Such are their contentions at the race and in feats of arms, with their entertainments in the following lines,

Others with vast Typhæan rage more  
 fell &c.

Their music is employed in celebrating their own criminal exploits, and their discourse in sounding the unfathomable depths of fate, free-will, and fore-knowledge. *Addison.*

Part contend on the plain in running, or in the air in flying, as at the famous Olympian or Pythian games in Greece, while another part contend on horse-back or in chariot races, Part curb their fiery steeds, &c. These warlike diversions of the fallen angels during the absence of Satan, seem to be copied from the military exercises of the Myrmidons during the absence of their chief from the war, Homer's *Iliad*. ii. 774. &c. only the images are raised in proportion to the nature of the beings who are here described. We may suppose too that the author had an eye to the diversions and entertainments of the departed heroes in Virgil's *Elysium*, *Æn.* vi. 642.

Upon the wing, or in swift race contend,  
 As at th' Olympian games or Pythian fields; 530  
 Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal  
 With rapid wheels, or fronted brigades form.  
 As when to warn proud cities war appears  
 Wag'd in the troubled sky, and armies rush  
 To battle in the clouds, before each van 535  
 Prick forth the aery knights, and couch their spears  
 Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms  
 From either end of heav'n the welkin burns.  
 Others with vast Typhæan rage more fell  
 Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air 540  
 In whirlwind; hell scarce holds the wild uproar.

Pars in gramineis exercent membra  
 palæstris,  
 Contendunt ludo, et fulvâ lactantur  
 arenâ:

Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas, et  
 carmina dicunt, &c.

Their airy limbs in sports they ex-  
 ercise,

And on the green contend the wrest-  
 ler's prize.

Some in heroic verse divinely sing;

Others in artful measures lead the  
 ring, &c. *Dryden.*

531. —or shun the goal

With rapid wheels,]

Plainly taken from Horace, Od.  
 i. lib. i. ver. 4.

Metaque fervidis evitata rotis.

But with good judgment he says  
*rapid* not *fervid*: because in  
 these hell-games both the wheels  
 and the burning marle they drove  
 on were *fervid* even before the  
 race. *Bentley.*

534. *Wag'd in the troubled sky,*]  
 So Shakespeare in 1 Hen. IV.  
 act i. calls these appearances

—the meteors of a troubled heaven,

536. —and couch their spears]  
 Fix them in their rests. *Couch*  
 from *coucher* (French) to place.  
 A rest was made in the breast of  
 the armour, and was called a  
*rest* from *arrest* (French) to  
 stay. *Richardson.*

539. *Others with vast Typhæan  
 rage &c.*] Others with *rage* like  
 that of Typhæus or Typhon,  
 one of the giants who warred  
 against heaven, of whom see be-  
 fore i. 199. The contrast here  
 is very remarkable. Some are  
 employed in sportive games and  
 exercises, while others rend up  
 both rocks and hills, and make  
 wild uproar. Some again are  
 singing in a valley, while others  
 are discoursing and arguing on a  
 hill; and these are represented  
 as *sitting*, while others march  
 different ways to discover that  
 infernal world. Every company  
 is drawn in contrast both to that  
 which goes before, and that  
 which follows.



As when Alcides, from Œchalia crown'd  
 With conquest, felt th' envenom'd robe, and tore  
 Through pain up by the roots Thessalian pines,  
 And Lichas from the top of Œta threw 545  
 Into th' Euboic sea. Others more mild,  
 Retreated in a silent valley, sing  
 With notes angelical to many a harp  
 Their own heroic deeds and hapless fall  
 By doom of battle; and complain that fate 550  
 Free virtue should inthrall to force or chance.  
 Their song was partial, but the harmony

542. *As when Alcides, &c.]* As when Hercules named *Alcides* from his grandfather Alcæus, from *Œchalia* crowned with conquest, after his return from the conquest of Œchalia a city of Bœotia, having brought with him from thence Iôle the king's daughter, felt th' envenom'd robe, which was sent him by Deianira in jealousy of his new mistress, and stuck so close to his skin that he could not pull off the one without pulling off the other, and tore through pain up by the roots Thessalian pines, and Lichas who had brought him the poisoned robe, from the top of Œta, a mountain in the borders of Thessaly, threw into th' Euboic sea, the sea near Eubœa an island in the Archipelago. The madness of Hercules was a subject for tragedy among the ancients, (*Ηρακλής μαινόμενος* by Euripides, *Hercules Furens* by Seneca,) but our author has comprised the principal circumstances in this similitude, and seems more par-

ticularly to have copied Ovid, *Met. ix. 136.*

Victor ob Œchalia— &c.

But as Mr. Thyer rightly observes, Milton in this simile falls vastly short of his usual sublimity and propriety. How much does the image of Alcides tearing up Thessalian pines &c. sink below that of the angels rending up both rocks and hills, and riding the air in whirlwind! and how faintly and insignificantly does the allusion end with the low circumstance of Lichas being thrown into the Euboic sea!

550. —and complain that fate  
 Free virtue should inthrall to  
 force or chance]

This is taken from the famous distich of Euripides, which Brutus used, when he slew himself;

Ω τέλειμας ἀρετή, λόγος ἀέ ποτ', ἴστω δὲ  
 οἷ

Ὡς ἴσθης περὶ οὐδ' ἀέ ἰδιούττως βίη.

In some places for βίη force it is quoted *τυχῇ* fortune. Milton has well comprehended both, *inthrall to force or chance.* Bentley.

(What could it less when spi'rits immortal sing ?)  
 Suspended hell, and took with ravishment  
 The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet 555  
 (For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense,)  
 Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,  
 In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high  
 Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,

554. *Suspended hell,*] The effect of their singing is somewhat like that of Orpheus in hell, Virg. Georg. iv. 481.

Quin ipsæ stupuere domus, atque intima letbi  
 Tartara, cæruleosque implexæ crinibus angues  
 Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tria  
 Cerberus ora,  
 Atque Ixionii vento rota constitit orbis.

E'en from the depths of hell the damn'd advance,  
 Th' infernal mansions nodding seem to dance ;  
 The gaping three-mouth'd dog forgets to snarl,  
 The Furies hearken, and their snakes uncurl ;  
 Ixion seems no more his pain to feel,  
 But leans attentive on his standing wheel. *Dryden.*

*The harmony suspended hell ;* but is it not much better with the parenthesis coming between ? which suspends as it were the event, raises the reader's attention, and gives a greater force to the sentence.

But the harmony  
 (What could it less when spi'rits  
 Immortal sing ?)  
 Suspended hell, &c.

Compare Horace concerning the strains of Sappho and Alcæus. Odes xi. xiii. v. 20—40.

Utrumque sacro digna silentio  
 Mirantur umbræ dicere : sed magis  
 Pugnas et exactos tyrannos  
 Densum humeris bibit aure vulgus.  
 Quid mirum ubi illis carminibus stupens, &c.

*E.*

554. —*took with ravishment, &c.*] So in the Ode on the Nativity, 98.

As all their souls in blissful rapture took.

*Ravishment* is a favourite word with Milton. See Par. Lost, v. 46. ix. 541. Comus, 245. and Tetrachordon, Pr. W. i. 222. Spenser has the word in *Astrophel*, st. 7. *T. Warton.*

555. —*In discourse more sweet*] Our poet so justly prefers discourse to the highest harmony, that he has seated his reasoning angels on a hill as high and elevated as their thoughts, leaving the songsters in their humble valley. *Hume.*

559. —*foreknowledge, will, and fate,*

*Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute.*]

The turn of the words here is admirable, and very well expresses the wanderings and mazes of their discourse. And the turn of the words is greatly improved, and

Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute, 560  
And found no end, in wand'ring mazes lost.

Of good and evil much they argued then,  
Of happiness and final misery,  
Passion and apathy, and glory' and shame,  
Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy: 565  
Yet with a pleasing sorcery could charm  
Pain for a while or anguish, and excite  
Fallacious hope, or arm th' obdured breast  
With stubborn patience as with triple steel.  
Another part in squadrons and gross bands, 570  
On bold adventure to discover wide  
That dismal world, if any clime perhaps

rendered still more beautiful by the addition of an epithet to each of them.

565. *Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy :*] *Good and evil, and de finibus bonorum et malorum, &c.* were more particularly the subjects of disputation among the philosophers and sophists of old, as *providence, free will, &c.* were among the school-men and divines of later times, especially upon the introduction of the free notions of Arminius upon these subjects: and our author shews herein what an opinion he had of all books and learning of this kind.

568. —*th' obdured breast*] So we read in Milton's own editions, and not *obdurate*, as it is in Dr. Bentley's, Mr. Fenton's, and others: the same word is used again in vi. 785.

This saw his hapless foes, but stood  
*obdur'd.*

569. —*with triple steel.*] Hor. Od. i. iii. 9, 10.

*Illi robur, et æs triplex  
Circa pectus erat, &c.*

572. *That dismal world,*] The several circumstances in the description of Hell are finely imagined; as the four rivers which disgorge themselves into the sea of fire, the extremes of cold and heat, and the river of oblivion. The monstrous animals produced in that infernal world are represented by a single line, which gives us a more horrid idea of them, than a much longer description of them would have done. This episode of the fallen spirits and their place of habitation comes in very happily to unbend the mind of the reader from its attention to the debate. An ordinary poet would indeed have spun out so many circumstances to a great length,

Might yield them easier habitation, bend  
 Four ways their flying march, along the banks  
 Of four infernal rivers, that disgorge  
 Into the burning lake their baleful streams ;  
 Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate ;

575

and by that means have weakened, instead of illustrated the principal fable. *Addison.*

577. *Abhorred Styx, &c.*] The Greeks reckon up five rivers in hell, and call them after the names of the noxious springs and rivers in their own country. Our poet follows their example both as to the number and the names of these infernal rivers, and excellently describes their nature and properties, with the explanation of their names, *Styx* so named of a Greek word *στυγν* that signifies to *hate* and *abhor*, and therefore called here *Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate*, and by Virgil *palus inanimabilis*, *Æn.* vi. 438. *Acheron* has its name from *αχος* dolor and *ῥω* fluo, *flowing with grief*; and is represented accordingly *Sad Acheron, the river of sorrow, black and deep*, agreeable to Virgil's character of it

—tenebrosa palus Acheronte refusa.  
*Æn.* vi. 107.

*Cocytus*, named of lamentation, because derived from *κακν* signifying to *lament*: as *Phlegethon* is from *φλεγν* signifying to *burn*; and therefore rightly described here *fierce Phlegethon, whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage*, as it is by Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 550.

—rapidus flammis—torrentibus amnis  
 Tartareus Phlegethon.

We know not what to say as to the situation of these rivers. Homer, represents *Cocytus* as branching out of *Styx*, and both *Cocytus* and *Phlegethon* (or *Pyriphlegethon*) as flowing into *Acheron*, *Odys.* x. 513.

Εἰς μὲς αἱ Ἀχέρωντα Περιφλεγέθων τε  
 ῥέουσι  
 Κόκυτος δ' ἐς δὴ Στυγὸς ὕδατος ἰστίῃ  
 ἀπέρχεται.

and perhaps he describes their situation as it really was in Greece: but Virgil and the other poets frequently confound them, and mention their names and places without sufficient difference or distinction. Our poet therefore was at liberty to draw (as I may say) a new map of these rivers; and he supposes a burning lake agreeably to Scripture that often mentions *the lake of fire*; and he makes these four rivers to flow from four different quarters and empty themselves into this burning lake, which gives us a much greater idea than any of the heathen poets have done. Besides these there is a fifth river called *Lethe*, which name in Greek signifies *forgetfulness*, and its waters are said to have occasioned that quality, *Æn.* vi. 714.

—Lethæi ad fluminis undam  
 Securos latices, et longa oblivia potant :

Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep ;  
 Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud  
 Heard on the rueful stream ; fierce Phlegethon, 580  
 Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.  
 Far off from these a slow and silent stream,  
 Lethe the river of oblivion rolls  
 Her wat'ry labyrinth, whereof who drinks,  
 Forthwith his former state and be'ing forgets, 585  
 Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.  
 Beyond this flood a frozen continent  
 Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms  
 Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land  
 Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems 590  
 Of ancient pile ; or else deep snow and ice,  
 A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog  
 Betwixt Damiata and mount Casius old,  
 Where armies whole have sunk : the parching air  
 Burns frore, and cold performs th' effect of fire. 595

and Milton attributes the same effect to it, and describes it as a *slow and silent stream*, as Lucan had done before him, ix. 355.

*Quam juxta Lethes tacitus prælabitur amnis.*

The river of oblivion is rightly placed *far off* from the rivers of hatred, sorrow, lamentation, and rage ; and divides the frozen continent from the region of fire.

589. —*dire hail,*] Hor. Ode. i. ii. 1.

*Jam satls terris nivis atque dire  
 Grandinis &c.*

592. —*that Serbonian bog*] Serbonis was a lake 200 furlongs in length and 1000 in compass,

between the ancient mountain Casius and Damiata a city of Egypt on one of the more eastern mouths of the Nile. It was surrounded on all sides by hills of loose sand, which carried into the water by high winds so thickened the lake, as not to be distinguished from part of the continent, where whole armies have been swallowed up. Read Herodotus, l. iii. and Luc. Phars. viii. 539, &c.

*Perfida qua tellus Casius excurrit  
 arenis,  
 Et vada testantur junctas Ægyptia  
 Syrtes, &c.*

*Hume.*

595. *Burns frore,*] *Frore an*  
 I 4

Thither by harpy-footed furies hal'd  
 At certain revolutions all the damn'd  
 Are brought ; and feel by turns the bitter change  
 Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,  
 From beds of raging fire to starve in ice 600  
 Their soft ethereal warmth, and there to pine  
 Immoveable, infix'd, and frozen round,  
 Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.  
 They ferry over this Lethean sound  
 Both to and fro, their sorrow to augment, 605  
 And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach  
 The tempting stream, with one small drop to lose

old word for frosty. The parching air burns with frost. So we have in Virg. Georg. i. 93.

—Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurat :

and in Ecclus. xlii. 20, 21. *When the cold north-wind bloweth—it devoureth the mountains, and burneth the wilderness, and consumeth the grass as fire.* And is not the expression used by the Psalmist of the same nature? *The sun shall not burn thee by day, nor the moon by night,* Psal. cxxi. 6. in the old translation and the Septuagint?

596. —by harpy-footed furies hal'd] The word *hal'd* in this line is derived from the Belgic *halen* or the French *haler*, and therefore should be spelt as it is here, and not *hail'd* as in Milton's own editions. Spenser uses the word, Faery Queen, b. v. cant. ii. st. 26.

Who rudely hal'd her forth without  
 response :

and we meet with it several times in Shakespeare.

603. —thence hurried back to fire.] This circumstance of the damned's suffering the extremes of heat and cold by turns is finely invented to aggravate the horror of the description, and seems to be founded upon Job xxiv. 19. but not as it is in the English translation, but in the vulgar Latin version, which Milton frequently used. *Ad nimium calorem transeat ab aquis nivium ; Let him pass to excessive heat from waters of snow.* And so Jerome and other commentators understand it. There is a fine passage likewise in Shakespeare, where the punishment after death is supposed to consist in extreme heat or extreme cold ; but these extremes are not made alternate, and to be suffered both in their turns, as Milton has described them, and thereby has greatly refined and improved the thought. Measure for Measure, act iii.

In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,  
 All in one moment, and so near the brink ;  
 But fate withstands, and to oppose th' attempt 610  
 Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards  
 The ford, and of itself the water flies  
 All taste of living wight, as once it fled  
 The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on  
 In confus'd march forlorn, th' advent'rous bands 615  
 With shudd'ring horror pale, and eyes aghast,  
 View'd first their lamentable lot, and found  
 No rest : through many a dark and dreary vale  
 They pass'd, and many a region dolorous,  
 O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp, 620  
 Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death,

Aye, but to die, and go we know not  
 where :

To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot ;  
 This sensible warm motion to become  
 A kneaded clod ; and the delighted  
 spirit

To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside  
 In thrilling regions of thick ribbed  
 ice, &c.

609. —*and so near the brink ;*] This is added as a farther aggravation of their misery, that though they were *so near the brink*, so near the brim and surface of the water, yet they could not taste one drop of it. But the reasons follow, *fate withstands*, *fata obstant*, as it is in Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 440. *and Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards the ford.* Medusa was one of the Gorgon monsters, whose locks were serpents so terrible, that they turned the beholders into stone. Ulysses in Homer was desirous of seeing more of the

departed heroes, but I was afraid, says he, *Odyss.* xi. 633.

Μη μὲν Γοργωνος αἰφελαν δεινὰν πειλαρεν  
 Εξ Ἀΐδας περιψύειν ἀγασσιν Περσεφονειαν.

Lest Gorgon rising from th' infernal  
 lakes,  
 With horrors arm'd, and curls of  
 hissing snakes,

Should fix me, stiffen'd at the mon-  
 strous sight,

A stony image, in eternal night !

*Broome.*

So frightful a creature is very properly feigned by our poet to guard this water. And besides *of itself the water flies their taste*, and serves only to *tantalize* them. This is a fine allegory to shew that there is no forgetfulness in hell. Memory makes a part of the punishment of the damned, and reflection but increases their misery.

621. *Rocks, caves, &c.*] How exactly is the tediousness and difficulty of their journey painted

A universe of death, which God by curse  
 Created ev'il, for evil only good,  
 Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,  
 Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things, 625  
 Abominable, inutterable, and worse  
 Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,  
 Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimæras dire.

Mean while the Adversary' of God and Man,  
 Satan with thoughts inflam'd of hig'hest design, 630  
 Puts on swift wings, and tow'ards the gates of hell  
 Explores his solitary flight; sometimes  
 He scours the right hand coast, sometimes the left,  
 Now shaves with level wing the deep, then soars

in this passage; and particularly  
 in this rough verse, which ne-  
 cessarily takes up so much  
 time and labour in pronouncing!  
*Greenwood.*

621. Here is displayed the  
 force of union in

*Rocks, caves, lakes, dens, bogs, fens,  
 and shades;*

which yet would lose the great-  
 est part of the effect, if they  
 were not the

*Rocks, caves, lakes, dens, bogs, and  
 shades—*

*—of DEATH.*

The idea, or this affection caused  
 by a word, which nothing but a  
 word could annex to the others,  
 raises a very great degree of the  
 sublime; and this sublime is  
 raised yet higher by what fol-  
 lows, a universe of death. *Burke,*  
*On the Sublime*, part v. sect. vii.

628. *Gorgons, and Hydras, and  
 Chimæras dire.*] Our author  
 fixes all these monsters in hell  
 in imitation of *Virgil*, *Æn.* vi.  
 287:

—bellua Lernæ

*Horrendum stridens, flammisque ar-  
 mata Chimæra,*

*Gorgones, &c.*

*Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus  
 Hydra.* ver. 576.

Tasso has likewise given them a  
 place in his description of hell,  
 or rather he copies *Virgil's* de-  
 scription, cant. iv. st. 5.

*Qui mille immonde Arpie vedresti, e  
 mille*

*Centauri, e Sfingi, e pallide Gorgoni,  
 &c.*

There were *Celæno's* foul and loath-  
 some roul,

There *Sphinxes*, *Centauras*, there were  
*Gorgons* fell,

There howling *Scyllas*, yawling round  
 about,

There serpents hiss, there sev'n-  
 mouth'd *Hydras* yell,

*Chimæra* there spues fire and brim-  
 stone out. *Fairfax.*

But how much better has *Milton*  
 comprehended them in one line?

634. *Now shaves with level wing  
 the deep,*] *Virg.* *Æn.* v. 217.

*Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque  
 commovet alas.*



Up to the fiery concave tow'ring high. 635  
 As when far off at sea a fleet descried  
 Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds  
 Close sailing from Bengala, or the isles  
 Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring  
 Their spicy drugs : they on the trading flood 640  
 Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape  
 Ply stemming nightly tow'ard the pole. So seem'd  
 Far off the flying Fiend : at last appear  
 Hell bounds high reaching to the horrid roof,

636. *As when far off at sea &c.*] Satan *towering high* is here compared to a fleet of Indiamen discovered at a distance, as it were *hanging in the clouds*, as a fleet at a distance seems to do. This is the whole of the comparison ; but (as Dr Pearce observes) Milton in his similitudes, (as is the practice of Homer and Virgil too,) after he has shewed the common resemblance, often takes the liberty of wandering into some unressembling circumstances ; which have no other relation to the comparison, than that it gave him the hint, and as it were set fire to the train of his imagination. And the exotic names (as Dr. Bentley calls them) give a less vulgar cast to the similitude than places in our own channel and in our own seas would have done. This fleet is described, *by equinoctial winds*, the trade-winds blowing about the equinoctial, *close sailing*, and therefore more proper to be compared to a single person, *from Bengala*, a kingdom and city in the East Indies subject to the

great Mogul, or the isles of Ternate and Tidore, two of the Molucca islands in the East Indian sea, whence merchants bring their *spicy drugs*, the most famous spices are brought from thence by the Dutch into Europe : *they on the trading flood* ; as the winds are called *trade winds*, so he calls the flood *trading*, through the wide Ethiopian sea to the Cape of Good Hope, *ply stemming nightly toward the pole*, that is by night they sail northward, and yet (as Dr. Pearce says) by day their fleet may be *descried hanging in the clouds*. So *seemed far off the flying Fiend* : Dr. Bentley asks, whom Satan appeared to *far off*, in this his *solitary flight* ? But what a cold phlegmatic piece of criticism is this ? It may be answered, that he was seen by the Muse, and would have seemed so to any one who had seen him. Poets often speak in this manner, and make themselves and their readers present to the most remote and retired scenes of action.

And thrice three-fold the gates ; three folds were brass,  
 Three iron, three of adamantine rock, 646  
 Impenetrable, impal'd with circling fire,  
 Yet unconsum'd. Before the gates there sat

645. *And thrice threefold the gates ;*] The gates had nine folds, nine plates, nine linings ; as Homer and the other poets make their heroes' shields to have several coverings of various materials for the greater strength : Ovid. Met. xiii. 2.

—*clypei dominus septemplicis Ajax.*  
*Bentley.*

647. —*impal'd with circling fire,*] Inclosed, paled in as it were. So the word is used in Spenser's *Muipopotmos*,

And round about, her work she did  
*impale*  
 With a fair border wrought of sundry  
 flowers.

\* It is commonly applied to that kind of execution, when a pale or stake is drove through a malefactor's body. And perhaps Milton (as Mr. Thyer adds) might take the hint of this circumstance from his favourite romances, where one frequently meets with the gates of enchanted castles thus *impaled with circling fire*. Spenser also in his description of the house of Busyrane, Faery Queen, b. iii. cant. xi. st. 21.

But in the porch that did them sore  
*amate*  
 A flaming fire, ymixt with smouldry  
 smoke &c.

648. —*Before the gates there sat &c.*] Here begins the famous allegory of Milton, which is a sort of paraphrase on that text of the Apostle St. James, i. 15.

*Then when Lust hath conceived it bringeth forth Sin, and Sin when it is finished bringeth forth Death.* The first part of the allegory says only, that Satan's intended voyage was dangerous to his being, and that he resolved however to venture. *Richardson.*

The flight of Satan to the gates of hell is finely imaged. I have already declared my opinion of the allegory concerning Sin and Death, which is however a very finished piece in its kind, when it is not considered as a part of an epic poem. The genealogy of the several persons is contrived with great delicacy ; Sin is the daughter of Satan, and Death the offspring of Sin. The incestuous mixture between Sin and Death produces those monsters and hell-hounds, which from time to time enter into their mother, and tear the bowels of her who gave them birth. These are the terrors of an evil conscience, and the proper fruits of Sin, which naturally rise from the apprehensions of Death. This last beautiful moral is, I think, clearly intimated in the speech of Sin, where complaining of this her dreadful issue, she adds,

Before mine eyes in opposition sits  
 Grim Death my son and foe, who sets  
 them on,  
 And me his parent would full soon  
 devour  
 For want of other prey, but that he  
 knows  
 His end with mine involv'd.

On either side a formidable shape ;

The one seem'd woman to the waste, and fair, 650

I need not mention to the reader the beautiful circumstance in the last part of this quotation. He will likewise observe how naturally the three persons concerned in this allegory are tempted by one common interest to enter into a confederacy together, and how properly Sin is made the portress of hell, and the only being that can open the gates to that world of tortures. The descriptive part of this allegory is likewise very strong, and full of sublime ideas. The figure of Death, the regal crown upon his head, his menace of Satan, his advancing to the combat, the outcry at his birth, are circumstances too noble to be passed over in silence, and extremely suitable to this *king of terrors*. I need not mention the justness of thought which is observed in the generation of these several symbolical persons ; that Sin was produced upon the first revolt of Satan, that Death appeared soon after he was cast into hell, and that the terrors of conscience were conceived at the gate of this place of torments. The description of the gates is very poetical, as the opening of them is full of Milton's spirit. Addison.

But though Mr. Addison censures this famous allegory, as improper for an epic poem ; yet Bishop Atterbury, whose taste in polite literature was never questioned, seems to be much more affected with this than any part of the poem, as I think we may collect from one of his letters to

Mr. Pope. " I return you your  
" Milton, says he, and—I protest  
" to you, this last perusal of him  
" has given me such new de-  
" grees, I will not say of plea-  
" sure, but of admiration and  
" astonishment, that I look up-  
" on the sublimity of Homer  
" and the majesty of Virgil with  
" somewhat less reverence than  
" I used to do. I challenge  
" you, with all your partiality,  
" to shew me in the first of these  
" any thing equal to the allegory  
" of Sin and Death, either as to  
" the greatness and justness of  
" the invention, or the highth  
" and beauty of the colouring.  
" What I looked upon as a rant  
" of Barrow's, I now begin to  
" think a serious truth, and  
" could almost venture to set my  
" hand to it,

" *Hæc quicumque legit, tantùm ce-  
cinnisse putabit,*

" \* *Meonidem ranas, Virgilium culi-  
ces.*"

649. *On either side a formidable shape ;*] The figure of *Death* is pretty well fixed and agreed upon by poets and painters : but the description of *Sin* seems to be an improvement upon that thought in Horace, *De Art. Poet.* 4.

*Desinit in piscem muller formosa  
superne.*

The author might have in mind too Spenser's description of Error in the mixed shape of a woman and a serpent, *Faery Queen*, b. i. c. i. st. 14.

*Half like a serpent horribly display'd,  
But th' other half did woman's shape  
retain, &c.*

But ended foul in many a scaly fold  
 Voluminous and vast, a serpent arm'd  
 With mortal sting : about her middle round  
 A cry of hell-hounds never ceasing bark'd  
 With wide Cerbercan mouths full loud, and rung 655  
 A hideous peal ; yet, when they list, would creep,  
 If ought disturb'd their noise, into her womb,  
 And kennel there, yet there still bark'd and howl'd,  
 Within unseen. Far less abhorr'd than these  
 Vex'd Scylla bathing in the sea that parts 660

And also the image of Echidna,  
 b. vi. c. vi. st. 10.

Yet did her face, and former parts  
 profess,  
 A fair young maiden, full of comely  
 glee :  
 But all her hinder parts did plain  
 express  
 A monstrous dragon, full of fearful  
 ugliness.

The addition of the hell-hounds  
 about her middle is plainly  
 copied from Scylla, as appears  
 from the following simile. He-  
 siod's Echidna is described half-  
 woman and half-serpent, Theog.  
 298.

Ἡμισυ μὲν γυνή, ἰλιπεσίδα, καλλιστή-  
 ρητος,  
 Ἡμισυ δ' αὖτε πύλωνος ὄφιν, διὸν τι μι-  
 γαίνει.

654. *A cry of hell-hounds never  
 ceasing bark'd.*] Dr. Bentley reads  
*A crew of hell-hounds* &c. but  
 Milton's cry of hell-hounds is of  
 much the same poetical stamp as  
 Virgil's *ruunt equites et odora  
 canum vis*, Æn. iv. 132. where  
 what is proper to the *canes* is  
 said of the *vis* ; as here what is  
 proper to the *hell-hounds* is said  
 of the *cry*. We have the same

way of speaking in vi. 212. vii.  
 66. and elsewhere. *Pearce*.

660. *Vex'd Scylla bathing in  
 the sea*] For Circe having poi-  
 soned that part of the sea where  
 Scylla used to bathe, the next  
 time Scylla bathed, her lower  
 parts were changed into dogs,  
*in the sea that parts Calabria*, the  
 farthest part of Italy towards  
 the Mediterranean, *from the  
 hoarse Trinacrian shore*, that is  
 from Sicily, which was formerly  
 called Trinacria from its three  
 promontories lying in the form  
 of a triangle ; and this shore  
 may well be called *hoarse* not  
 only by reason of a tempestuous  
 sea breaking upon it, but like-  
 wise on account of the noises  
 occasioned by the eruptions of  
 mount Ætna ; and the number  
 of r's in this verse very well ex-  
 press the hoarseness of it. You  
 have the story of Scylla in the  
 beginning of the fourteenth book  
 of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, ver.  
 59. &c.

*Scylla venit, mediaque tenus descen-  
 derat alvo ;  
 Cum sua fedari latrantibus inguina  
 monstros*

Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore :  
 Nor uglier follow the night-hag, when call'd  
 In secret, riding through the air she comes,  
 Lur'd with the smell of infant blood, to dance  
 With Lapland witches, while the lab'ring moon 665  
 Eclipses at their charms. The other shape,  
 If shape it might be call'd that shape had none  
 Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,  
 Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,  
 For each seem'd either ; black it stood as Night, 670

Aspici : ac primò non credens corporis illas  
 Esse sui partes, refugitque, abigitque, timetque  
 Ora proterva canum ; sed quos fugit, attrahit una.  
 Et corpus quærens femorum, crurumque pedumque,  
 Cerbereos rictus pro partibus invenit illis.  
 Statque canum rabies ; subjectaque læga ferarum  
 Ingulnibus truneis uteroque exstante coherent.

The *Cerberian mouths* in Milton is plainly after the *Cerbereos rictus* in Ovid.

665. —the *lab'ring moon*] The ancients believed the moon greatly affected by magical practices, and the Latin poets call the eclipses of the moon *labores lunæ*. The three foregoing lines and the former part of this contain a short account of what was once believed, and in Milton's time not so ridiculous as now. *Richardson*.

666. *The other shape, &c.*] This poetical description of Death our author has pretty evidently borrowed from Spenser. Faery Queen, b. vii. cant. vii. st. 46.

But after all came Life, and lastly Death,  
 Death with most grim and grisly visage seen.  
 Yet is he nought but parting of the breath,  
 Ne ought to see, but like a shade to ween,  
 Unbodied, unsou'd, unheard, unseen.  
*Thyer.*

666. No person seems better to have understood the secret of heightening, or of setting terrible things, if I may use the expression, in their strongest light, by the force of a judicious obscurity, than Milton. His description of Death is admirably studied ; it is astonishing with what a gloomy pomp, with what a significant and expressive uncertainty of strokes and colouring, he has finished the portrait of the King of terrors :

The other shape &c.

See v. 666—673. In this description all is dark, uncertain, confused, terrible, and sublime to the last degree. *Burke on the Sublime and Beautiful*, part ii. sect. 3.

670. —black it stood as Night,

Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as hell,  
 And shook a dreadful dart ; what seem'd his head  
 The likeness of a kingly crown had on.  
 Satan was now at hand, and from his seat  
 The monster moving onward came as fast 675  
 With horrid strides, hell trembled as he strode.  
 Th' undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,  
 Admir'd, not fear'd ; God and his Son except,  
 Created thing nought valued he nor shunn'd ;  
 And with disdainful look thus first began. 680

Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,  
 That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance  
 Thy miscreated front athwart my way  
 To yonder gates ? through them I mean to pass,  
 That he assur'd, without leave ask'd of thee : 685  
 Retire, or taste thy folly', and learn by proof,  
 Hell-born, not to contend with Spi'rits of heaven.

&c.] Like the ghost described  
 in Homer, *Odyss.* xi. 605.

—ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος ἵκνται ἰσχυρῶς,  
 Γόμον τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ νεφεφίῳ ἵστανται,  
 Διὶν πλάττειν, καὶ βαλίσσιν ἰσχυρῶς.

Gloomy as night he stands, in act to  
 throw

Th' aerial arrow from the twanging  
 bow. *Broome.*

678. —*God and his Son except,  
 Created thing nought valued he  
 nor shunn'd ;*]

This appears at first sight to  
 reckon God and his Son among  
 created things, but *except* is used  
 here with the same liberty as *but*  
 ver. 333, and 336, and Milton  
 has a like passage in his *Prose*  
*Works*, p. 277. edit. Tol. *No*

*place in heaven and earth, except  
 hell—* Richardson.

683. —*miscreated*] We have  
 been told that Milton first coined  
 the word *miscreated*, but Spenser  
 used it before him, as *Faery*  
*Queen*, book i. cant. ii. st. 3.

Etsoons he took that *miscreated* fair,  
 and b. ii. cant. vii. st. 42.

Nor mortal steel empierce his *mis-  
 created* mould.

*Bentley.*

684. —*through them I mean to  
 pass, &c.*] Spenser, *Faery Queen*,  
 b. iii. c. iv. st. 15.

I mean not thee intreat  
 To pass ; but maugre thee will pass,  
 or die.

*Jortin.*

To whom the goblin full of wrath replied.  
 Art thou that traitor Angel, art thou he,  
 Who first broke peace in heav'n and faith, till then 690  
 Unbroken, and in proud rebellious arms  
 Drew after him the third part of heav'n's sons  
 Conjur'd against the Hig'hest, for which both thou  
 And they, outcast from God, are here condemn'd  
 To waste eternal days in woe and pain? 695  
 And reckon'st thou thyself with Spi'rits of heaven  
 Hell-doom'd, and breath'st defiance here and scorn  
 Where I reign king, and to enrage thee more,  
 Thy king and lord? Back to thy punishment,  
 False fugitive, and to thy speed add wings, 700  
 Lest with a whip of scorpions I pursue  
 Thy ling'ring, or with one stroke of this dart  
 Strange horror seize thee', and pangs unfelt before.

So spake the grisly terror, and in shape,  
 So speaking and so threat'ning, grew ten-fold 705  
 More dreadful and deform: on th' other side  
 Incens'd with indignation Satan stood  
 Unterrified, and like a comet burn'd,

692. *Drew after him the third part of heav'n's sons*] An opinion, as we noted before, grounded on Rev. xii. 3, 4. *Behold, a great red dragon—and his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth.*

693. *Conjur'd against the Hig'hest,*] Banded and leagued together against the Most High. Of the Latin *conjurare* to bind one another by oath to be true and faithful in a design undertaken,

*Et conjuratos cælum rescindere fratres.* Virg. *Georg.* i. 280.

*Aut conjurato descendens Dacus ab Istro.* Georg. ii. 497. Hume.

697. *Hell-doom'd.*] As Satan had called Death *hell-born*, ver. 687.

700. *False fugitive,*] He is here called *false* because he had called himself a *spirit of heaven*. Compare ver. 687, with ver. 696. Pearce.

708. —and like a comet burn'd,

That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge  
 In th' arctic sky, and from his horrid hair 710  
 Shakes pestilence and war. Each at the head  
 Levell'd his deadly aim; their fatal hands  
 No second stroke intend, and such a frown  
 Each cast at th' other, as when two black clouds,  
 With heav'n's artillery fraught, come rattling on 715  
 Over the Caspian, then stand front to front

&c.] The ancient poets frequently compare a hero in his shining armour to a comet; as Virg. *Æn.* x. 272.

Non secus ac liquidâ si quando nocte  
 cometæ  
 Sanguinei lugubre rubent—

But this comet is so large as to fire the length of the constellation *Ophiuchus* or *Argutenens*, or *Serpentarius* as it is commonly called, a length of about forty degrees, in th' arctic sky, or the northern hemisphere, and from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war. Poetry delights in omens, prodigies, and such wonderful events as were supposed to follow upon the appearance of comets, eclipses, and the like. We have another instance of this nature in i. 598. and Tasso in the same manner compares *Argantes* to a comet, and mentions the like fatal effects, cant. vii. st. 52.

Qual con le chiome sanguinose hor-  
 rende  
 Splender cometa suol per l'aria a-  
 dusta,  
 Che i regni muta, e i feri morbi ad-  
 duce,  
 A i purpurei tiranni infausta luce.

As when a comet far and wide de-  
 scried,  
 In scorn of Phœbus midst bright  
 heav'n doth shine,  
 And tidings sad of death and mis-  
 chief brings  
 To mighty lords, to monarchs, and  
 to kings. *Fairfax.*

714. —as when two black clouds, &c.] It is highly probable, that Milton took the hint of this noble simile from one of the same sort in Boiardo's *Orlando Inamorato*, though it must be owned that he has excelled the Italian much, both in the variety of its circumstances, and the propriety of its application. Boiardo is describing an encounter betwixt Orlando his hero, and the Tartar king *Agricane*, and begins it thus, b. i. c. 16.

Se vediste insieme mai scontrar due  
 tuoni  
 Da Levante a Ponente al ciel diverso,  
 Così proprio s'urtar quel due baroni.  
*Thyer.*

715. —heav'n's artillery] Thunder. *Juv. Sat.* xiii. 83.

Quicquid habent telorum armamen-  
 taria cœli.  
*Hume.*

716. Over the Caspian,] That sea being particularly noted for



Hovering a space, till winds the signal blow  
 To join their dark encounter in mid air :  
 So frown'd the mighty combatants, that hell  
 Grew darker at their frown, so match'd they stood ; 720  
 For never but once more was either like  
 To meet so great a foe : and now great deeds  
 Had been achiev'd, whereof all hell had rung,  
 Had not the snaky sorceress that sat  
 Fast by hell gate, and kept the fatal key, 725  
 Ris'n, and with hideous outcry rush'd between.

O father, what intends thy hand, she cried,  
 Against thy only son ? What fury', O son,  
 Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart  
 Against thy father's head ? and know'st for whom ; 730  
 For him who sits above and laughs the while  
 At thee ordain'd his drudge, to execute  
 Whate'er his wrath, which he calls justice, bids :  
 His wrath, which one day will destroy ye both.

She spake, and at her words the hellish pest 735  
 Forbore, then these to her Satan return'd.

So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange

storms and tempests. So Horace,  
 Od. ii. ix. 2.

—Non mare Caspium  
 Vexant iniquales procellæ  
 Usque—

And so Fairfax, in Tasso, cant.  
 vi. st. 38.

Or as when clouds together crush'd  
 and bruis'd,  
 Pour down a tempest by the Caspian  
 shore.

722. —so great a foe :] Jesus  
 Christ, who (as it follows ver.  
 734.) will one day destroy both  
 death and him that has the power

of death, that is the devil. Heb.  
 ii. 14.

730. —and know'st for whom :]  
 These words are read with a  
 semi-colon in Milton's own edi-  
 tions, and not with a note of  
 interrogation, as in some others :  
 and the meaning is, *at the same  
 time that thou knowest for whom ;*  
*Cum nôris bene cui facias hoc ;*  
 as Dr. Trapp translates it. If  
 this is not the sense of the words,  
 they must be read with a note of  
 interrogation.

737. So strange thy outcry, and  
 K 2

Thou interposest, that my sudden hand  
 Prevented spares to tell thee yet by deeds  
 What it intends ; till first I know of thee, 740  
 What thing thou art, thus double-form'd, and why  
 In this infernal vale first met thou call'st  
 Me father, and that phantasm call'st my son ;  
 I know thee not, nor ever saw till now  
 Sight more detestable than him and thee. 745

T' whom thus the portress of hell gate replied.  
 Hast thou forgot me then, and do I seem  
 Now in thine eye so foul ? once deem'd so fair  
 In heav'n, when at th' assembly, and in sight  
 Of all the seraphim with thee combin'd 750  
 In bold conspiracy against heav'n's King,  
 All on a sudden miserable pain  
 Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy swum  
 In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast  
 Threw forth, till on the left side opening wide, 755  
 Likest to thee in shape and count'nance bright,  
 Then shining heav'nly fair, a goddess arm'd  
 Out of thy head I sprung : amazement seiz'd

*thy words so strange*] The change in the position of the words *so strange* in this verse has a peculiar beauty in it, which Dr. Bentley's alteration of the latter *strange* into *new* utterly destroys.

So strange thy outcry, and thy words  
 So new.

How flat, lifeless, and unharmonious, compared with the common reading !

758. *Out of thy head I sprung* :] Sin is rightly made to spring out of the head of Satan, as Wisdom

or Minerva did out of Jupiter's : and Milton describes the birth of the one very much in the same manner, as the ancient poets have that of the other, and particularly the author of the hymn to Minerva vulgarly ascribed to Homer. And what follows seems to be an hint improved upon Minerva's being ravished soon after her birth by Vulcan, as we may learn from Lucian. Dial. Vulcani et Jovis, et De Domo.

All th' host of heav'n ; back they recoil'd afraid  
 At first, and call'd me Sin, and for a sign 760  
 Portentous held me ; but familiar grown,  
 I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won  
 The most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft  
 Thyself in me thy perfect image viewing  
 Becam'st enamour'd, and such joy thou took'st 765  
 With me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd  
 A growing burden. Mean while war arose,  
 And fields were fought in heav'n ; wherein remain'd  
 (For what could else ?) to our almighty foe  
 Clear victory, to our part loss and rout 770  
 Through all the empyréan : down they fell  
 Driv'n headlong from the pitch of heaven, down  
 Into this deep, and in the general fall  
 I also ; at which time this pow'rful key  
 Into my hand was giv'n, with charge to keep 775  
 These gates for ever shut, which none can pass  
 Without my opening. Pensive here I sat  
 Alone, but long I sat not, till my womb  
 Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown  
 Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes. 780

771. —*the empyréan* :] It is somewhat remarkable, that though the words *empyrean* and *empyrean* are both spelt in the same manner, yet Milton constantly pronounces *empyrean* with the accent upon the third syllable from the end, and *empyrean* with the accent upon the second. I once imagined that he did it to distinguish the substantive from the adjective ; but I find one instance where he uses the

word *empyrean* as an adjective, and yet gives it the same accent as when he makes it a substantive, x. 321.

The confines met of empyréan heaven.

There is no way of solving the difficulty, unless we suppose with Dr. Heylin that the word *empyrean* is false spelt, and that it ought to be written *empyrial* *εμπυριος* in Greek, and the other *empyrean* *εμπυρειος*.

At last this odious offspring whom thou seest  
 Thine own begotten, breaking violent way  
 Tore through my entrails, that with fear and pain  
 Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew  
 Transform'd: but he my inbred enemy 785  
 Forth issued, brandishing his fatal dart  
 Made to destroy; I fled, and cried out Death;  
 Hell trembled at the hideous name, and sigh'd  
 From all her caves, and back resounded Death.  
 I fled, but he pursued, (though more, it seems, 790  
 Inflam'd with lust than rage,) and swifter far,  
 Me overtook his mother all dismay'd,  
 And in embraces forcible and foul  
 Ingend'ring with me, of that rape begot  
 These yelling monsters, that with ceaseless cry 795  
 Surround me, as thou saw'st, hourly conceiv'd  
 And hourly born, with sorrow infinite  
 To me; for when they list, into the womb

786. —*brandishing his fatal dart*] So Virgil of Æneas going to kill Turnus, Æn. xii. 919.

*Cunctanti telum Æneas fatale coruscet.*

789. *From all her caves, and back resounded*] An imitation of Virgil, Æn. ii. 53.

*Insonuere cavæ, gemitumque dederò cavernæ.*

*Hume.*

*I fled, and cried out Death—and back resounded Death.* The repetition of *Death* here is a beauty of the same kind as that of the name of *Eurydice* in Virgil, Georg. iv. 525.

—*Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua,*

Ah miseram *Eurydicen*, animâ fugiente, vocabat;  
*Eurydicem* toto referebant flumine ripe:

only *Death* is made the last word in the sentence, and *Eurydice*, for the sake of the verse, the first. There is the like repetition in Ecl. vi. 43.

His adjungit, *Hylon* nautæ quo fonte relictum

Clamassent; ut litus, *Hyle*, *Hyle*, omne sonaret.

796. —*as thou saw'st.*] One would think it should be *as thou seest*; but we must suppose that now at this time these monsters were erept into her womb, and lay there unseen.

That bred them they return, and howl and gnaw  
 My bowels, their repast ; then bursting forth 800  
 Afresh with conscious terrors vex me round,  
 That rest or intermission none I find.  
 Before mine eyes in opposition sits  
 Grim Death my son and foe, who sets them on,  
 And me his parent would full soon devour 805  
 For want of other prey, but that he knows  
 His end with mine involv'd ; and knows that I  
 Should prove a bitter morsel, and his bane,  
 Whenever that shall be ; so fate pronounc'd.  
 But thou, O father, I forewarn thee, shun 810  
 His deadly arrow ; neither vainly hope  
 To be invulnerable in those bright arms,  
 Though temper'd heav'nly, for that mortal dint,  
 Save he who reigns above, none can resist.  
 She finish'd, and the subtle fiend his lore 815  
 Soon learn'd, now milder, and thus answer'd smooth.  
 Dear daughter, since thou claim'st me for thy sire,  
 And my fair son here show'st me, the dear pledge  
 Of dalliance had with thee in heav'n, and joys  
 Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change  
 Befall'n us unforeseen, unthought of ; know 821

809. —*so fate pronounc'd.*] The heathen poets make Jupiter superior to fate: the will of Jupiter was performed, says Homer, *Iliad*. i. 5. Διὸς δ' ἐπιταύτη βούλη. *Sic fata Deum rex sortitur, volvitque vices*, says Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 375. *Et sic fata Jovis poscunt*, *Æn.* iv. 614. But Milton with great propriety makes the fallen angels and Sin here attri-

bute events to fate, without any mention of the Supreme Being.

817. *Dear daughter,*] Satan had now learned *his lore* or lesson, and the reader will observe how artfully he changes his language ; he had said before, *ver.* 745, that he had never seen *sight more detestable* ; but now it is *dear daughter*, and *my fair son*.

I come no enemy, but to set free  
 From out this dark and dismal house of pain  
 Both him and thee, and all the heav'nly host  
 Of spi'rits, that in our just pretences arm'd 825  
 Fell with us from on high: from them I go  
 This uncouth errand sole, and one for all  
 Myself expose, with lonely steps to tread  
 Th' unfounded deep, and through the void immense  
 To search with wand'ring quest a place foretold 830  
 Should be, and, by concurring signs, ere now  
 Created vast and round, a place of bliss  
 In the purlieus of heav'n, and therein plac'd  
 A race of upstart creatures, to supply  
 Perhaps our vacant room, though more remov'd, 835  
 Lest heav'n surcharg'd with potent multitude  
 Might hap to move new broils: be this or ought  
 Than this more secret now design'd, I haste  
 To know, and this once known, shall soon return,  
 And bring ye to the place where thou and Death 840  
 Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen  
 Wing silently the buxom air, imbalm'd  
 With odours: there ye shall be fed and fill'd  
 Immeasurably, all things shall be your prey.

He ceas'd, for both seem'd highly pleas'd, and Death

842. *Wing silently the buxom*  
*air,]* *Buxom*, as when we say  
 a *buxom lass*, is vulgarly under-  
 stood for merry, wanton; but  
 it properly signifies flexible,  
 yielding, from a Saxon word  
 signifying to bend. It is like-  
 wise made the epithet of the air  
 by Spenser, *Faery Queen*, b. i.

cant. xi. st. 37.

And therewith scourge the *buxom air*  
 so sore.

And he shews plainly how he  
 understood the word by his use  
 of it in his *View of the state of*  
*Ireland*, "Thinking thereby to  
 "make them more tractable and  
 "buxom to his government."

Grinn'd horrible a ghastly smile, to hear 846  
 His famine should be fill'd, and blest his maw  
 Destin'd to that good hour: no less rejoic'd  
 His mother bad, and thus bespake her sire.

The key of this infernal pit by due, 850  
 And by command of heav'n's all-pow'rful King  
 I keep, by him forbidden to unlock  
 These adamantine gates; against all force  
 Death ready stands to interpose his dart,  
 Fearless to be o'ermatch'd by living might. 855  
 But what owe I to his commands above  
 Who hates me, and hath hither thrust me down  
 Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,  
 To sit in hateful office here confin'd.  
 Inhabitant of heav'n, and heav'nly-born, 860  
 Here in perpetual agony and pain,  
 With terrors and with clamours compass'd round  
 Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed?

846. *Grinn'd horrible a ghastly smile,*] Several poets have endeavoured to express much the same image. Thus Homer says of Ajax, *Iliad*.vii. 212.

*Μυδιον βλαστουσι προσωνυσι.*

And Statius of Tydeus, *Thebaid*.viii. 582.

—formidabile ridens.

And Cowley of Goliah, *Davideis*, b. iii.

Th' uncircumcis'd smil'd grimly with disdain.

And as Mr. Thyer observes, Ariosto and Tasso express it very prettily thus, *Aspramente sorrisse* and *Sorrisse amaramente*. But I believe it will be readily allowed,

that Milton has greatly exceeded them all.

855. *Fearless to be o'ermatch'd by living might.*] In some editions it is *living wight*, that is, creature, and we have *living wight* before, ver. 613: and this is likewise Dr. Bentley's reading, for *living might*, says he, would not except even God himself, the ever-living and the almighty. But God himself must necessarily be excepted here; for it was by his command that Sin and Death sat to guard the gates, and therefore *living might* cannot possibly be understood of God, but of any one else who should endeavour to force a passage.

Thou art my father, thou my author, thou  
 My being gav'st me ; whom should I obey 865  
 But thee, whom follow ? thou wilt bring me soon  
 To that new world of light and bliss, among  
 The gods who live at ease, where I shall reign  
 At thy right hand voluptuous, as beseems  
 Thy daughter and thy darling, without end. 870

Thus saying, from her side the fatal key,  
 Sad instrument of all our woe, she took ;  
 And tow'ards the gate rolling her bestial train,  
 Forthwith the huge portcullis high up drew,  
 Which but herself, not all the Stygian powers 875  
 Could once have mov'd ; then in the key-hole turns  
 Th' intricate wards, and every bolt and bar  
 Of massy ir'on or solid rock with ease  
 Unfastens : on a sudden open fly

868. *The gods who live at ease,*] Word for word from Homer, *Θεοὶ ἡμεῖς ζούμεν*. Bentley.

It is Sin who speaks here, and she speaks as an Epicurean. Richardson.

871. *Thus saying, from her side &c.*] It is one great part of a poet's art to know when to describe things in general, and when to be very circumstantial and particular. Milton has in these lines shewed his judgment in this respect. The first opening of the gates of hell by Sin is an incident of that importance, that, if I can guess by my own, every reader's attention must be greatly excited, and consequently as highly gratified by the minute detail of particulars our author has given us. It may with jus-

tice be farther observed, that in no part of the poem, the versification is better accommodated to the sense. *The drawing up of the portcullis, the turning of the key, the sudden shooting of the bolts, and the flying open of the doors,* are in some sort described by the very break and sound of the verses. Thyer.

873. *And tow'ards the gate rolling her bestial train,*] A modern riming poet would perhaps have said,

And rolling tow'ards the gate her  
 bestial train,

and no bad line neither: but how much better doth Milton's express the rolling of her serpentine train, and how well the sound agrees with the sense !



With impetuous recoil and jarring sound 880  
 Th' infernal doors, and on their hinges grate  
 Harsh thunder, that the lowest bottom shook  
 Of Erebus. She open'd, but to shut  
 Excell'd her pow'r ; the gates wide open stood,  
 That with extended wings a banner'd host 885  
 Under spread ensigns marching might pass through  
 With horse and chariots rank'd in loose array ;  
 So wide they stood, and like a furnace mouth  
 Cast forth redounding smoke and ruddy flame.  
 Before their eyes in sudden view appear 890  
 The secrets of the hoary deep, a dark  
 Illimitable ocean, without bound,  
 Without dimension, where length, breadth, and highth,  
 And time, and place are lost ; where eldest Night

881. —and on their hinges grate  
 Harsh thunder,]

How much stronger and more  
 poetical is this than Virgil's,  
 Æn. i. 449.

—foribus cardo stridebat ænâ :

or Æn. vi. 573.

—borrisono stridentes cardine sacræ  
 Panduntur portæ ?

The ingenious author of the  
*Miscellaneous Observations on the  
 Tragedy of Macbeth* remarks, that  
 this expression is copied from  
 the History of Don Bellianis,  
 where, when one of the knights  
 approaches the castle of Brande-  
 zar, the gates are said to open  
 grating harsh thunder upon their  
 brazen hinges. And it is not  
 improbable that Milton might  
 take it from thence, as he was a  
 reader of all kinds of romances.

882. —the lowest bottom shook  
 Of Erebus.]

The most profound depth of hell.

Erebi de sedibus imis.

Virg. Georg. iv. 471.

Hume,

891. —where eldest Night  
 And Chaos, &c.]

All the ancient naturalists, phi-  
 losophers, and poets, hold that  
*Chaos* was the first principle of  
 all things ; and the poets parti-  
 cularly make *Night* a goddess,  
 and represent *Night* or darkness  
 and *Chaos* or confusion as ex-  
 exercising uncontrolled dominion  
 from the beginning. Thus Or-  
 pheus in the beginning of his  
 hymn to *Night* addresses her as  
 the mother of the gods and  
 men, and origin of all things,

Νύκτα δ' αὖτε γένετο γένετο καὶ ἄνθρωπος  
 αἰὲν αἰὲν,

Νεῖ γένετο γένετο.

And Chaos, ancestors of nature, hold 895  
 Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise  
 Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.  
 For hot, cold, moist, and dry, four champions fierce,  
 Strive here for mast'ry, and to battle bring  
 Their embryon atoms; they around the flag 900  
 Of each his faction, in their several clans,  
 Light-arm'd or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift or slow,  
 Swarm populous, unnumber'd as the sands  
 Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,  
 Levied to side with warring winds, and poise 905  
 Their lighter wings. To whom these most adhere,

So also Spenser in imitation of the ancients, *Faery Queen*, b. i. cant. v. st. 22.

O thou most ancient grandmother of all,  
 More old than Jove, &c.

And our author's system of the universe is in short, that the empyrean Heaven, and Chaos, and Darkness were before the creation, Heaven above and Chaos beneath; and then upon the rebellion of the angels, *first Hell* was formed out of Chaos *stretching far and wide beneath*: and afterwards *Heaven and Earth, another world, hanging o'er the realm of Chaos, and won from his dominion*. See ver. 1002, &c. and 978.

898. *For hot, cold, moist, and dry, &c.*] Ovid, *Met.* i. 19.

*Frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia siccis,*

*Mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus.*

The reader may compare this whole description of Chaos with Ovid's, and he will easily see

how the Roman poet has lessened the grandeur of his by puerile conceits and quaint antitheses: every thing in Milton is great and masterly.

902. *Light-arm'd or heavy,*] He continues the warlike metaphor; *levis* or *gravis armaturæ*. *Hume*.

904. *Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,*] A city and province of dry sandy Lybia, *Virg. Æn.* iv. 42.

*Hinc deserta siti regio, lateque furentes Barcæi.*

905. —and poise] Give weight or ballast to. Pliny speaks of certain birds, who when a storm arises poise themselves with little stones, l. xi. c. 10. Virgil has the same thought of his bees, *Georg.* iv. 194. *Richardson*.

906. *To whom these most adhere,*] Dr. Bentley reads the *most adhere*, that is (says he) he of the four rules, while he has the majority. But this is not Milton's sense; for according to

He rules a moment ; Chaos umpire sits,  
 And by decision more embroils the fray  
 By which he reigns : next him high arbiter  
 Chance governs all. Into this wild abyss 910  
 The womb of nature and perhaps her grave,  
 Of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire,  
 But all these in their pregnant causes mix'd  
 Confus'dly, and which thus must ever fight,  
 Unless th' almighty Maker them ordain 915  
 His dark materials to create more worlds ;  
 Into this wild abyss the wary fiend  
 Stood on the brink of hell and look'd a while,  
 Pond'ring his voyage ; for no narrow frith  
 He had to cross. Nor was his ear less peal'd 920

him no *atoms* adhere to *moist*, but such as belong to his faction, and the same is to be said of *hot*, *cold*, and *dry*. Therefore the reason why any one of these four champions *rules* (though but for a *moment*) is because the atoms of his faction *adhere most* to him. Firm dependence indeed (says the Doctor) and worthy the superlative *most*, that lasts but for a *moment*: but I should think that the less firm the dependence is, the finer image we have of such a state as that of Chaos is. *Pearce*.

911. *The womb of nature and perhaps her grave,*] *Lucretius*, v. 260.

*Omniparens, eadem rerum commune sepulchrum.*

*Thyer.*

917. *Into this wild abyss the wary fiend*

*Stood on the brink of hell and look'd a while,*]

Thus in ver. 368, he says,

—what the garden choicest bears  
 To sit and taste——

where *sit* and *taste* is used for *sitting taste*; as here *stood* and *looked* for *standing looked*. *Pearce*.

Here is a remarkable transposition of the words, the sense however is very clear; The wary Fiend stood on the brink of hell, and looked a while into this wild abyss, pondering his voyage. It is observable the poet himself seems to be doing what he describes, for the period begins at 910, then he goes not on directly, but lingers, giving an idea of Chaos before he enters into it. If his style is somewhat abrupt, after such pondering, it better paints the image he intended to give. *Richardson*.

With noises loud and ruinous (to compare  
 Great things with small) than when Bellona storms,  
 With all her battering engines bent to rase  
 Some capital city'; or less than if this frame  
 Of heav'n were falling, and these elements 925  
 In mutiny had from her axle torn  
 The stedfast earth. At last his sail-broad vans  
 He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoke  
 Uplifted spurns the ground; thence many a league,  
 As in a cloudy chair, ascending rides 930  
 Audacious; but that seat soon failing, meets

921. —(to compare  
*Great things with small*)

An expression in Virg. Ecl. i. 24.  
*parvis componere magna.* And  
 what an idea doth this give us  
 of the noises of Chaos, that even  
 those of a city besieged, and of  
 heaven and earth running from  
 each other, are but small in com-  
 parison? And though both the  
 similitudes are truly excellent  
 and sublime, yet how surpris-  
 ingly doth the latter rise above  
 the former!

927. —*his sail-broad vans*] As  
 the air and water are both fluids,  
 the metaphors taken from the  
 one are often applied to the  
 other, and flying is compared to  
 sailing, and sailing to flying.

*Velorum pendimus alas,*  
 says Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 520. And  
*Æn.* i. 300,

—*volat ille per aëra magnum*  
*Remigio alarum.*

The same manner of speaking  
 has prevailed likewise among  
 the modern poets, and in Spen-  
 ser, as well as in the passage

before us, wings are likened to  
 sails, Faery Queen, b. i. cant. xi.  
 st. 10.

His flaggy wings when forth he did  
 display,  
 Were like two sails.

And afterwards, st. 18.

—he cutting way  
 With his broad sails, about him  
 soared round.

927. This idea Milton had  
 used before, of the English dra-  
 gon *Superstition*, "this mighty  
*sail-winged monster.*" Ch. Go-  
 vernment, b. ii. Conclus. *Prose-*  
*works*, vol. i. 74. And the mon-  
 ster in Ariosto, which fights  
 with Bayards, has wings, che  
 parean *duo vele.* Orl. Fur. xxxiii.  
 84. T. Warton.

927. —*vans*] So in Par. Reg.  
 iv. 583.

Who on their plummy *vans* received  
 him, &c.

And Tasso, Gierusal. Liberat.  
 c. ix. st. 6.

Indi spiega al gran volo i vanni au-  
 rati.

*Dunster.*

A vast vacuity : all unawares  
 Fluttering his pennons vain plumb down he drops  
 Ten thousand fathom deep, and to this hour  
 Down had been falling, had not by ill chance 935  
 The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud,  
 Instinct with fire and nitre, hurried him  
 As many miles aloft : that fury stay'd,  
 Quench'd in a boggy Syrtis, neither sea,  
 Nor good dry land : nigh founder'd on he fares, 940  
 Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,  
 Half fly'ing ; behoves him now both oar and sail.  
 As when a griffon through the wilderness

933. —*pennons*] This word is vulgarly spelt *pinions*, and so Dr. Bentley has printed it : but the author spells it *pennons* after the Latin *penna*. The reader will observe the beauty of the numbers here without our pointing it out to him.

935. —*had not by ill chance*] An ill chance for mankind, that he was thus speeded on his journey so far. *Pearce*.

938. —*that fury stay'd, &c.*] That fiery rebuff ceased, quenched and put out by a soft quicksand : *Syrtis* is explained by *neither sea nor good dry land*, exactly agreeing with *Lucan*, *Phar.* ix. 304.

*Syrtis*—in dubio pelagi terræque reliquit.

*Hume*.

941. —*half on foot, Half flying ;*] *Spenser*, *Fairy Queen*, b. i. cant. xi. st. 8.

Half flying, and half footing in his haste.

Our author seems to have borrowed several images from the old dragon described by *Spenser*.

942. —*behoves him now both oar and sail.*] It behoveth him now to use both his oars and his sails, as galleys do ; according to the proverb *remis velisque*, with might and main. *Hume*.

943. *As when a griffon &c.*] Satan *half on foot, half flying*, in quest of the new world, is here compared to a griffon *with winged course* both flying and running in pursuit of the *Arimaspian* who had stolen his gold. Griffons are fabulous creatures, in the upper part like an eagle, in the lower resembling a lion, and are said to guard gold mines. The *Arimaspians* were a one-eyed people of *Scythia* who adorned their hair with gold, *Lucan*, iii. 280.

*Hinc et Sithoniam gentes, auroque ligatas  
 Substringens Arimaspe comas.*

*Herodotus* and other authors re-

With winged course, o'er hill or moory dale,  
 Pursues the Arimaspiā, who by stealth 943  
 Had from his wakeful custody purloin'd  
 The guarded gold : so eagerly the fiend  
 O'er bog, or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,  
 With head, hands, wings, or feet pursues his way,  
 And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies : 950  
 At length a universal hubbub wild  
 Of stunning sounds and voices all confus'd,  
 Borne through the hollow dark, assaults his ear  
 With loudest vehemence : thither he plies,  
 Undaunted to meet there whatever power 955  
 Or spirit of the nethermost abyss

late, that there were continual wars between the griffons and Arimaspiā about gold, the griffons guarding it, and Arimaspiā taking it whenever they had opportunity. See Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 2. Arimaspi, quos diximus, uno oculo in fronte media insigne: quibus assidue bellum esse circa metalla cum gryphis, ferarum volucris genere, quale vulgo traditur, eruente ex cuniculis aurum, mirè cupiditate et feris custodientibus, et Arimaspiis rapiētib, multi, sed maxime illustres Herodotus et Aristæas Proconnesius scribunt.

948. *O'er bog, or steep, &c.*] Dr. Bentley's reading is not amiss *O'er bog, o'er steep, &c.* The difficulty of Satan's voyage is very well expressed by so many monosyllables as follow, which cannot be pronounced but slowly, and with frequent pauses. There is a memorable

instance of the roughness of a road admirably described by a single verse in Homer, *Iliad*. xxiii. 116.

Πολλὰ δ' ἀκροντα, κακροντα, παρυσια  
 τι, δαχμια δ', ἄλλοι,

which Mr. Pope has been obliged to translate paraphrastically to give us some idea of the beauty of the numbers, and he has made use of several monosyllables, as Milton has done.

O'er hills, o'er dales, o'er crags, o'er  
 rocks they go;

Jumping, high o'er the shrubs of the  
 rough ground,

Rattle the clatt'ring cars, and the  
 shock'd axles bound.

And as Mr. Thyer adds, so also Spenser in the same manner represents the distress of his Redcrosse Knight in his encounter with the old dragon, *Faery Queen*, b. i. cant. xi. st. 28.

Faint, weary, sore, embroiled, griev-  
 ed, brent,

With heal, toil, wounds, arms, smart,  
 and inward fire.

Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask  
 Which way the nearest coast of darkness lies  
 Bord'ring on light ; when straight behold the throne  
 Of Chaos, and his dark pavilion spread 960  
 Wide on the wasteful deep ; with him enthron'd  
 Sat sable-vested Night, eldest of things,  
 The consort of his reign ; and by them stood  
 Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name

962. *Sat sable-vested Night,*] *Μιλαμένη πλὴς δι Νυξ.* Euripides.  
*Hume.*

Milton here and in what follows seems to have had in his view Spenser's fine description of Night, which is very much in the taste of this allegory of Milton's. See *Faery Queen*, b. i. cant. v. st. 20.

Where grisly Night, &c.

964. *Orcus and Ades,*] *Orcus* is generally by the poets taken for Pluto, as *Ades* for any dark place. These terms are of a very vague signification, and employed by the ancient poets accordingly. Milton has personized them, and put them in the court of Chaos. *Richardson.*

964. —and the dreaded name  
*Of Damogorgon ;*]

There was a notion among the ancients of a certain deity, whose very name they supposed capable of producing the most terrible effects, and which they therefore dreaded to pronounce. This deity is mentioned as of great power in incantations. Thus *Erictho* is introduced, threatening the infernal powers for being too slow in their obedience by *Lucan*, *Phar.* vi. 744.

VOL. I.

*Paretis ? an ille*  
*Compellendus erit, quo nunquam*  
*terra vocata*  
*Non concussa tremuit, qui Gorgona*  
*cernit apertam,*  
*Verberibusque suis trepidam castigat*  
*Erinnyem,*  
*Indespecta tenet vobis qui Tartara ;*  
*eujus*  
*Vos estis superi ; Stygias qui pejerat*  
*undas ?*

Yet, am I yet, ye sullen fiends,  
 obey'd ?  
 Or must I call your master to my  
 aid ?  
 At whose dread name the trembling  
 furies quake,  
 Hell stands abash'd, and earth's  
 foundations shake ?  
 Who views the Gorgons with intrepid  
 eyes,  
 And your inviolable flood defies ?

*Rowe.*

And likewise *Tiresias* by *Statius*,  
*Thebaid.* iv. 514.

*Scimus enim et quicquid dici nosci-*  
*que timetis,*  
*Et turbare Hecaten, ni te, Thym-*  
*bræ, vererer,*  
*Et triplæis mundi summum quem*  
*scire nefastum est,*  
*Illum sed taceo.*

And *Ismen* threatens in the same  
 strain in *Tasso*, cant. xiii. st. 10.

*Per lungo disusar già non si scorda,*  
 &c.

I have not yet forgot for want of use,  
 What dreadful terms belong this sa-  
 cred feat,

L

Of Damogorgon ; Rumour next and Chance, 965  
And Tumult and Confusion all embroil'd,

My tongue (if still your stubborn  
hearts refuse)  
That so much dreaded name can well  
repeat,  
Which heard great Dis cannot him-  
self excuse,  
But hither run from his eternal seat.  
*Fairfax.*

The name of this deity is *Demogorgon*, which some think a corruption of *Demiurgus*; others imagine him to be so called, as being able to look upon the Gorgon, that turned all other spectators to stone, and to this Lucan seems to allude, when he says

—qui Gorgona cernit apertam.

Spenser too mentions this infernal deity, Faery Queen, b. i. cant. v. st. 22.

Which wast begot in *Demogorgon's*  
hall,  
And saw'st the secrets of the world  
unmade :

and places him likewise in the immense abyss with Chaos, b. iv. cant. ii. st. 47.

Down in the bottom of the deep  
abyss,  
Where *Demogorgon* in dull darkness  
pent,  
Far from the view of Gods and  
heaven's bliss,  
The hideous Chaos keeps, their dreadful dwelling is :

and takes notice also of the dreadful effects of his name, b. i. cant. i. st. 37.

A bold bad man, that dar'd to call  
by name  
Great *Gorgon*, prince of darkness and  
dead night,  
At which *Cocytus* quakes, and *Styx*  
is put to flight,

Well therefore might Milton distinguish him by the dreaded name of *Demogorgon* and the name of *Demogorgon* is as much as to say *Demogorgon* himself, as in Virgil *Æn.* vi. 763, *Albanum nomen* is a man of Alba, *Æn.* xii. 515, *Nomen Echionium*, id est Thebanum, is a Theban; and we have a memorable instance of this way of speaking in Rev. xi. 13. *And in the earthquake were slain septuaginta septem nomina hominum* names of men seven thousand, that is, seven thousand men. And besides these authorities to justify our author, let me farther add what the learned Mr. Jortin hath suggested, that this name "is to be found in "Lactantius, the Scholiast of "Statius on Thebaid. iv. 516, "Dicit Deum Demogorgona "summum. It is also to be "found in Hyginus, page 11. "Edit. Hamburg. Oct. 1674. "Ex Demogorgone et Terra "Python, draco divinus, if the "place be not corrupted. See "Muncker there." And Mr. Thyer justifies the use of the word against Dr. Bentley by another passage in our author's Latin works, p. 340. *Apud vetustissimos itaque mythologiæ scriptores memoriæ datum reperio Demogorgonem Deorum omnium atavum (quem eundem et Chaos ab antiquis nuncupatum harlolor) inter alios liberos, quos sustulerat plurimos, Terram genuisse.*

965.—*Rumour next and Chance,*]  
In Satan's voyage through the Chaos there are several imaginary



And Discord with a thousand various mouths.  
T' whom Satan turning boldly, thus. Ye Powers

\* persons described, as residing in that immense waste of matter. This may perhaps be conformable to the taste of those critics who are pleased with nothing in a poet which has not life and manners ascribed to it; but for my own part, I am pleased most with those passages in this description which carry in them a greater measure of probability, and are such as might possibly have happened. Of this kind is his first mounting in the smoke that rises from the infernal pit, his falling into a cloud of nitre and the like combustible materials, that by their explosion still hurried him forward in his voyage; his springing upward like a pyramid of fire, with his laborious passage through that confusion of elements which the poet calls

The womb of nature, and perhaps  
her grave.

*Addison.*

Mr. Addison seems to disapprove of these fictitious beings, thinking them I suppose (like Sin and Death) improper for an epic poem: but I see no reason why Milton may not be allowed to place such imaginary beings in the regions of Chaos, as well as Virgil describe the like beings, Grief, and Fear, and Want, and Sleep, and Death, and Discord likewise within the confines of hell; and why what is accounted a beauty in one should be deemed a fault in the other. See *Æn.* vi. 273, &c.

Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque  
in faucibus Orci,  
Luctus, et ultrices posuere cubilia  
Curæ:  
Palentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque  
Senectus,  
Et Metus, et malesuada Fames, et  
turpis Egestas,  
Terribilia visu formæ: Letumque,  
Laborque:  
Tum consanguineus Leti Sopor, et  
mala mentis  
Gaudis, mortiferumque adverso in  
limine Bellum,  
Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, et  
Discordia demens  
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cru-  
entis,

Just in the gate, and in the jaws of  
hell,  
Revengeful Cares, and sullen Sor-  
rows dwell;  
And pale Diseases, and repining Age;  
Want, Fear, and Famine's unresisted  
rage;  
Here Toils, and Death, and Death's  
half-brother Sleep,  
Forms terrible to view, their sentry  
keep;  
With anxious Pleasures of a guilty  
mind,  
Deep Frauds before, and open Force  
behind;  
The Furies iron beds, and Strife that  
shakes  
Her hissing tresser, and unfolds her  
snakes. *Dryden.*

Every reader, I believe, has been pleased with this description; and it is impossible to be pleased with Virgil, and to be displeased with Milton. We may observe both in Virgil and Milton that Discord is made the last of these imaginary beings, how much greater an idea have we of Discord with a thousand various mouths than with snaky hair,

Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cru-  
entis;

And Spirits of this nethermost abyss,  
 Chaos and ancient Night, I come no spy, 970  
 With purpose to explore or to disturb  
 The secrets of your realm, but by constraint  
 Wand'ring this darksome desert, as my way  
 Lies through your spacious empire up to light,  
 Alone, and without guide, half lost, I seek 975  
 What readiest path leads where your gloomy bounds  
 Confine with heav'n; or if some other place,  
 From your dominion won, th' ethereal King  
 Possesses lately, thither to arrive  
 I travel this profound; direct my course; 980  
 Directed no mean recompense it brings  
 To your behoof, if I that region lost,

We may farther observe in justification of Milton, that the like shadowy beings are introduced in Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 686. in Statius's description of the house of Mars, *Theb.* vii. 47. in Claudian *In Rufin.* i. 30. and in Spenser, *Faery Queen*, b. ii. cant. vii. st. 21, &c. The passages at large would swell this note to too great a length, and therefore the reader is only referred to the places.

972. *The secrets of your realm,*] This passage has been objected to without any reason. He means probably secret places, as in ver. 891. *Secrets* is used here as *secreta* sometimes in Virgil:

In *secreta senis ducam*:

*Georg.* iv. 403.

—Horrendaque procul *secreta* *Sibyllar*,

Antrum immane petit: *Æn.* vi. 10.

And likewise in Spenser, *Faery Queen*, b. vi. cant. xii. st. 24.

And searched all their cells and  
*secrets* near.

Or if we understand by *secrets* secret counsels and transactions, the word *disturb* will be proper enough, as in i. 167.

—and disturb

His inmost counsels from their destin'd aim;

and the word *explore* will be very proper, as in vii. 95.

What we, not to explore the secrets  
 ask

Of his eternal empire.

981. *Directed no mean recompense it brings &c.*] My course directed may bring no little recompense and advantage to you, if I reduce that lost region, all usurpation being thence expelled to her original darkness and your sway, (which is the purport of my present journey,) and once more erect the standard there of ancient Night.

All usurpation thence expell'd, reduce  
 To her original darkness and your sway,  
 (Which is my present journey,) and once more 985  
 Erect the standard there of ancient Night;  
 Yours be th' advantage all, mine the revenge.

Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old,  
 With falt'ring speech and visage incompas'd,  
 Answer'd. I know thee, stranger, who thou art, 990  
 That mighty leading Angel, who of late  
 Made head against heav'n's King, though overthrown.  
 I saw and heard, for such a numerous host  
 Fled not in silence through the frighted deep  
 With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout, 995  
 Confusion worse confounded; and heav'n gates  
 Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands  
 Pursuing. I upon my frontiers here  
 Keep residence; if all I can will serve  
 That little which is left so to defend, 1000  
 Encroach'd on still through your intestine broils  
 Weak'ning the sceptre of old Night: first Hell  
 Your dungeon stretching far and wide beneath;  
 Now lately Heav'n and Earth, another world,  
 Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain 1005

1001. —*through your intestine broils*] The former editions read *our intestine broils*, but the change of *our* into *your* (suggested by Dr. Pearce in his reply to Bentley's censures upon this passage) is so just and necessary, that we thought it best to admit it into the text.

1005. —*link'd in a golden chain*] There is mention made in Homer of Jupiter's golden chain, by

which he can draw up the gods and the earth and sea and the whole universe, but they cannot draw him down. You may see the passage at large in the beginning of the eighth book of the *Iliad*.

Εὐδ' αὖτις, πικρυνάδι δ' αὖ, ἰὼν ἀδύτι  
 πᾶσι,  
 Σαῦτος χερσὶν αἰετὶς ἀνὰ κρημνοῖς κρημνισ-  
 τῆς  
 Πᾶσι δ' αἰετὶς δ' αὖ, κ. τ. λ.

L. 3

To that side heav'n from whence your legions fell :  
 If that way be your walk, you have not far ;  
 So much the nearer danger ; go and speed ;  
 Havoc and spoil and ruin are my gain.

He ceas'd ; and Satan stay'd not to reply, 1010  
 But glad that now his sea should find a shore,  
 With fresh alacrity and force renew'd  
 Springs upward like a pyramid of fire  
 Into the wild expanse, and through the shock  
 Of fighting elements, on all sides round 1015  
 Environ'd wins his way ; harder beset  
 And more endanger'd, than when Argo pass'd

League all your forces then, ye  
 Pow'rs above,  
 Join all, and try th' omnipotence of  
 Jove :

Let down our golden, everlasting  
 chain,

Whose strong embrace holds heav'n,  
 and earth, and main :

Strive all of mortal or immortal  
 birth,

To drag by this the Thund'rer down  
 to earth :

Ye strive in vain ! If I but stretch  
 this hand,

I heave the Gods, the ocean, and the  
 land,

I fix the chain to great Olympus  
 height,

And the vast world hangs trembling  
 in my sight. *Popc.*

It is most probably and ingeniously conjectured, that by this golden chain may be understood the superior attractive force of the sun, whereby he continues unmoved, and draws all the rest of the planets toward him. But whatever is meant by it, it is certain that our poet took from hence the thought of hanging the world by a golden chain.

1009. *Havoc and spoil and ruin are my gain.*] This is very agreeable to that character of Chaos by Lucan, *Phar. vi. 696.*

*Et Chaos innumeros avidum confundere mundos.*

1011. *But glad that now his sea should find a shore,*] A metaphor to express his joy that now his travel and voyage should end, somewhat like that of one of the ancients, who reading a tedious book, and coming near to the end, cried *I see land, Terram video.*

1017. —*than when Argo pass'd &c.*] The first long ship ever seen in Greece, in which Jason and his companions sailed to Colchia to fetch the golden fleece. *Through Bosphorus*, the Thracian Bosphorus, or the straits of Constantinople, or the channel of the Black Sea. It is sometimes writ *Bosphorus*, as in Mr. Fenton's edition, from *Βοσ* and *Φύω* : but Milton is more exact and accurate, and writes *Bosporus* ac-

Through Bosphorus betwixt the justling rocks ;  
Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunn'd

cording to the best Greek authors, from *Bovis meæ*, bovis transitus, the sea being so narrow there that cattle are said to have swum cross it. *Betwixt the justling rocks*, two rocks at the entrance into the Euxine or Black Sea, called in Greek *Symplegades*, and by Juvenal *concurrentia saxa*, Sat. xv. 19. which Milton very well translates *the justling rocks*, because they were so near, that at a distance they seemed to open and shut again, and jostle one another, as the ship varied its course this way and that as usual. In Ponto duæ Cyanæ, ab aliis Symplegades appellatæ, traditæque fabulis inter se concurrissæ: quoniam parvo discretæ intervallo, ex adverso intrantibus geminæ cernebantur, paulumque deflexa acie, coeuntium speciem præbebant. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. iv. cap. 13. The reader may see a farther account of these rocks, and the passage betwixt them, in Apollonius, Argonaut. ii. 317, &c. In short, Satan's voyage through the fighting elements was more difficult and dangerous than that of the Argonauts through narrow seas betwixt justling rocks.

1019. *Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunn'd*

*Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool steer'd.]*

These two verses Dr. Bentley would throw quite away. *Larboard* (says he) is abominable in heroic poetry; but Dryden (as the Doctor owns) thought it not unfit to be employed there: and

Milton in other places has used nautical terms, without being censured for it by the Doctor. So in ix. 513. he speaks of *working a ship*, of *veering* and *shifting*; and in i. 207. of *mooring under the lee*. So Virgil's *legere littus* is observed to be a term borrowed from mariners, by Servius in his notes on Georg. ii. 44. and Æn. iii. 127. But the Doctor has two very formidable objections against the sense of these verses. First he says that *larboard* or left hand is a mistake here for *starboard* or right hand, *Charybdis* being to the *starboard* of *Ulysses*, when he sailed through these straits. But the sense may be, not that Ulysses shunned *Charybdis* situated on the *larboard* of his ship as he was sailing; but that *Ulysses* sailing on the *larboard* (to the left hand where *Scylla* was) did thereby shun *Charybdis*; which was the truth of the case. The other objection is, that *Scylla* was no *whirlpool*, which yet she is here supposed to have been: but Virgil (whom Milton follows oftener than he does Homer) describes *Scylla* as *naves in saxa trahentem*, Æn. iii. 425. and what is that less than calling it a *whirlpool*? And Athan. Kircher, who has written a particular account of *Scylla* and *Charybdis* upon his own view of them, does not scruple to call them both *whirlpools*. The truth is, that *Scylla* is a rock situated in a small bay on the Italian coast, into which bay the tide runs with a very strong current, so as to

Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool steer'd. 1020  
 So he with difficulty and labour hard  
 Mov'd on, with difficulty and labour he ;  
 But he once past, soon after when man fell,  
 Strange alteration ; Sin and Death amain  
 Following his track, such was the will of Heaven, 1025  
 Pav'd after him a broad and beaten way  
 Over the dark abyss, whose boiling gulf  
 Tamely endur'd a bridge of wondrous length  
 From hell continued reaching th' utmost orb  
 Of this frail world ; by which the Spi'rits perverse 1030  
 With easy intercourse pass to and fro

draw in the ships which are within the compass of its force, and either dash them against the rock, or swallow them in the eddies: for when the streams have thus violently rushed into the bay, they meet with the rock Scylla at the farther end, and being beat back must therefore form an eddy or *whirlpool*. This account is gathered partly from Sandys's travels, and partly from *Historia orbis terræ*, &c. where it is said, *Ejus natura est ut ingenti ultro citroque commean-tium aquarum perturbatione agitetur: quando affluxu agitur, tanta est ejus violentia, ut navis eò delapsa, omni evadendi spe sublata, montium parietibus illidatur. Vide Homfian. Lexicon. Pearce.*

1023. *But he once past, &c.]* Dr. Bentley would throw out here eleven verses, as if they were an interpolation: but the foregoing words, containing a repetition of what went before them,

*with difficulty and labour he, have no force nor propriety, unless it be added (as it is in these verses) that some others afterwards went this way with more ease. Pearce.*

It is evident that these lines are Milton's, and cannot be an interpolation of the editor. But yet I am afraid we cannot so easily get over the Doctor's other objection, that this same bridge is described in book x. for several lines together poetically and pompously, as a thing untouched before and an incident to surprise the reader; and therefore the poet should not have anticipated it here. Let the lines themselves be approved; yet it must be allowed, it is wrong conduct and want of æconomy for the whole poem. And we cannot recollect a parallel instance in Homer or Virgil, or any authorized poet.

1025. — *such was the will of heaven,]* Διὸς ὃ τιμύμιτο βουλή. Hom. Iliad. i. 5.

To tempt or punish mortals, except whom  
 God and good angels guard by special grace.  
 But now at last the sacred influence  
 Of light appears, and from the walls of Heaven 1035  
 Shoots far into the bosom of dim Night  
 A glimmering dawn ; here Nature first begins  
 Her farthest verge, and Chaos to retire  
 As from her outmost works a broken foe  
 With tumult less and with less hostile din, 1040  
 That Satan with less toil, and now with ease  
 Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light,  
 And like a weather-beaten vessel holds  
 Gladly the port, though shrouds and tackle torn ;  
 Or in the emptier waste, resembling air, 1045  
 Weighs his spread wings, at leisure to behold  
 Far off th' empyreal heav'n, extended wide  
 In circuit, undetermin'd square or round,  
 With opal tow'rs and battlements adorn'd

1039. *As from her outmost works]* As from the outmost works of *Nature* mentioned before.

1042. —*by dubious light,*] In this line and in the preceding description of the *glimmering dawn* that Satan first meets with, Milton very probably alludes to Seneca's elegant account of Hercules's passage into hell. *Herc. Fur.* 668.

Non cæca tenebris incipit prima via:  
 Tenuis relictæ lucis a tergo nitor,  
 Fulgorque dubius solis afflicti cadit.  
*Thyer.*

1046. *Weighs his spread wings,*] In like manner Tasso describing

the angel Gabriel's flight, *cant. i. st. 14.*

E sì librò su l' adeguate penne.

But I think notwithstanding the natural partiality one has for one's countryman, the preference must be given to the Italian. The same stanza suggests another imitation. Tasso calls Gabriel's wings,

Infaticabilmente, agili, e preste.

And Milton, *ver. 408.*

Upborne with indefatigable wings.  
*Thyer.*

1049. *With opal tow'rs]* With towers of precious stones. *Opal*

Of living sapphire, once his native seat ; 1050  
 And fast by hanging in a golden chain  
 This pendent world, in bigness as a star

is a stone of divers colours, partaking of the carbuncle's faint fire, the amethyst's bright purple, and the emerald's cheering green.

Hume and Richardson.

1052. *This pendent world, in bigness as a star*

*Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.]*

By *this pendent world* is not meant the earth; but the new creation, heaven and earth, the whole orb of fixed stars immensely bigger than the earth, a mere point in comparison. This is sure from what Chaos had lately said, ver. 1004.

Now lately heav'n and earth, another world,

Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain.

Besides, Satan did not see the earth yet; he was afterwards surprised at the sudden view of all this world at once, iii. 542. and wandered long on the outside of it; till at last he saw our sun, and learned there of the arch-angel Uriel, where the earth and paradise were. See iii. 722. *This pendent world* therefore must mean the whole world, the new created universe, and beheld far off it appeared in comparison with the empyreal heaven no bigger than a star of smallest magnitude; nay not so large, it appeared no bigger than such a star appears to be when it is close by the moon, the supe-

rior light whereof makes any star that happens to be near her disk to seem exceedingly small, and almost disappear. Dr. Bentley has strangely mistaken the sense of this passage, understanding that the earth was meant, and yet arguing very justly that the earth could not be meant: and Mr. Addison has fallen into the like mistake, as appears from his words; "The glimmering light which shot into the Chaos from the utmost verge of the creation, with the distant discovery of the earth that hung close by the moon, are wonderfully beautiful and poetical." But how much more wonderful is the imagination of such prodigious distance, that after Satan had travelled on so far, and comes within view of the whole world, it should still appear in comparison with the empyreal heaven no bigger than the smallest star, and that star appearing yet smaller by its proximity to the moon! and how much more beautiful and poetical is it to open the scene thus by degrees! Satan at first descries the whole world at a distance in book the second, and then in book the third he discovers our planetary system and the sun, and afterwards by the direction of Uriel the earth and neighbouring moon.



Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.

Thither full fraught with mischievous revenge,

Accurs'd, and in a cursed hour he hies.

1055



# **PARADISE LOST.**

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## **BOOK III.**

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## THE ARGUMENT.

**GOD** sitting on his throne sees Satan flying towards this world, then newly created; shews him to the Son who sat at his right hand; foretels the success of Satan in perverting mankind; clears his own justice and wisdom from all imputation, having created man free and able enough to have withstood his tempter; yet declares his purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as did Satan, but by him seduced. The Son of God renders praises to his Father for the manifestation of his gracious purpose towards man; but God again declares, that grace cannot be extended towards man without the satisfaction of divine justice; man hath offended the majesty of God by aspiring to Godhead, and therefore with all his progeny devoted to death must die, unless some one can be found sufficient to answer for his offence, and undergo his punishment. The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom for man: the Father accepts him, ordains his incarnation, pronounces his exaltation above all names in heaven and earth; commands all the angels to adore him; they obey, and hymning to their harps in full quire, celebrate the Father and the Son. Mean while Satan alights upon the bare convex of this world's outermost orb; where wandering he first finds a place, since called the Limbo of Vanity; what persons and things fly up thither; thence comes to the gate of heaven, described ascending by stairs, and the waters above the firmament that flow about it: his passage thence to the orb of the sun; he finds there Uriel the regent of that orb, but first changes himself into the shape of a meaner angel; and pretending a zealous desire to behold the new creation, and man whom God had placed here, enquires of him the place of his habitation, and is directed; alights first on mount Niphates.

# PARADISE LOST.

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## BOOK III.

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HAIL holy Light, offspring of Heav'n first-born,  
Or of th' Eternal coeternal beam

Horace advises a poet to consider thoroughly the nature and force of his genius. Milton seems to have known perfectly well wherein his strength lay, and has therefore chosen a subject entirely conformable to those talents, of which he was master. As his genius was wonderfully turned to the sublime, his subject is the noblest that could have entered into the thoughts of man. Every thing that is truly great and astonishing has a place in it. The whole system of the intellectual world; the chaos and the creation; heaven, earth, and hell, enter into the constitution of his poem. Having in the first and second books represented the infernal world with all its horrors, the thread of his fable naturally leads him into the opposite regions of bliss and glory. *Addison.*

1. *Hail holy Light, &c.*] Our author's address to Light, and lamentation of his own blindness, may perhaps be censured as an excrescence or digression not agreeable to the rules of epic

poetry; but yet this is so charming a part of the poem, that the most critical reader, I imagine, cannot wish it were omitted. One is even pleased with a fault, if it be a fault, that is the occasion of so many beauties, and acquaints us so much with the circumstances and character of the author.

2. *Or of th' Eternal coeternal beam*

*May I express thee' unblam'd?*] Or may I without blame call thee, the coeternal beam of the eternal God? The ancients were very cautious and curious by what names they addressed their deities, and Milton in imitation of them questions whether he should address the Light as the first-born of heaven, or as the coeternal beam of the eternal Father, or as a pure ethereal stream whose fountain is unknown: but as the second appellation seems to ascribe a proper eternity to Light, Milton very justly doubts whether he might use that without blame.

May I express thee' unblam'd? since God is light,  
 And never but in unapproach'd light  
 Dwelt from eternity, dwelt then in thee, 5  
 Bright effluence of bright essence increate.  
 Or hear'st thou rather pure ethereal stream,  
 Whose fountain who shall tell? before the sun,  
 Before the heav'ns thou wert, and at the voice  
 Of God, as with a mantle didst invest 10  
 The rising world of waters dark and deep,  
 Won from the void and formless infinite.

3. —since God is light,  
 And—in unapproach'd light  
 Dwelt]

From 1 John i. 5. God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. And 1 Tim. vi. 16. Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto.

6. Bright effluence of bright essence increate] What the Wisdom of Solomon says of Wisdom, he applies to Light, vii. 25, 26. She is a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty,—she is the brightness of the everlasting light.

7. Or hear'st thou rather] Or dost thou rather hear this address, dost thou delight rather to be called, *pure ethereal stream*? An excellent Latinism, as Dr. Bentley observes, Hor. Sat. ii. vi. 20.

Matutine pater seu Jane libentius audis?

And we have an expression of the same kind in Spenser, Faery Queen, b. i. cant. v. st. 23.

If old Aveugle's sons so evil hear.

Whose fountain who shall tell? As the question is asked in Job xxxviii. 19. Where is the way where light dwelleth?

11. The rising world of waters dark and deep.] For the world was only in a state of fluidity, when the light was created; as Moses says, *The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters; and God said, Let there be light, and there was light*, Gen. i. 2, 3. And this verse of Milton,

The rising world of waters dark and deep,

is plainly formed upon this of Spenser, Faery Queen, b. i. c. i. st. 39.

And through the world of waters wide and deep.

12. Won from the void and formless infinite.] Void must not here be understood as emptiness, for Chaos is described full of matter; but void, as destitute of any formed being, void as the earth was when first created. What Moses says of that is here applied to Chaos, *without form and void*. A short but noble

Thee I revisit now with bolder wing,  
 Escap'd the Stygian pool, though long detain'd  
 In that obscure sojourn, while in my flight 15  
 Through utter and through middle darkness borne  
 With other notes than to th' Orphéan lyre  
 I sung of Chaos and eternal Night,  
 Taught by the heav'nly Muse to venture down  
 The dark descent, and up to re-ascend, 20  
 Though hard and rare: thee I revisit safe,  
 And feel thy sovran vital lamp; but thou  
 Revisit'st not these eyes, that roll in vain  
 To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;  
 So thick a drop serene hath quench'd their orbs, 25

description of Chaos, which is said to be *infinite*, as it extended underneath, as heaven above, infinitely. *Richardson.*

16. *Through utter and through middle darkness*] Through hell, which is often called *utter darkness*, and through the great gulf between hell and heaven, the *middle darkness*.

17. *With other notes than to th' Orphéan lyre &c.*] Orpheus made a hymn to Night, which is still extant; he also wrote of the creation out of Chaos. See Apoll. Rhodius, i. 277, 493. Orpheus was inspired by his mother Calliope only, Milton by the *heavenly Muse*; therefore he boasts he sung with other notes than Orpheus, though the subjects were the same. *Richardson.*

17. See also Onomacritus, *Argon*, v. 438. The combination *Orphean lyre* is literally from Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 161.

VOL. I.

Ορφεὺς φεγγαγγὺν εὐνομίας ἕρποντος αἰδίδν.

But Propertius also and Ovid have it. *T. Warton.*

19. *Taught by the heav'nly Muse &c.*] Not only taught to venture down, but also up to re-ascend, though hard and rare, which is manifestly an allusion to Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 128.

Sed revocare gradum, superasque  
evadere ad auras

Hoc opus, hic labor est; pauci, quos  
æquus amavit

Jupiter, aut ardens evehit ad æthera  
virtus,

Diis geniti potuere.

But to return, and view the cheerful  
skies,

In this the task, the mighty labour  
lies:

To few great Jupiter imparts this  
grace,

And those of shining worth and  
heav'nly race. *Dryden.*

25. *So thick a drop serene hath quench'd their orbs,  
Or dim suffusion veil'd.*

M

Or dim suffusion veil'd. Yet not the more  
Cease I to wander, where the Muses haunt  
Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill,  
Smit with the love of sacred song; but chief

*Drop serene or Gutta serena.* It was formerly thought that that sort of blindness was an incurable extinction or quenching of sight by a transparent, watery, cold humour distilling upon the optic nerve, though making very little change in the eye to appearance, if any; it is now known to be most commonly an obstruction in the capillary vessels of that nerve, and curable in some cases. A *cataract* for many ages, and till about thirty years ago, was thought to be a film externally growing over the eye, intercepting or veiling the sight, beginning with dimness, and so increasing till vision was totally obstructed: but the disease is in the crystalline humour lying between the outmost coat of the eye and the pupilla. The dimness which is at the beginning is called a *suffusion*; and when the sight is lost, it is a *cataract*; and cured by couching, which is with a needle passing through the external coat and driving down the diseased crystalline, the loss of which is somewhat supplied by the use of a large convex glass. When Milton was first blind, he wrote to his friend Leonard Philara, an Athenian then at Paris, for him to consult Dr. Thevenot; he sent his case, (it is in the fifteenth of his familiar letters :) what answer he had is not known; but it seems by this

passage that he was not certain what his disease was: or perhaps he had a mind to describe both the great causes of blindness according to what was known at that time, as his whole poem is interspersed with great variety of learning. *Richardson.*

25. The very names of the two great diseases of the eye sufficiently prove that Milton intended to allude to both. *Gutta serena* is now usually called *amaurosis*, the darkening or quenching of sight: *cataract*, (termed by the Arabians *gutta opaca*,) was called by Celsus *suffusio*.

A cataract is now usually cured either by extraction, or by comminution, rather than by the method described by Richardson. *E.*

26. — *Yet not the more  
Cease I to wander,*]

This expression (which Bentley and Pearce proposed to correct) may be allowed, if not justified by *Et si quid cessare poles* in Virgil, *Ecl. vii. 10.* We may understand *cease* here in the sense of *forbear*; Yet not the more *forbear* I to wander: I do it as much as I did before I was blind.

29. *Smit with the love of sacred song;*] So Virgil, *Georg. ii. 475.*

Dulces ante omnia Musæ,  
Quarum sacra fero iugenti percussus amore.



Thee, Sion, and the flow'ry brooks beneath,      30  
 That wash thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,  
 Nightly I visit: nor sometimes forget  
 Those other two equall'd with me in fate,

30. —*the flow'ry brooks beneath,*] Kedron and Siloah. He still was pleased to study the beauties of the ancient poets, but his highest delight was in the songs of Sion, in the holy Scriptures, and in these he meditated day and night. This is the sense of the passage stripped of its poetical ornaments.

32. —*nor sometimes forget*] It is the same as *and sometimes not forget*. *Nec* and *neque* in Latin are frequently the same as *et non*. Pearce.

33. *Those other two &c.*] It has been imagined that Milton dictated *Those other too*, which though different in sense, yet is not distinguishable in sound, so that they might easily be mistaken the one for the other. In strictness of speech perhaps we should read *others* instead of *other*, *Those others too*: but *those other* may be admitted as well as *these other* in iv. 783.—*these other wheel the north*: but then it must be acknowledged that *too* is a sorry botch at best. The most probable explanation of this passage I conceive to be this. Though he mentions *four*, yet there are but *two* whom he particularly desires to resemble, and those he distinguishes both with the epithet *blind* to make the likeness the more striking.

*Blind Thamyras and blind Mæonides.*

*Mæonides* is Homer, so called

from the name of his father Mæon: and no wonder our poet desires to equal him in renown, whose writings he so much studied, admired, and imitated. The character of *Thamyras* is not so well known and established: but Homer mentions him in the *Iliad*. ii. 595; and Eustathius ranks him with Orpheus and Musæus, the most celebrated poets and musicians. That lustful challenge of his to the nine Muses was probably nothing more than a fable invented to express his violent love and affection for poetry. Plato mentions his hymns with honour in the beginning of his eighth book of *Laws*, and towards the conclusion of the last book of his *Republic* feigns, upon the principles of transmigration, that the soul of *Thamyras* passed into a nightingale. He was a Thracian by birth, and invented the Doric mood or measure, according to Pliny, l. vii. c. 57. Plutarch in his treatise of Music says, that he had the finest voice of any of his time, and wrote a poem of the war of the Titans with the gods: and from Suidas we learn that he composed likewise a poem of the generation of the world, which being subjects near of kin to Milton's might probably occasion the mention of him in this place. *Thamyras* then and *Homer* are *those other two* whom the poet

So were I equall'd with them in renown,  
 Blind Thamyras and blind Mæonides,  
 And Tiresias and Phineus prophets old :  
 Then feed on thoughts, that voluntary move  
 Harmonious numbers ; as the wakeful bird  
 Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid

35

principally desires to resemble : and it seems as if he had intended at first to mention only these two, and then *currente calamo* had added the two others, *Tiresias* and *Phineus*, the one a Theban, the other a king of Arcadia, famous blind prophets and poets of antiquity, for the word *prophet* sometimes comprehends both characters as *vates* does in Latin.

*And Tiresias and Phineus prophets old.*

Dr. Bentley is totally for rejecting this verse, and objects to the bad accent of *Tiresias* : but as Dr. Pearce observes, the accent may be mended by supposing that the interlined copy intended this order of the words,

*And Phineus and Tiresias prophets old.*

And the verse appears to be genuine by Mr. Marvel's alluding to it in his verses prefixed to the second edition ;

Just heav'n thee, like Tiresias, to  
 requite,  
 Rewards with prophecy thy loss of  
 sight.

36. — *Post raptâ sagacem  
 Lumina Tiresian, &c. Eleg. vi. 68.*

This enumeration of *Tiresias* in company with other celebrated bards of the highest antiquity would alone serve for a proof

that the suspected line is genuine. And *Tiresias* occurs again, *De Idea Platonica*, v. 26. *T. Warton.*

37. *Then feed on thoughts,]* Nothing could better express the musing thoughtfulness of a blind poet. The phrase was perhaps borrowed from the following line of Spenser's *Tears of the Muses*.

I feed on sweet contentment of my  
 thought.

*Thyer.*

37. — *that voluntary move  
 Harmonious numbers ; &c.]*

And the reader will observe the flowing of the numbers here with all the ease and harmony of the finest voluntary. The words seem of themselves to have fallen naturally into verse almost without the poet's thinking of it. And this harmony appears to greater advantage for the roughness of some of the preceding verses, which is an artifice frequently practised by Milton, to be careless of his numbers in some places, the better to set off the musical flow of those which immediately follow.

39. — *darkling,]* It is said that this word was coined by our author, but I find it used several

Tunes her nocturnal note. Thus with the year 40  
 Seasons return, but not to me returns  
 Day, or the sweet approach of ev'n or morn,  
 Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,  
 Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine ;  
 But cloud instead, and ever-during dark 45  
 Surrounds me, from the cheerful ways of men  
 Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair  
 Presented with a universal blank  
 Of nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,

times in Shakespeare and the authors of that age.

41. *Seasons return, but not to me returns*] This beautiful turn of the words is copied from the beginning of the third act of Guarini's *Pastor Fido*. Mirtillo addresses the Spring,

Tu torni ben, ma leco

Non tornano &c.

Tu torni ben, tu torni,

Ma leco altro non torna &c.

Thou art return'd ; but the felicity

Thou brought'st me last is not return'd with thee :

Thou art return'd ; but nought returns with thee

Save my last joys regretful memory.

*Fanshawe.*

49. *Of nature's works &c.*] Dr. Bentley reads *All nature's map* &c. because (he says) a *blank of works* is an unphilosophical expression. If so, and if the sentence must terminate at *blank*, why may we not read ?

Presented with an universal blank ;

*All nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd.*

*Pearce.*

It is to be wished that some such emendation as this was

admitted. It clears the syntax, which at present is very much embarrassed. *All nature's works* being to me *expunged and ras'd*, and *wisdom at one entrance quite shut out*, is plain and intelligible ; but otherwise it is not easy to say what the conjunction *And* copulates *wisdom* to ; *And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out*.

Probably the conjunction *and* was not designed to connect *wisdom* with any other word, but only to connect the whole clause with the two preceding clauses, as if all three had been taken absolutely ; though strictly speaking only the words in the latter clause are taken absolutely ; and *wisdom at one entrance* being from me quite shut out. E.

49. —*ras'd*,] Of the Latin *radere* ; the Romans who wrote on waxen tables with iron stiles, when they struck out a word, did *tabulam radere* rase it out. Light and the blessings of it were never drawn in more lively colours and finer strokes ; nor was the sad loss of it and them ever so passionately and so patiently lamented. They that will

And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out. 50  
 So much the rather thou, celestial Light,  
 Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers  
 Irradiate, there plant eyes, all mist from thence  
 Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell  
 Of things invisible to mortal sight. 55  
 Now had th' almighty Father from above,

read the most excellent Homer, bemoaning the same misfortune, will find him far short of this. Herodotus in his life gives us some verses, in which he bewailed his blindness. *Hume.*

52. *Shine inward,*] He has the same kind of thought more than once in his Prose Works. See his Epist. to Emiric Bigot. *Orbitatem certe luminis quidni leniter feram, quod non tam amissum quam revocatum intus atque retractum, ad acuendam potius mentis aciem quam ad hebetandam, sperem?* Epist. Fam. 21. See also his *Defensio Secunda*, p. 325. edit. 1738. Sim ego debilissimus, dummodo in mea debilitate immortalis ille et melior vigor eò se efficacius exerat; dummodo in meis tenebris divini vultus lumen eò clarius eluceat; tum enim infirmissimus ero simul et validissimus, cæcus eodem tempore et perspicacissimus; hac possim ego infirmitate consummari, hac perfici, possim in hac obscuritate sic ego irradiari. Et sane haud ultima Dei cura cæci sumus; —nec tam oculorum hebetudine, quam cælestium alarum umbrâ has nobis fecisse tenebras videtur, factas illustrare rursus interiore ac longè præstabiliore lumine haud raro solet.

56. *Now had th' almighty Father &c.*] The survey of the whole creation, and of every thing that is transacted in it, is a prospect worthy of Omniscience; and as much above that, in which Virgil has drawn his Jupiter, as the Christian idea of the supreme Being is more rational and sublime than that of the heathens. The particular objects, on which he is described to have cast his eye, are represented in the most beautiful and lively manner. *Addison.*

Tasso, cant. i. st. 7.

Quando da l'alto soglio il Padre eterno,  
 Ch' è ne la parte più del Ciel sincera;  
 E quanto è da le stelle al basso inferno,  
 Tanto è più in sù de la stellata spera:  
 Gli occhi in giù volse, e in un sol punto, e in una  
 Vista mirò ciò, che'n se il mondo aduna.

When God Almighty from his lofty throne,  
 Set in those parts of heav'n that purest are,  
 (As far above the clear stars every one,  
 As it is hence up to the highest star,)  
 Look'd down, and all at once this world beheld,  
 Each land, each city, country, town, and field. *Fairfax.*

Thyer.

From the pure empyréan where he sits  
 High thron'd above all highth, bent down his eye,  
 His own works and their works at once to view :  
 About him all the sanctities of heaven 60  
 Stood thick as stars, and from his sight receiv'd  
 Beatitude past utterance ; on his right  
 The radiant image of his glory sat,  
 His only Son ; on earth he first beheld  
 Our two first parents, yet the only two 65  
 Of mankind, in the happy garden plac'd,  
 Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,  
 Uninterrupted joy, unrivall'd love  
 In blissful solitude ; he then survey'd  
 Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there 70  
 Coasting the wall of heav'n on this side night  
 In the dun air sublime, and ready now  
 To stoop with wearied wings and willing feet  
 On the bare outside of this world, that seem'd

59. —and their works] That is, the works of his own works, the operations of his own creatures, angels, men, devils.

61. —and from his sight receiv'd Beatitude past utterance ;] Our author here alludes to the *beatific vision*, in which divines suppose the happiness of the saints to consist. *Thyer*.

62. —on his right

The radiant image of his glory sat,

His only Son ;]

According to St. Paul, Heb. i. 3. *His Son—who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person—sat down on the*

*right hand of the majesty on high.* Let the discerning linguist compare the preceding description of God with that by Tasso, cant. ix. stan. 55, 56, 57. *Hume*.

72. *In the dun air*] This is the *aer bruno* of the Italians, who almost constantly express a gloomy dusky air in these terms. *Thyer*.

75. *Firm land imbosom'd, without firmament, &c.*] The universe appeared to Satan to be a solid globe, encompassed on all sides, but uncertain whether with water or air, but without firmament, without any sphere or fixed stars over it, as over the earth.

Firm land imbosom'd, without firmament,

75

Uncertain which, in ocean or in air.

Him God beholding from his prospect high,

Wherein past, present, future he beholds,

Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.

The sphere of fixed stars was itself comprehended in it, and made a part of it.

77. *Him God beholding from his prospect high,*

*Wherein past, present, future he beholds,]*

Boethius, an author not unworthy of our poet's imitation, describing the Deity, uses exactly the same terms. *Qui cum ex alta providentiæ specula respicit, quid cuique eveniat. De Cons. Philos. l. iv.*

*Quæ sint, quæ fuerint, veniantque Uno menis cernit in ietu.*

*Id. l. v. Metr. 2.*

*Thyer.*

79. *Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.]* If Milton's majesty forsakes him any where, it is in those parts of his poem, where the divine Persons are introduced as speakers. One may, I think, observe, that the author proceeds with a kind of fear and trembling, whilst he describes the sentiments of the Almighty. He dares not give his imagination its full play, but chooses to confine himself to such thoughts as are drawn from the books of the most orthodox divines, and to such expressions as may be met with in Scripture. The beauties therefore, which we are to look for in these speeches, are not of a poetical nature, nor so proper to fill the

mind with sentiments of grandeur, as with thoughts of devotion. The passions, which they are designed to raise, are a divine love and religious fear. The particular beauty of the speeches in the third book consists in that shortness and perspicuity of style, in which the poet has couched the greatest mysteries of Christianity, and drawn together in a regular scheme the whole dispensation of Providence with respect to man. He has represented all the abstruse doctrines of predestination, free-will, and grace, as also the great points of incarnation and redemption, (which naturally grow up in a poem that treats of the fall of man,) with great energy of expression, and in a clearer and stronger light than I ever met with in any other writer. As these points are dry in themselves to the generality of readers, the concise and clear manner, in which he has treated them, is very much to be admired, as is likewise that particular art which he has made use of in the interspersing of all those graces of poetry, which the subject was capable of receiving. Satan's approach to the confines of the creation is finely imaged in the beginning of the speech, which immediately follows. *Addison.*

Only-begotten Son, seest thou what rage 80  
 Transports our Adversary ? whom no bounds  
 Prescrib'd, no bars of hell, nor all the chains  
 Heap'd on him there, nor yet the main abyss  
 Wide interrupt can hold ; so bent he seems  
 On desperate revenge, that shall redound 85  
 Upon his own rebellious head. And now  
 Through all restraint broke loose he wings his way  
 Not far off heav'n, in the precincts of light,  
 Directly tow'rs the new created world,  
 And Man there plac'd, with purpose to assay 90  
 If him by force he can destroy, or worse,  
 By some false guile pervert ; and shall pervert,  
 For Man will hearken to his glozing lies,  
 And easily transgress the sole command,  
 Sole pledge of his obedience : so will fall, 95  
 He and his faithless progeny : Whose fault ?  
 Whose but his own ? Ingrate, he had of me  
 All he could have ; I made him just and right,  
 Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.  
 Such I created all th' ethereal powers 100  
 And spi'rits, both them who stood and them who fail'd ;  
 Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.  
 Not free, what proof could they have giv'n sincere  
 Of true allegiance, constant faith, or love,  
 Where only what they needs must do appear'd, 105  
 Nor what they would ? what praise could they receive ?

101. —both *them who stood and them who fail'd* ;] Both the antitheton and the repetition in the next line shew that the author gave it,

—both *them who stood and them who fell* ;  
*Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell,*

Bentley.

What pleasure I from such obedience paid,  
 When will and reason (reason also' is choice)  
 Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,  
 Made passive both, had serv'd necessity, 110  
 Not me? They therefore as to right belong'd,  
 So were created, nor can justly' accuse  
 Their Maker, or their making, or their fate,  
 As if predestination over-rul'd  
 Their will, dispos'd by absolute decree 115  
 Or high foreknowledge; they themselves decreed  
 Their own revolt, not I; if I foreknew,  
 Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,  
 Which had no less prov'd certain unforeknown.  
 So without least impulse or shadow' of fate, 120  
 Or ought by me immutably foreseen,  
 They trespass, authors to themselves in all  
 Both what they judge and what they choose; for so

108. —(*reason also' is choice*)  
 The author had expressed the same sentiment before in prose. "Many there be that complain of divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing: he had been else a mere artificial Adam, &c." See his speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing, p. 149, and 150. edit. 1738.

117. —*if I foreknew,*] *If* here does not employ the least doubt or uncertainty; but is used, as it is sometimes in the best authors, in the sense of *Though*. *Though I foreknew*, that foreknowledge had no influence.

121. *Or ought by me immutably foreseen,*] *To foresee immutably* (says Dr. Bentley) are two ideas that cannot unite: he thinks therefore that Milton must have given it *immutably foredoom'd*. His objection is right, but his emendation is wrong, I think. Milton seems rather to have dictated,

*Or ought by me immutable foreseen,*  
 where *ought immutable* may signify any event that cannot be changed or altered. *Pearce*.

*Immutably foreseen* seems to mean so foreseen as to be *immutable*.

121. See *Copleston* upon Necessity and Predestination, note u. p. 109. *E*.



I form'd them free, and free they must remain,  
 Till they intrall themselves ; I else must change 125  
 Their nature, and revoke the high decree  
 Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd  
 Their freedom, they themselves ordain'd their fall.  
 The first sort by their own suggestion fell,  
 Self-tempted, self-deprav'd : Man falls, deceiv'd 130  
 By th' other first : Man therefore shall find grace,  
 The other none : in mercy, and justice both,  
 Through heav'n and earth, so shall my glory' excel,  
 But mercy first and last shall brightest shine.

Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd 135  
 All heav'n, and in the blessed spi'rits elect  
 Sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd :  
 Beyond compare the Son of God was seen  
 Most glorious ; in him all his Father shone  
 Substantially express'd ; and in his face 140

135. *Thus while God spake,* &c.] The effects of this speech in the blessed Spirits, and in the divine Person to whom it was addressed, cannot but fill the mind of the reader with a secret pleasure and complacency. *Ad-dison.*

Milton here shews, that he was no servile imitator of the ancients. It is very well known that his master Homer, and all who followed him, where they are representing the Deity speaking, describe a scene of terror and awful consternation. *The heavens, seas, and earth tremble* &c. and this, to be sure, was consistent enough with their natural notions of the supreme Being: but it would not have

been so agreeable to the mild, merciful, and benevolent idea of the Deity upon the Christian scheme, and therefore our author has very judiciously made the words of the Almighty diffusing fragrance and delight to all around him. There is a passage in Ariosto, which is exactly in the same taste with what Milton has given us, cant. xxix. st. 30.

*Dio coal disse; e fe serena intorno  
 L'aria, e tranquillo il mar più che  
 mai fusse.*

Thus said the Highest, and then  
 there did ensue

A wondrous calm in waters and in  
 air. *Harrington.*

Thyer.

140. *Substantially express'd ;]* According to Heb. i. 3. where

Divine compassion visibly appear'd,  
Love without end, and without measure grace,  
Which uttering thus he to his Father spake.

O Father, gracious was that word which clos'd  
Thy sovran sentence, that Man should find grace : 145  
For which both heav'n and earth shall high extol  
Thy praises, with th' innumerable sound  
Of hymns and sacred songs, wherewith thy throne  
Incompass'd shall resound thee ever blest.  
For should Man finally be lost, should Man, 150  
Thy creature late so lov'd, thy youngest son,  
Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though join'd  
With his own folly ? that be from thee far,  
That far be from thee, Father, who art Judge  
Of all things made, and judgest only right. 155  
Or shall the Adversary thus obtain  
His end, and frustrate thine ? shall he fulfil

the Son of God is styled, *the brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person*; *χαράκτες της ὑπερτατης αὐτου*, the character of his substance, as the original expresses it. *Hume.*

147. —with th' innumerable sound

*Of hymns and sacred songs,]*  
*Innumerable sound of songs* is here the same with *innumerable force of spirits* in i. 101. In both places the word *innumerable*, though joined to *sound* and *force*, yet in sense refers to *songs* and *spirits*. See also x. 268. Dr. Bentley dislikes *sound*, because *resound* follows in the next verse but one. But this way of writing is common in this poem :

See i. 642. and ii. 190, 192. So in i. 441, 442. we read *songs unsung*. And we have the very thing which the Doctor finds fault with in vii. 558.

Follow'd with acclamation and the sound

Symphonious of ten thousand harps that tun'd

Angelic harmonies : the earth, the air Resounded.

*Pearce.*

153. —that be from thee far, &c.] An imitation of Genesis xviii. 25. *That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked ; and that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from thee : shall not the Judge of all the earth do right ?*

His malice, and thy goodness bring to nought,  
 Or proud return, though to his heavier doom,  
 Yet with revenge accomplish'd, and to hell 160  
 Draw after him the whole race of mankind,  
 By him corrupted? or wilt thou thyself  
 Abolish thy creation, and unmake  
 For him, what for thy glory thou hast made?  
 So should thy goodness and thy greatness both 165  
 Be question'd and blasphem'd without defence.

To whom the great Creator thus replied.

O Son, in whom my soul hath chief delight,  
 Son of my bosom, Son who art alone  
 My word, my wisdom, and effectual might, 170  
 All hast thou spoken as my thoughts are, all  
 As my eternal purpose hath decreed;  
 Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will,  
 Yet not of will in him, but grace in me  
 Freely vouchsaf'd; once more I will renew 175  
 His lapsed pow'rs, though forfeit and inthrall'd  
 By sin to foul exorbitant desires;  
 Upheld by me, yet once more he shall stand  
 On even ground against his mortal foe,  
 By me upheld, that he may know how frail 180

158. —*nought*,] This word and *ought* our author most usually spells *naught* and *auight*, and they may be spelt either way; but this is grown obsolete, and the other may be justified as well from the Saxon.

168. O Son, &c.] The Son is here addressed by several titles and appellations borrowed from Scripture. O Son, in whom my soul hath chief delight, from

Matt. iii. 17. *My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.* Son of my bosom, from John i. 18. *The only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father.* My word, from Rev. xix. 13. *And his name is called the word of God.* My wisdom and effectual might, from 1 Cor. i. 24. *Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.*

180. By me upheld,] It was before, ver. 178. Upheld by me.

His fall'n condition is, and to me owe  
 All his deliverance, and to none but me.  
 Some I have chosen of peculiar grace  
 Elect above the rest ; so is my will :  
 The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warn'd 185  
 Their sinful state, and to appease betimes  
 Th' incensed Deity, while offer'd grace  
 Invites ; for I will clear their senses dark,  
 What may suffice, and soften stony hearts  
 To pray, repent, and bring obedience due. 190  
 To pray'r, repentance, and obedience due,  
 Though but endeavor'd with sincere intent,  
 Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.  
 And I will place within them as a guide  
 My umpire conscience, whom if they will hear, 195  
 Light after light well us'd they shall attain,  
 And to the end persisting, safe arrive.  
 This my long sufferance and my day of grace

The turn of the words is remarkable. And we have the oftener taken notice of these turns of the words, because it has been objected by Dryden and others, that there were no turns of the words in Milton.

183. *Some I have chosen of peculiar grace &c.*] Our author did not hold the doctrine of rigid predestination ; he was of the sentiments of the more moderate Calvinists, and thought that some indeed were elected of peculiar grace, the rest might be saved complying with the terms and conditions of the Gospel.

192. —*endeavor'd*] So Milton spells this word, and it is most

agreeable to our pronunciation of it, as well as to its derivation from the French *en* and *devoir*.

197. *And to the end persisting, safe arrive.*] *He that endureth to the end shall be saved*, Matt. x. 22.

198. *This my long sufferance and my day of grace*

*They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste ;]*

It is a great pity that our author should have thus debased the dignity of the Deity by putting in his mouth this horrid doctrine of a day of grace, after which it is not possible for a man to repent ; and there can be no sort of excuse for him, except the candid reader will make some

They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste ;  
 But hard be harden'd, blind be blinded more, 200  
 That they may stumble on, and deeper fall ;  
 And none but such from mercy I exclude.  
 But yet all is not done ; Man disobeying,  
 Disloyal breaks his feälty, and sins  
 Against the high supremacy of Heaven, 205  
 Affecting Godhead, and so losing all,  
 To expiate his treason hath nought left,  
 But to destruction sacred and devote,  
 He with his whole posterity must die,  
 Die he or justice must ; unless for him 210  
 Some other able, and as willing, pay  
 The rigid satisfaction, death for death.  
 Say heav'nly Pow'rs, where shall we find such love ?  
 Which of ye will be mortal to redeem  
 Man's mortal crime, and just th' unjust to save ? 215  
 Dwells in all heaven charity so dear ?

He ask'd, but all the heav'nly quire stood mute,

allowance for the prejudices, which he might possibly receive from the gloomy divinity of that enthusiastic age in which he lived. *Thyer.*

215. —and *just th' unjust to save* ?] That is, Which of ye will be so just as to save the unjust ? Which of ye will be righteous enough to supply the defects of others' righteousness ? It is plainly an allusion to 1 Pet. iii. 18. *For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust.*

217. —*stood mute,*] I need not point out the beauty of that cir-

cumstance, wherein the whole host of angels are represented as standing mute, nor shew how proper the occasion was to produce such a silence in heaven. *Addison.*

This beautiful circumstance is raised upon Rev. viii. 1. where upon a certain occasion it is said, *There was silence in heaven.* And so, as there was silence in hell, when it was proposed who should be sent on the dangerous expedition to destroy mankind, there is likewise silence in heaven, when it is asked who would be willing to pay the price of their

And silence was in heav'n : on Man's behalf  
 Patron or intercessor none appear'd,  
 Much less that durst upon his own head draw 220  
 The deadly forfeiture, and ransom set.  
 And now without redemption all mankind  
 Must have been lost, adjudg'd to death and hell  
 By doom severe, had not the Son of God,  
 In whom the fulness dwells of love divine, 225  
 His dearest mediation thus renew'd.

Father, thy word is past, Man shall find grace ;  
 And shall grace not find means, that finds her way,  
 The speediest of thy winged messengers,  
 To visit all thy creatures, and to all 230  
 Comes unprevented, unimplor'd, unsought ?  
 Happy for Man, so coming ; he her aid  
 Can never seek, once dead in sins and lost ;  
 Atonement for himself or offering meet,  
 Indebted and undone, hath none to bring : 235  
 Behold me then ; me for him, life for life

redemption. Satan alone was fit to undertake the one, as the Son of God the other.

219. —*intercessor none*] Isaiah lix. 16. *He saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor : therefore his arm brought salvation unto him, and his righteousness, it sustained him.* Greenwood.

231. *Comes unprevented,*] Prevent from *prævenire* to come before. This grace is not preceded by merit or supplication ; itself prevents or goes before ; it is a free gift, as xi. 3. *Prevenient grace descending*, &c. 2 Tim. i. 9. *Not according to our works, but*

*according to his own purpose and grace.* Psalm lxxxviii. 13. *But unto thee have I cried, O Lord, and in the morning shall my prayer prevent thee.* Here the favour if it comes, comes not unprevented ; prayer prevents or goes before God's goodness. Richardson.

236. *Behold me then ; me for him, life for life I offer ; on me let thine anger fall ;*

*Account me Man ;]*

The frequent and vehement repetition of *me* here is very like that in Virgil, *Æn.* ix. 427.

*Me, me :* *adsum qui feci : in me convertite ferrum :*

I offer ; on me let thine anger fall ;  
 Account me Man ; I for his sake will leave  
 Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee  
 Freely put off, and for him lastly die 240  
 Well pleas'd ; on me let Death wreck all his rage ;  
 Under his gloomy pow'r I shall not long  
 Lie vanquish'd ; thou hast giv'n me to possess  
 Life in myself for ev'r ; by thee I live,  
 Though now to Death I yield, and am his due 245  
 All that of me can die ! yet that debt paid,  
 Thou wilt not leave me in the loathsome grave  
 His prey, nor suffer my unspotted soul  
 For ever with corruption there to dwell ;  
 But I shall rise victorious, and subdue 250  
 My vanquisher, spoil'd of his vaunted spoil ;  
 Death his death's wound shall then receive, and stoop

and a little afterwards,

*Figite me, et quia est pietas: in me omnia tela*

*Conjicite, et Retuli; me primum assumite ferro.*

236. Milton has often given repetitions of this kind, and with much effect ; as P. L. x. 933.

—that all

The sentence, from thy head remov'd,  
 may light

On me, sole cause to thee of all this  
 woe,

*Me, me only, just object of his ire.*

And again, P. R. i. 276. and 284.  
*Dunster.*

244. *Life in myself for ev'r ;]*  
*For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself, John v. 26.*

249. —with corruption there to dwell ;] According to the Psalm-

*ist. For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither suffer thine Holy One to see corruption, Psal. xvi. 10. applied to our Saviour's resurrection by St. Peter, Acts ii. 20, 21, &c.*

252. *Death his death's wound shall then receive,]* I am very sorry to observe, that the quaint conceit in this line is very inconsistent with the character of the speaker, and unworthy of the majesty of the rest of the speech. Milton might perhaps be led into it by a witticism of the same kind in Seneca, who speaking of the terror Pluto was in from the wound he received from Hercules, says, Herc. Fur. ver. 568.

*Effugit tenui vulnere saucius,*

*Et mortis dominus pertimuit mori,*

*Thyer.*

Inglorious, of his mortal sting disarm'd.  
 I through the ample air in triumph high  
 Shall lead hell captive maugre hell, and show 255  
 The pow'rs of darkness bound. Thou at the sight  
 Pleas'd, out of heaven shalt look down and smile,  
 While by thee rais'd I ruin all my foes,  
 Death last, and with his carcase glut the grave :  
 Then with the multitude of my redeem'd 260  
 Shall enter heav'n long absent, and return,  
 Father, to see thy face, wherein no cloud  
 Of anger shall remain, but peace assur'd  
 And reconciliation ; wrath shall be no more  
 Thenceforth, but in thy presence joy entire. 265  
 His words here ended, but his meek aspect

254. *I through the ample air in triumph high &c.*] *Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive*, Psal. lxxiii. 18. *And having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it*, Col. ii. 15.

259. *Death last,*] According to St. Paul, *The last enemy that shall be destroyed is Death*, 1 Cor. xv. 26.

266. *His words here ended, but his meek aspect*  
*Silent yet spake, &c.*]

What a charming and lovely picture has Milton given us of God the Son considered as our Saviour and Redeemer? not in the least inferior in its way to that grander one in the sixth book, where he describes him clothed with majesty and terror, taking vengeance of his enemies. Before he represents him speak-

ing, he makes divine compassion, love without end, and grace without measure, visibly to appear in his face: ver. 140. and carrying on the same amiable picture, makes him end it with a countenance breathing immortal love to mortal men. Nothing could be better contrived to leave a deep impression upon the reader's mind, and I believe one may venture to assert, that no art or words could lift the imagination to a stronger idea of a good and benevolent being. The mute eloquence, which our author has so prettily expressed in his *silent yet spake*, is with no less beauty described by Tasso at the end of Armida's speech to Godfrey, cant. iv. st. 65.

Ciò detto tace, e la risposta attende  
 Con atto, che'n silenzio hà voce, e  
 preghi.

Thyer.



Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love  
 To mortal men, above which only shone  
 Filial obedience : as a sacrifice  
 Glad to be offer'd, he attends the will 270  
 Of his great Father. Admiration seiz'd  
 All heav'n, what this might mean, and whither tend  
 Wond'ring ; but soon th' Almighty thus replied.  
 O thou in heav'n and earth the only peace  
 Found out for mankind under wrath, O thou 275  
 My sole complacence ! well thou know'st how dear  
 To me are all my works, nor Man the least,  
 Though last created ; that for him I spare  
 Thee from my bosom and right hand, to save,  
 By losing thee awhile, the whole race lost. 280  
 Thou therefore, whom thou only canst redeem,  
 Their nature also to thy nature join ;  
 And be thyself Man among men on earth,  
 Made flesh, when time shall be, of virgin seed,  
 By wond'rous birth : be thou in Adam's room 285  
 The head of all mankind, though Adam's son.  
 As in him perish all men, so in thee,

269. —as a sacrifice &c.] An allusion to Psal. xl. 6. and the following verses, *Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire, mine ears hast thou opened ; burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required : Then said I, Lo, I come ; in the volume of the book it is written of me : I delight to do thy will, O my God ; yea, thy law is within my heart.*

277. —nor Man the least,] The least dear, *Though last created ;* somewhat like Shakespeare's Lear to Cordelia, act i.

—Now our joy,  
*Although our last, not least.*

And Antony to Trebonius, Jul. Cæs. act iii.

*Though last, not least in love.*

281. —whom thou only canst redeem,

*Their nature]*

That is, the nature of them, whom thou only canst redeem. A manner of speaking very usual with our author.

287. *As in him perish all men, &c.] For as in Adam all die,*

As from a second root, shall be restor'd  
 As many as are restor'd, without thee none.  
 His crime makes guilty all his sons ; thy merit 290  
 Imputed shall absolve them who renounce  
 Their own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,  
 And live in thee transplanted, and from thee  
 Receive new life. So Man, as is most just,  
 Shall satisfy for Man, be judg'd and die, 295  
 And dying rise, and rising with him raise  
 His brethren, ransom'd with his own dear life.  
 So heav'nly love shall outdo hellish hate,  
 Giving to death, and dying to redeem,  
 So dearly to redeem what hellish hate 300  
 So easily destroy'd, and still destroys  
 In those who, when they may, accept not grace.

*even so in Christ shall all be made alive, 1 Cor. xv. 22.*

299. *Giving to death, and dying to redeem,*] The love of the Father in giving the Son to death, and the love of the Son in submitting to it and dying to redeem mankind. Mr. Warburton thus explains it. "Milton's system of divinity taught, says he, not only that man was redeemed, but likewise that a real price was paid for his redemption; *dying to redeem* therefore signifying only redemption in a vague uncertain sense, but imperfectly represents his system; so imperfectly that it may as well be called the Socinian; the price paid (which implies a proper redemption) is wanting. But to pay a price implying a

"voluntary act, the poet therefore well expresses it by *giving to death*, that is, giving himself to death; so that the sense of the line fully expresses Milton's notion, *Heavenly love gave a price for the redemption of mankind, and by virtue of that price really redeemed them.*"

301. —*and still destroys*] There are many passages in these speeches of God and Messiah, where the fall is spoken of as a thing past; perhaps because all things, even future ones, are present to the divine Mind. Thus we read in ver. 151.

Thy creature late so lov'd :  
 and ver. 181.

—that he may know how frail  
 His fall'n condition is :—

Pearce.

Nor shalt thou, by descending to assume  
 Man's nature, lessen or degrade thine own.  
 Because thou hast, though thron'd in highest bliss 305  
 Equal to God, and equally enjoying  
 God-like fruition, quitted all to save  
 A world from utter loss, and hast been found  
 By merit more than birthright Son of God,  
 Found worthiest to be so by being good, 310  
 Far more than great or high ; because in thee  
 Love hath abounded more than glory' abounds,  
 Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt  
 With thee thy manhood also to this throne ;  
 Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt reign 315  
 Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,  
 Anointed universal King ; all power  
 I give thee ; reign for ever, and assume  
 Thy merits ; under thee as head supreme  
 Thrones, principdoms, pow'rs, dominions I reduce: 320  
 All knees to thee shall bow, of them that hide  
 In heav'n, or earth, or under earth in hell.  
 When thou attended gloriously from heaven  
 Shalt in the sky appear, and from thee send  
 The summoning archangels to proclaim 325

306. *Equal to God, and equally  
 enjoying  
 God-like fruition,]*

This deserves notice as an instance of Milton's orthodoxy with relation to the divinity of God the Son.

317. —*all power  
 I give thee ;]*

Matt. xxviii. 18. *All power is given unto me.*

318. —*and assume  
 Thy merits ;]*

Imitated from Horace's *Sume superbiam quasitam meritis*, Od. iii. xxx. 14. but adapted to the divine Person to whom it is spoken.

321. *All knees to thee shall bow, &c.] That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth*, Phil. ii. 10.

Thy dread tribunal ; forthwith from all winds  
 The living, and forthwith the cited dead  
 Of all past ages, to the general doom  
 Shall hasten, such a peal shall rouse their sleep.  
 Then all thy saints assembled, thou shalt judge 330  
 Bad men and angels ; they arraign'd shall sink  
 Beneath thy sentence : hell, her numbers full,  
 Thenceforth shall be for ever shut. Mean while  
 The world shall burn, and from her ashes spring  
 New heav'n and earth, wherein the just shall dwell 335  
 And after all their tribulations long  
 See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,  
 With joy and love triumphing, and fair truth.  
 Then thou thy regal sceptre shalt lay by,  
 For regal sceptre then no more shall need, 340  
 God shall be all in all. But all ye gods,  
 Adore him, who to compass all this dies ;  
 Adore the Son, and honour him as me.

334. *The world shall burn, &c.]*  
*The heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat ; nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens, and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13.*

335. *New heav'n and earth,]*  
*St. John, Rev. xxi. 1. And I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away.*

337. *See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,]*

*Toto surget, gens aurea mundo.*

*Virg. Ecl. iv. 9.*

*Hume.*

341. *God shall be all in all.]*

*According to 1 Cor. xv. 28. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him, that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.*

341. — *But all ye gods, Adore him,]*

*From Psal. xcvi. 7. Worship him, all ye gods, that is, all ye angels ; and so it is translated by the Seventy, and so it is cited by St. Paul, Heb. i. 6. And let all the angels of God worship him.*

343. *Adore the Son, and honour him as me.]* *That all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father, John v. 23.*

No sooner had th' Almighty ceas'd, but all  
 The multitude of angels, with a shout 345  
 Loud as from numbers without number, sweet  
 As from blest voices, uttering joy, heav'n rung  
 With jubilee, and loud Hosannas fill'd  
 Th' eternal regions: lowly reverent  
 Tow'ards either throne they bow, and to the ground 350  
 With solemn adoration down they cast  
 Their crowns inwove with amarant and gold;  
 Immortal amarant, a flow'r which once

344. *No sooner had th' Almighty ceas'd, &c.*] The close of this divine colloquy, with the hymn of angels that follows upon it, are wonderfully beautiful and poetical. Addison.

If the reader pleases to compare this divine dialogue with the speeches of the gods in Homer and Virgil, he will find the Christian poet to transcend the heathen, as much as the religion of the one surpasses that of the others. Their deities talk and act like men, but Milton's divine persons are divine persons indeed, and talk in the language of God, that is, in the language of Scripture. He is so very scrupulous and exact in this particular, that perhaps there is not a single expression, which may not be justified by the authority of holy writ. We have taken notice of several, where he seems to have copied the letter of Scripture, and the spirit of Scripture breathes in all the rest.

345. *The multitude of angels, &c.*] The construction is this, *All the multitude of angels uttering joy with a shout loud as &c.*

*Heav'n rung, &c.* where the first words are put absolutely. Pearce.

351. —down they cast

*Their crowns]*

Rev. iv. 10. *The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne.*

353. *Immortal amarant.*] *Amarant*, *Amagarrus*; Greek, for unfading, that decayeth not; a flower of a purple velvet colour, which though gathered, keeps its beauty, and when all other flowers fade, recovers its lustre by being sprinkled with a little water, as Pliny affirms, lib. xxi. c. 11. Our author seems to have taken this hint from 1 Pet. i. 4. *To an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, amagarrus*: and 1 Pet. v. 4. *ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away, amagarrus*: both relating to the name of his everlasting amarant, which he has finely set near the tree of life. *Amarantus flos, symbolum est immortalitatis.* Clem. Alex. and. Hume.

In Paradise, fast by the tree of life,  
 Began to bloom ; but soon for man's offence 355  
 To heav'n remov'd, where first it grew, there grows,  
 And flow'rs aloft shading the fount of life,  
 And where the riv'er of bliss through midst of heaven  
 Rolls o'er Elysian flow'rs her amber stream ;  
 With these that never fade the spi'rits elect 360  
 Bind their resplendent locks inwreath'd with beams,  
 Now in loose garlands thick thrown off, the bright  
 Pavement, that like a sea of jasper shone,  
 Impurpled with celestial roses smil'd.

357. —*the fount of life, and river of bliss*] *Thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures, for with thee is the fountain of life*, Psal. xxxvi. 8, 9. *For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters*, Rev. vii. 17. and Rev. xxii. 1. *He shewed me a pure river of water of life*. Hume.

359. *Rolls o'er Elysian flow'rs her amber stream ;*] The author seems to intend much the same thing that he has expressed in iv. 240. where speaking of the brooks in Paradise he says, they

Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed

Flow'rs worthy of Paradise.

And as there they are flowers worthy of Paradise, so here they are worthy of *Elysium*, the region of the blessed: and he makes use of the same expression in his poem called l'Allegro,

From golden slumber on a bed  
 Of heap'd Elysian flow'rs.

He calls it *amber stream*, only

on account of its clearness and transparency. The clearness of amber was proverbial among the ancients; Callimachus in his hymn to Ceres, ver. 29. has *αλακτεριος ἰδωρ*; and in like manner Virgil says of a river, Georg. iii. 522.

Purior electro campum petit amnis.

360. *With these that never fade*] These may probably refer to *Elysian flowers* mentioned in the verse preceding.

363. —*like a sea of jasper stone,*] Jasper is a precious stone of several colours, but the green is most esteemed, and bears some similitude and resemblance to the colour of the sea.

364. *Impurpled with celestial roses smil'd.*] A word very familiar with Spenser from the Italian *imporporato*. Faery Queen, b. iii. cant. vii. st. 16.

Oft from the forest wildings he did bring,  
 Whose sides impurpled were smiling red.

Then crown'd again, their golden harps they took, 365  
 Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by their side  
 Like quivers hung, and with preamble sweet  
 Of charming symphony they introduce  
 Their sacred song, and waken raptures high ;  
 No voice exempt, no voice but well could join 370  
 Melodious part, such concord is in heaven.

Thee, Father, first they sung omnipotent,  
 Immutable, immortal, infinite,  
 Eternal King ; thee Author of all being,  
 Fountain of light, thyself invisible 375  
 Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sitt'st  
 Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st  
 The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud  
 Drawn round about thee like a radiant shrine  
 Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear, 380

Marino Ad. cant. iv. st. 291.

L'Hore spogliando de lor fregi i prati  
 Tutto di rose *imporporare* il Cielo.

*Thyer.*

372. *Thee, Father, first they sung &c.*] This hymn seems to be composed somewhat in the spirit and manner of the hymn to Hercules in the eighth book of the *Æneid* ; but is as much superior as the subject of the one transcends that of the other.

377. *Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st*] The word *but* here is the same as *except, unless ; inaccessible but when thou shad'st*, that is then only accessible, when thou shad'st &c. Perhaps Milton had in view what Ovid says of Phœbus when his son Phaeton came to him, *Met.* ii. 39.

—circum caput omne micantes  
 Deposuit radios, propiusque accedere  
 jussit.

*Pearce.*

I rather conclude that these ideas were suggested by the thirty-third chapter of *Exodus*, ver. 18. and the following passage which ends thus, *Thou shalt see my back parts, but my face shall not be seen.* Greenwood.

380. *Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,*] Milton has the same thought of darkness occasioned by glory, v. 599. *Brightness had made invisible.* This also explains his meaning here ; the excess of brightness had the effect of darkness, invisibility. What an idea of glory ! the skirts only not to be looked on by the beings nearest to God, but when doubly or trebly shaded

Yet dazzle heav'n, that brightest seraphim  
 Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.  
 Thee next they sang of all creation first,  
 Begotten Son, divine similitude,  
 In whose conspicuous count'nance, without cloud 385  
 Made visible, th' almighty Father shines,  
 Whom else no creature can behold; on thee  
 Impress'd th' effulgence of his glory' abides,  
 Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit rests.  
 He heav'n of heav'ns and all the pow'rs therein 390  
 By thee created, and by thee threw down  
 Th' aspiring dominations: thou that day

by a cloud and both wings.  
 What then is the full blaze!  
*Richardson.*

In like manner Tasso describing the Almighty in heaven,  
*cant. ix. st. 27.*

Quiv' ei così nel suo splendor s'in-  
 volge,  
 Che v' abbaglian la vista anco i più  
 degni.

The same thought in Spenser's  
 Hymn of Heavenly Beauty, but  
 more languidly expressed,

With the great glory of that won-  
 drous light  
 His throne is all encompassed around,  
 And hid in his own brightness from  
 the sight  
 Of all that look thereon &c.

*Thyer.*

382. *Approach not,*] So Ovid  
*Met. ii. 22.*

Consistitque procul, neque enim pro-  
 piora ferebat  
 Lumina.

*but with both wings veil their  
 eyes.* So they are represented in

Isaiah's vision of the throne of  
 God: *Above it stood the sera-  
 phims; each one had six wings;  
 with twain he covered his face,  
 &c. Isa. vi. 2.*

383. —[*of all creation first,*]  
 So in Col. i. 15. *the first-born of  
 every creature or of all creation,*  
*πρῶτος κτίσεως;* and Rev. iii. 14.  
*the beginning of the creation of  
 God.*

387. *Whom else no creature can  
 behold;*] No creature can other-  
 wise behold the Father but in  
 and through the Son. *No man  
 hath seen God at any time; the  
 only-begotten Son which is in the  
 bosom of the Father, he hath de-  
 clared him, John i. 18. But he  
 that hath seen me, hath seen the  
 Father, John xiv. 9.*

390. *Heav'n of heav'ns]* Mil-  
 ton frequently uses this expres-  
 sion, P. L. vii. 13, 553. xii. 451.  
 P. R. 1, 366, 410. Solomon uses  
 it, in his prayer at the dedication  
 of the temple, 1 Kings viii. 27.  
*Dunster.*



Thy Father's dreadful thunder didst not spare,  
 Nor stop thy flaming chariot wheels, that shook  
 Heav'n's everlasting frame, while o'er the necks 395  
 Thou drov'st of warring angels disarray'd.  
 Back from pursuit thy pow'rs with loud acclaim  
 Thee only' extoll'd, Son of thy Father's might,  
 To execute fierce vengeance on his foes,  
 Not so on Man : him through their malice fall'n, 400  
 Father of mercy' and grace, thou didst not doom  
 So strictly, but much more to pity' incline :  
 No sooner did thy dear and only Son  
 Perceive thee purpos'd not to doom frail Man  
 So strictly, but much more to pity' inclin'd, 405  
 He to appease thy wrath, and end the strife  
 Of mercy' and justice in thy face discern'd,  
 Regardless of the bliss wherein he sat  
 Second to thee, offer'd himself to die  
 For Man's offence. O unexampled love, 410  
 Love no where to be found less than divine !  
 Hail Son of God, Saviour of men, thy name  
 Shall be the copious matter of my song

398. *Thee only' extoll'd,*] We must not understand it thus, Thy Powers returning from pursuit extolled, &c. but Thy Powers extolled thee returning from pursuit, and *thee only*; for he was the sole victor, all the rest stood silent eye-witnesses of his almighty acts, vi. 880, &c. So perfectly doth this hymn of the good angels agree with the account given by Raphael in book vi. and whenever mention is made of the good angels joining in the pursuit, it is by the evil

angels, the reason of which see before in the note upon i. 169.

406. *He to appease thy wrath,*] *Than or but* must be understood before *He* to complete the sense. Such omissions are frequent in poetry.

413. —*the copious matter of my song*] The ending of this hymn is in imitation of the hymns of Homer and Callimachus, who always promise to return in future hymns. *Richardson.*

Henceforth, and never shall my harp thy praise  
Forget, nor from thy Father's praise disjoin. 415

Thus they in heav'n, above the starry sphere,  
Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent.  
Mean while upon the firm opacous globe  
Of this round world, whose first convex divides  
The luminous inferior orbs inclos'd 420  
From Chaos and th' inroad of Darkness old,  
Satan alighted walks : a globe far off  
It seem'd, now seems a boundless continent  
Dark, waste, and wild, under the frown of Night  
Starless expos'd, and ever-threat'ning storms 425  
Of Chaos blust'ring round, inclement sky ;  
Save on that side which from the wall of heaven,  
Though distant far, some small reflection gains  
Of glimmering air less vex'd with tempest loud :  
Here walk'd the Fiend at large in spacious field. 430  
As when a vulture on Imaus bred,

418. *Mean while upon the firm &c.*] Satan's walk upon the outside of the universe, which at a distance appeared to him of a globular form, but upon his nearer approach looked like an unbounded plain, is natural and noble : as his roaming upon the frontiers of the creation between that mass of matter, which was wrought into a world, and that shapeless unformed heap of materials, which still lay in chaos and confusion, strikes the imagination with something astonishingly great and wild. *Addison.*

431. *As when a vulture &c.*] This simile is very apposite and lively, and corresponds exactly

in all the particulars. Satan coming from hell to earth in order to destroy mankind, but lighting first on the bare convex of this world's outermost orb, *a sea of land*, as the poet calls it, is very fitly compared to a vulture flying, in quest of his prey, from the barren rocks to the more fruitful hills and streams of India, but lighting in his way on the plains of Sericana, which were in a manner *a sea of land too*, the country being so smooth and open that carriages were driven (as travellers report) with sails and wind. *Imaus* is a celebrated mountain in Asia ; its name signifies *snowy* in the language of

Whose snowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,  
 Dislodging from a region scarce of prey  
 To gorge the flesh of lambs or yeanling kids  
 On hills where flocks are fed, flies tow'ard the springs  
 Of Ganges or Hydaspes, Indian streams ; 436  
 But in his way lights on the barren plains  
 Of Sericana, where Chinese drive  
 With sails and wind their cany waggons light :  
 So on this windy sea of land, the Fiend 440  
 Walk'd up and down alone, bent on his prey ;  
 Alone, for other creature in this place

the inhabitants, according to Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 21. *incolarum linguam nivosum significante* ; and therefore it is said here *whose snowy ridge*. It is the boundary to the east of the Western Tartars, who are called *roving*, as they live chiefly in tents, and remove from place to place for the convenience of pasturage, their herds of cattle and what they take in hunting being their principal subsistence. *Ganges* and *Hydaspes* are famous rivers of India ; and *Serica* is a region betwixt China to the east and the mountain Imaus to the west : and what our author here says of the *Chinese*, he seems to have taken from Heylin's *Cosmography*, p. 867. where it is said, " Agreeable unto the observation of modern writers, the country is so plain and level, that they have carts and coaches driven with sails, as ordinarily as drawn with horses, in these parts." Our author supposes these carriages to be made of *cane*, to render the thing somewhat more probable.

442. — *in this place*] I have before spoken of the Limbo of Vanity, which the poet places upon the outermost surface of the universe, and shall here explain myself more at large on that, and other parts of the poem, which are of the same shadowy nature. Aristotle observes, that the fable of an epic poem should abound in circumstances that are both credible and astonishing ; or as the French critics choose to phrase it, the fable should be filled with the probable and the marvellous. This rule is as fine and just as any in Aristotle's whole art of poetry. If the fable is only probable, it differs nothing from a true history ; if it is only marvellous, it is no better than a romance. The great secret therefore of heroic poetry is to relate such circumstances, as may produce in the reader at the same time both belief and astonishment. This is brought to pass in a well-chosen fable, by the account of such things as have really happened, or at least of such things as have happened

Living or lifeless to be found was none ;  
None yet, but store hereafter from the earth

according to the received opinions of mankind. Milton's fable is a master-piece of this nature ; as the war in heaven, the condition of the fallen angels, the state of innocence, the temptation of the serpent, and the fall of man, though they are very astonishing in themselves, are not only credible, but actual points of faith. The next method of reconciling miracles with credibility, is by a happy invention of the poet ; as in particular, when he introduces agents of a superior nature, who are capable of effecting what is wonderful, and what is not to be met with in the ordinary course of things. Ulysses's ship being turned into a rock, and Æneas's fleet into a shoal of water-nymphs, though they are very surprising accidents, are nevertheless probable, when we are told that they were the gods who thus transformed them. It is this kind of machinery which fills the poems both of Homer and Virgil with such circumstances as are wonderful, but not impossible, and so frequently produce in the reader the most pleasing passion that can rise in the mind of man, which is admiration. If there be any instance in the *Æneid* liable to exception upon this account, it is in the beginning of the third book, where Æneas is represented as tearing up the myrtle that dropped blood. To qualify this wonderful circumstance, Polydorus tells a story from the root of the myrtle, that the barbarous inhabitants of

the country having pierced him with spears and arrows, the wood which was left in his body took root in his wounds, and gave birth to that bleeding tree. This circumstance seems to have the marvellous without the probable, because it is represented as proceeding from natural causes, without the interposition of any god, or other supernatural power capable of producing it. The spears and arrows grow of themselves, without so much as the modern help of an enchantment. If we look into the fiction of Milton's fable, though we find it full of surprising incidents, they are generally suited to our notions of the things and persons described, and tempered with a due measure of probability. I must only make an exception to the Limbo of Vanity, with his episode of Sin and Death, and some of the imaginary persons in his Chaos. These passages are astonishing, but not credible ; the reader cannot so far impose upon himself, as to see a possibility in them ; they are the description of dreams and shadows, not of things or persons. I know that many critics look upon the stories of Circe, Polypheme, the Sirens, nay the whole *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, to be allegories ; but allowing this to be true, they are fables, which considering the opinions of mankind that prevailed in the age of the poet, might possibly have been according to the letter. The persons are such as might have acted

Up hither like aerial vapours flew 445  
 Of all things transitory' and vain, when sin  
 With vanity had fill'd the works of men ;  
 Both all things vain, and all who in vain things  
 Built their fond hopes of glory' or lasting fame,  
 Or happiness in this or th' other life ; 450  
 All who have their reward on earth, the fruits  
 Of painful superstition and blind zeal,  
 Nought seeking but the praise of men, here find  
 Fit retribution, empty as their deeds ;  
 All th' unaccomplish'd works of Nature's hand, 455  
 Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mix'd,  
 Dissolv'd on earth, fleet hither, and in vain,  
 Till final dissolution, wander here,

what is ascribed to them, as the circumstances in which they are represented might possibly have been truths and realities. This appearance of probability is so absolutely requisite in the greater kinds of poetry, that Aristotle observes the ancient tragic writers made use of the names of such great men as had actually lived in the world, though the tragedy proceeded upon adventures they were never engaged in, on purpose to make the subject more credible. In a word, besides the hidden meaning of an epic allegory, the plain literal sense ought to appear probable. The story should be such as an ordinary reader may acquiesce in, whatever natural, moral, or political truth may be discovered in it by men of greater penetration. Addison.

443. —*lifeless*] Milton writes it *liveless* ; but I conceive the

word to be compounded of *less* and the substantive *life*, and not of the verb *live* ; *lifeless* without life, as *fearless* without fear, *listless* without list or desire, *peerless*, *ruthless*, *shapeless*, &c.

444. *None yet*, &c.] Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this verse and fifty-four more which follow as an insertion of the editor ; but I think there can be no doubt of their genuineness, whatever there may be of their goodness. Mr. Richardson thinks the *Paradise of Fools* is finely imagined, but it must be owned that it is formed more upon the taste of the Italian poets than of the ancients.

457. —*and in vain*,] To wander in vain as commonly understood would be a weak expression, but it has the force of the Greek *avrac*, the Latin, *frustrà*, *temerè*, *fortuitò*, *nullo consilio*, at random. Richardson.

Not in the neighb'ring moon, as some have dream'd ;  
 Those argent fields more likely habitants, 460  
 Translated saints, or middle spirits hold  
 Betwixt th' angelical and human kind.  
 Hither of ill-join'd sons and daughters born

459. *Not in the neighb'ring moon, as some have dream'd ;* ] Ariosto particularly, who in his Orlando Furioso, cant. xxxiv. st. 70, &c. gives a much larger description of things lost upon earth and treasured up in the moon, than our poet here makes of the Limbo of Vanity. The reader may have a taste of it in the following stanzas of Harrington's translation.

A store-house strange, that what on  
 earth is lost  
 By fault, by time, by fortune, there  
 is found,  
 And like a merchandise is there in-  
 grost,  
 In stranger sort than I can well ex-  
 pound ;  
 Nor speak I sole of wealth, or things  
 of cost,  
 In which blind fortune's pow'r doth  
 most sbound,  
 But e'en of things quite out of for-  
 tune's pow'r,  
 Which wilfully we waste each day  
 and hour.

The precious time that fools misspend  
 in play,  
 The vain attempts that never take  
 effect,  
 The vows that sinners make and  
 never pay,  
 The counsels wise that careless men  
 neglect,  
 The fond desires that lead us oft  
 astray,  
 The praises that with pride the heart  
 infect,  
 And all we lose with folly and mis-  
 spending,  
 May there be found unto this place  
 ascending.

And so he proceeds in enumerat-  
 ing other particulars, the vanity  
 of titles, false flatteries, fond  
 loves, great men's promises,  
 court-services, death-bed alms,  
 &c. and men's wits kept in jars  
 like oil. Our late great English  
 poet has likewise made fine use  
 of this notion in his Rape of the  
 Lock, cant. 5. as indeed it seems  
 to be fitter for a mock-heroic  
 poem than for the true epic.

Some thought it mounted to the  
 lunar sphere,  
 Since all things lost on earth are  
 treasur'd there, &c.

463. *Hither of ill-join'd sons and daughters born &c.* ] He means the sons of God ill-joined with the daughters of men, alluding to that text of Scripture, Gen. vi. 4. *There were giants in the earth in those days ; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bore children to them ; the same became mighty men, which were of old, men of renown :* where by the sons of God some fathers and commentators have understood angels, as if the angels had been enamoured and married to women ; but the true meaning is, that the posterity of Seth and other patriarchs, who were worshippers of the true God, and therefore called the sons of God, intermarried with the idolatrous posterity of wicked Cain.

First from the ancient world those giants came  
 With many a vain exploit, though then renown'd : 465  
 The builders next of Babel on the plain  
 Of Sennaar, and still with vain design  
 New Babels, had they wherewithal, would build :  
 Others came single ; he who to be deem'd  
 A God, leap'd fondly into Ætna flames, 470  
 Empedocles ; and he who to enjoy  
 Plato's Elysium, leap'd into the sea,  
 Cleombrotus ; and many more too long,

467. *Of Sennaar,*] Or Shinar, for they are both the same name of this province of Babylonia. But Milton follows the Vulgate, as he frequently does in the names of places.

471. *Empedocles ;*] The scholar of Pythagoras, a philosopher and poet, born at Agrigentum in Sicily: he wrote of the nature of things in Greek, as Lucretius did in Latin verse. He stealing one night from his followers threw himself into the flaming Ætna, that being no where to be found, he might be esteemed to be a God, and to be taken up into heaven; but his iron patens, being thrown out by the fury of the burning mountain, discovered his defeated ambition, and ridiculed his folly. *Hor. de Art. Pœt.* 664.

—Deus immortalis haberi  
 Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem  
 frigidus Ætnam  
 Insultit.

*Hume.*

473. *Cleombrotus ;*] The name is rightly placed the last word in the sentence, as *Empedocles*

was before. He was called Ambraciota of Ambracia, a city of Epirus in Greece. Having read over Plato's book of the Soul's immortality and happiness in another life, he was so ravished with the account of it, that he leaped from a high wall into the sea, that he might immediately enjoy it. His death is celebrated by Callimachus in one of his epigrams, Ep. 29. which we will subjoin, with Frischlinus's translation.

Εἶπας ὅλις χαιρεῖ, Κλειμβρότης ὦ 'μβερα-  
 κιωτης,  
 'Πλατ' ἀπ' ὀψήλου τυχίος εἰς αἶθ'α.  
 Ἀξον αὖτις δ'αὖτ' ἐκείνου κακοῖ, ἀλλὰ  
 Πλατωνος  
 'Εν το πνεύματι γαρμ' ἀνελξα-  
 μινος.

Phœbe vae dicens, de rupe Cleom-  
 brotus alia  
 Ambraciota, Stygis vivus adivit  
 aquas.

Funere nil dignum passus: solúmque  
 Platonis

De vita mentis perpete legit opus.

And from hence other authors seem to have taken his story, as Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 34. and Ovid, *Ibis.* ver. 493.

473. —and many more too

O

VOL. I.

Embryos and idiots, eremites and friars  
 White, black, and gray, with all their trumpery. 475  
 Here pilgrims roam, that stray'd so far to seek  
 In Golgotha him dead, who lives in heaven ;  
 And they who to be sure of Paradise  
 Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,  
 Or in Franciscan think to pass disguis'd ; 480  
 They pass the planets sev'n, and pass the fix'd,  
 And that crystalline sphere whose balance weighs

*long,] Poorly and deficiently expressed for, and more too long to name. Bentley.*

It seems as if a line were by mistake of the printer left out here. *Pearce.*

A very ingenious person questions, whether Milton by this appearance of inaccuracy and negligence did not design to express his contempt of their *trumpery* as he calls it, by hustling it all together in this disorder and confusion. Compare *Paradise Regained*, ii. 182.

—to way-lay

Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,  
 Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,  
 Or Anyone, Syrinx, many more  
 Too long, then lay'st thy scapes on  
 names ador'd.

475. *White, black, and gray,]*  
 So named according to their habits, white friars or Carmelites, black friars or Dominicans, gray friars or Franciscans, of their founders St. Francis and St. Dominic, and of mount Carmel, where that order pretend they were first instituted. Our author here, as elsewhere, shews his dislike and abhorrence of the Church of Rome, by placing the

religious orders *with all their trumpery*, cowls, hoods, reliques, beads, &c. in the Paradise of Fools, and not only placing them there, but making them the principal figures.

476. *Here pilgrims &c.]* Those who had gone upon pilgrimages to the Holy Land, to visit our Lord's sepulchre: but to such persons that may be said, which was to the women after his resurrection, Luke xxiv. 5, 6. *Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen;* to which text our author seems to allude in this passage.

482. *And that crystalline sphere &c.]* He speaks here according to the ancient astronomy, adopted and improved by Ptolemy. *They pass the planets sev'n*, our planetary or solar system, and beyond this *pass the fix'd*, the firmament or sphere of the fixed stars, and beyond this *that crystalline sphere*, the crystalline heaven, clear as crystal, to which the Ptolemaics attributed a sort of libration or shaking (the *trepidation* so much talked of) to account for certain irregularities in the motion of the stars, and



The trepidation talk'd, and that first mov'd ;  
 And now Saint Peter at heav'n's wicket seems  
 To wait them with his keys, and now at foot 485  
 Of heav'n's ascent they lift their feet, when lo  
 A violent cross wind from either coast  
 Blows them transverse ten thousand leagues awry  
 Into the devious air ; then might ye see

beyond this *that first moved*, the primum mobile, the sphere which was both the first moved and the first mover, communicating its motions to all the lower spheres ; and beyond this was the empyrean heaven, the seat of God and the angels. This passage may receive some farther light and illustration from another of the same nature in Tasso, where he describes the descent of the archangel Michael from heaven, and mentions this crystalline and all the other spheres but only inverting the order, as there the motion is downwards, and here it is upwards, cant. ix. st. 60, 61.

*Passa il foco, e la luce &c.*

60.

He pass'd the light, and shining fire  
 assign'd  
 The glorious seat of his selected  
 crew,  
 The mover first, and circle crystal-  
 line,  
 The firmament where fixed stars all  
 shine.

61.

Unlike in working then in shape and  
 show,  
 At his left hand, Saturn he left and  
 Jove,  
 And those untruly errant call'd I  
 trow,  
 Since he errs not who them doth  
 guide and move. *Fairfax.*

And when our poet mentions *St. Peter at heav'n's wicket with his keys*, he certainly intends (as Mr. Thyer observes) to ridicule the fond conceit of the Romanists, that St. Peter and his successors are in a particular manner entrusted with the keys of heaven. And he makes use of the low phrase of *heaven's wicket*, the better to expose the notions of those whom he places here in the Paradise of Fools.

482. Milton perpetually recurs to these expressions, *the crystal spheres, crystalline sky, &c.* See *Ode on the Nativ. st. xiii. v. 125. In Obitem Pras. El. 63. Par. Lost, i. 741. vi. 756, 771, 860. P. R. i. 81.* And so Spenser, *Tears of the Muses, viii.*

From hence we mount aloft unto the  
 skie,  
 And looke into the *crystall* firmament.  
*T. Warton.*

489. —*then might ye see*] This is one of the passages which furnishes Dr. Bentley here with objections against fifty-five verses of Milton. To the words *might ye see*, he says, how could any one of his readers see them, unless he is himself supposed a fool? But was not Satan there? and he is no fool in this poem: it is one thing to be there as an

Cowls, hoods, and habits with their wearers tost 490  
 And flutter'd into rags, then reliques, beads,  
 Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,  
 The sport of winds : all these upwhirl'd aloft  
 Fly o'er the backside of the world far off  
 Into a Limbo large and broad, since call'd 495  
 The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown  
 Long after, now unpeopled, and untrod.  
 All this dark globe the Fiend found as he pass'd,  
 And long he wander'd, till at last a gleam  
 Of dawning light turn'd thither-ward in haste 500  
 His travell'd steps : far distant he descries  
 Ascending by degrees magnificent  
 Up to the wall of heav'n a structure high ;  
 At top whereof, but far more rich appear'd  
 The work as of a kingly palace gate, 505

inhabitant, and another as a spectator. Milton means if any body was present there so as to be able to see what passed, he would see *cowls, hoods, &c.* It is very common among poets to talk thus to their readers ; *Then might ye see* is no more than *Then might be seen.* See Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 676. *Pearce.*

This manner of speaking, which puts the second person indefinitely, is very frequent among the poets, as Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 401.

*Migrantes cernas—*

upon which Servius says, *Honesta figura si rem tertie personæ in secundam transferas. Mugire videbis, Æn.* iv. 490. that is, *videbit aut poterit videre aliquis. Æn.* viii. 691.

—*pelago credas innare revulas Cycladas ;* that is, *Credat quis.*

See Cowley's *Davideis* ii. note 17.

493. *The sport of winds :*] *Ludibria ventis.* Virg. *Æn.* vi. 75.

495. *Into a Limbo large and broad,]* The *Limbus patrum*, as it is called, is a place that the Schoolmen supposed to be in the neighbourhood of hell, where the souls of the patriarchs were detained, and those good men who died before our Saviour's resurrection. Our author gives the same name to his Paradise of Fools, and more rationally places it beyond the backside of the world.

501. *His travell'd steps :*] Tired steps, from *travagliato* (Italian.) *Richardson.*

With frontispiece of diamond and gold  
 Embellish'd ; thick with sparkling orient gems  
 The portal shone, inimitable on earth  
 By model, or by shading pencil drawn.  
 The stairs were such as whereon Jacob saw  
 Angels ascending and descending, bands  
 Of guardians bright, when he from Esau fled  
 To Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz  
 Dreaming by night under the open sky,

510

506. *With frontispiece of diamond and gold*] Imitated from Ovid, Met. ii. 1.

*Regia solis erat sublimibus alta columnis,*

*Clara micante auro, flammasque imitante pyropo.*

The sun's bright palace, on high columns rais'd,

With burnish'd gold and flaming jewels blaz'd. *Addison.*

507. —*with sparkling orient gems*] Dr. Bentley would read *ardent gems*, because *orient* is proper to say upon earth only: but since the best gems come from the East-Indies, it may be allowed to Milton to mean by *orient gems* no more than the best and most precious ones. Milton very frequently uses the word *orient* in such a sense as this. Poets, who write of things out of this world, must use epithets and metaphors drawn from things in this world, if they would make themselves understood. *Pearce.*

Why do not then the blossoms of the field,

Which are array'd with much more orient hue.

*Spenser's Hymn of Beauty.*

I have transcribed these lines to

defend, against Dr. Bentley's remark, Milton's application of the word *orient*. *Thyer.*

510. *The stairs*, the degrees mentioned before, ver. 502. *were such as whereon Jacob saw &c.*] A comparison fetched from Gen. xxviii. 12, 13. *And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set upon the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it; and behold the Lord stood above it, &c.* But this line,

*To Padan-Aram in the field of Luz*, must not be understood as if *Padan-Aram* was in the field of *Luz*; but he was flying to *Padan-Aram* or the country of *Aram*, that is, Syria; and by the way rested and dreamed this dream in the field of *Luz*, for so the adjoining city was called at the first; Jacob upon this occasion gave it the name of *Bethel*, by which it was better known afterwards. The passage was wrong pointed in all the editions, for there should be no comma after *Luz*: the comma should be after *Padan-Aram*, in the field of *Luz* being to be joined on to *dreaming* in the next verse.

And waking cried, This is the gate of heaven. 515  
 Each stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood  
 There always, but drawn up to heav'n sometimes  
 Viewless; and underneath a bright sea flow'd  
 Of jasper, or of liquid pearl, whereon  
 Who after came from earth, sailing arriv'd 520  
 Wafted by angels, or flew o'er the lake  
 Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds.  
 The stairs were then let down, whether to dare  
 The Fiend by easy' ascent, or aggravate  
 His sad exclusion from the doors of bliss : 525  
 Direct against which open'd from beneath,  
 Just o'er the blissful seat of Paradise,  
 A passage down to th' earth, a passage wide,

518. —*viewless* ;] An epithet almost peculiar to Milton. He has it in the *Ode on the Passion*, st. viii. and *Comus*, 92. Shakespeare however has the " *viewless winds*." T. Warton.

518. —*and underneath a bright sea flow'd*] The author himself explains this, in the argument of this book, to be meant of the water above the firmament. He mentions it again vii. 619. *Heylin*.

521. *Wafted by angels, &c.*] As Lazarus was carried by angels, Luke xvi. 22; and Elijah was rapt up in a chariot of fire and horses of fire, 2 Kings ii. 11.

522. *Rapt*] Browne in his Pastorals has the verb *rape* often. And Drayton, Ecl. v. Milton frequently uses the participle *rapt*, sometimes as in this place, and P. R. ii. 40, in its literal sense; he took it perhaps from the Italian. Thus Berni, Orl.

Inam. l. i. c. xxv. 42. *Rapito* in Paradiso. T. Warton.

525. —*doors*] Milton writes this word *dore* and *dores* except only in one instance in i. 504. of the second edition, which he altered from the first edition: but the other approaches nearer in sound to the original word, if it be derived from the Saxon *duru*, the German *dure*, *dura*, *tura*; and all as Junius says from the Greek *θυρα*, *janua*. And yet I think we commonly pronounce it *dore*, though we constantly write it *door*. But in all such cases we want an advantage, that the French have enjoyed, of an academy to fix and settle our language. Some proposals were made for erecting such an academy to the late Lord Treasurer Oxford at the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne; and it is a pity they were never carried into execution.

Wider by far than that of after times  
 Over mount Sion, and, though that were large, 530  
 Over the promis'd land to God so dear,  
 By which, to visit oft those happy tribes,  
 On high behests his angels to and fro  
 Pass'd frequent, and his eye with choice regard  
 From Paneas the fount of Jordan's flood 535  
 To Beërsaba, where the holy land  
 Borders on Egypt and th' Arabian shore ;  
 So wide the opening seem'd, where bounds were set  
 To darkness such as bound the ocean wave.  
 Satan from hence, now on the lower stair 540

534. —and his eye with choice regard] Dr. Pearce thinks that after regard a verse seems to be wanting to describe what his eye did with choice regard: but it may be understood thus, his eye passed frequent, as well as his angels to and fro on high behests or commands, and surveyed from Paneas, a city at the foot of a mountain of the same name, part of mount Libanus, where the river Jordan has its source, to Beërsaba or Beersheba, that is, the whole extent of the Promised Land, from Paneas in the north to Beersaba in the south, where the Holy Land is bounded by Egypt and Arabia. The limits of the Holy Land are thus expressed in Scripture, from Dan even unto Beersheba, Dan at the northern and Beersheba at the southern extremity; and the city that was called Dan was afterwards named Paneas. So wide the opening seemed, that is, so wide as I have represented it,

wider than the passage over mount Sion and the Promised Land; So wide the opening seemed, where the same divine power fixed the limits of darkness, that said to the proud ocean, *Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther.*

540. Satan from hence, &c.] Satan, after having long wandered upon the surface, or outermost wall of the universe, discovers at last a wide gap in it, which led into the creation, and is described as the opening through which the angels pass to and fro into the lower world upon their errands to mankind. His sitting upon the brink of this passage, and taking a survey of the whole face of nature that appeared to him new and fresh in all its beauties, with the simile illustrating this circumstance, fills the mind of the reader with as surprising and glorious an idea as any that arises in the whole poem. He looks down into that vast hollow

That scal'd by steps of gold to heaven gate,  
 Looks down with wonder at the sudden view  
 Of all this world at once. As when a scout  
 Through dark and desert ways with peril gone  
 All night, at last by break of cheerful dawn 545  
 Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill,  
 Which to his eye discovers unaware .  
 The goodly prospect of some foreign land  
 First seen, or some renown'd metropolis  
 With glist'ring spires and pinnacles adorn'd, 550  
 Which now the rising sun gilds with his beams :  
 Such wonder seiz'd, though after heaven seen,  
 The Spi'rit malign, but much more envy seiz'd,  
 At sight of all this world beheld so fair.  
 Round he surveys (and well might, where he stood 555

of the universe, with the eye, or (as Milton calls it) with the ken of an angel. He surveys all the wonders in this immense amphitheatre that lie between both the poles of heaven, and takes in at one view the whole round of the creation. Addison.

555. *Round he surveys &c.*] Satan is here represented as taking a view of the whole creation from east to west, and then from north to south; but poetry delights to say the most common things in an uncommon manner. *Round he surveys as well he might* in his present situation, *so high above the circling canopy of night's extended shade*. In this situation then *he surveys from eastern point of Libra*, one of the twelve signs exactly opposite to Aries, *to the fleecy star*, Aries or the Ram, that is, from east to west, for

when Libra rises in the east, Aries sets full west; and Aries is said to *bear Andromeda*, because that constellation represented as a woman is placed just over Aries, and therefore when Aries sets he seems to bear Andromeda *far off Atlantic seas*, the great western ocean, *beyond the horizon; then from pole to pole he views in breadth*, that is, from north to south, and that is said to be *in breadth*, because the ancients knowing more of the earth from east to west than from north to south, and so having a much greater journey one way than the other, one was called length or longitude, the other breadth or latitude. It is fine, as it is natural, to represent Satan as taking a view of the world before he threw himself into it.

So high above the circling canopy  
 Of night's extended shade) from eastern point  
 Of Libra to the fleecy star that bears  
 Andromeda far off Atlantic seas  
 Beyond th' horizon ; then from pole to pole 560  
 He views in breadth, and without longer pause  
 Down right into the world's first region throws  
 His flight precipitant, and winds with ease

562. *Down right into the world's* &c.] Satan, after having surveyed the whole creation, immediately *without longer pause* throws himself into it, and is described as making two different motions. At first he drops down perpendicularly some way into it, *down right into the world's first region throws his flight precipitant*, and afterwards *winds his oblique way*, turns and winds this way and that, if he might any where espy the seat of man ; for though in ver. 527. it is said that the passage was *just over Paradise*, yet it is evident that Satan did not know it, and therefore as it was natural for him to do, winds about in search of it *through the pure marble air*. The first epithet *pure* determines the sense of the second, and shews why the air is compared to *marble*, namely for its clearness and whiteness, without any regard to its hardness : and the word *marmor*, *marble*, is derived from a Greek word *μαρμαριον*, that signifies to shine and glisten. And as Milton uses the expression of the *marble air*, so Virgil does likewise of the *marble sea*, Georg. i. 284.

Et quando infidum remis impellere  
*marmor*  
 Conveniat :

And Æn. vi. 729.

Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub  
 æquore pontus :

And elsewhere he calls Orpheus's neck *marble*, Georg. iv. 523.

Tum quoque marmorea caput a cer-  
 vice revulsam.

And Ovid in like manner speaks of Narcissus's *marble hands*, Met. iii. 481.

Nudaque marmoris percussit pectora  
 palmis.

And a famous poet of our own (Waller) has said in his verses upon his mistress's passing through a crowd of people ;

The yielding *marble* of a snowy breast.

And what is nearer to our purpose, Othello in Shakespeare is represented as swearing, act iii.

—Now by yond *marble* heaven.

It is common with the ancients, and those who write in the spirit and manner of the ancients, in their metaphors and similies, if they agree in the main circumstance, to have no regard to lesser particulars.

Through the pure marble air his oblique way  
 Amongst innumerable stars, that shone 565  
 Stars distant, but nigh hand seem'd other worlds ;  
 Or other worlds they seem'd, or happy isles,  
 Like those Hesperian gardens fam'd of old,  
 Fortunate fields, and groves, and flow'ry vales,  
 Thrice happy isles, but who dwelt happy there 570  
 He stay'd not to enquire : above them all  
 The golden sun in splendor likest heaven  
 Allur'd his eye : thither his course he bends  
 Through the calm firmament, (but up or down,

568. *Like those Hesperian gardens*] So called of *Hesperus*, *Vesper*, because placed in the west under the evening star. Those famous gardens were the isles about Cape Verd in Africa, whose most western point is still called *Hesperium cornu*. Others will have them the Canaries. *Hume*.

568. Milton frequently alludes to the Hesperides or to their gardens. See P. L. iv. 520. viii. 631. P. R. ii. 357. *Comus*, 392. and 982. See the notes on *Comus* 982. *T. Warton*.

573. —*thither his course he bends &c.*] His flight between the several worlds that shined on every side of him, with the particular description of the sun, are set forth in all the wantonness of a luxuriant imagination. His shape, speech, and behaviour upon his transforming himself into an angel of light, are touched with exquisite beauty. The poet's thought of directing Satan to the sun, which in the vulgar opinion of mankind is the most conspicuous part of the

creation, and the placing in it an angel, is a circumstance finely contrived, and the more adjusted to a poetical probability, as it was a received doctrine among the most famous philosophers, that every orb had its *Intelligence*, and as an apostle in sacred writ is said to have seen such an angel in the sun. *Addison*.

574. —(*but up or down,  
 By centre, or eccentric, hard to  
 tell,  
 Or longitude,*)

These words (as Dr. Pearce observes) should be included in a parenthesis, and then the construction of the rest will be plain and easy. Satan had now passed the fixed stars, and was directing his course towards the sun ; but it is hard to tell (says the poet) whether his course was *up or down*, that is north or south, for so *up and down* signifies in ix. 78. and x. 675. the north being uppermost in our globes.

—*hic vertex nobis semper sublimis :*  
*Virg. Georg. l. 242.*



By centre, or eccentric, hard to tell, 575.  
 Or longitude,) where the great luminary  
 Aloof the vulgar constellations thick,  
 That from his lordly eye keep distance due,  
 Dispenses light from far; they as they move  
 Their starry dance in numbers that compute 580  
 Days months and years, tow'ards his all-cheering lamp  
 Turn swift their various motions, or are turn'd  
 By his magnetic beam, that gently warms  
 The universe, and to each inward part  
 With gentle penetration, though unseen, 585  
 Shoots invisible virtue ev'n to the deep;  
 So wond'rously was set his station bright.  
 There lands the Fiend, a spot like which perhaps  
 Astronomer in the sun's lucent orb  
 Through his glaz'd optic tube yet never saw. 590  
 The place he found beyond expression bright,  
 Compar'd with ought on earth, metal or stone;  
 Not all parts like, but all alike inform'd

or whether it was *by centre, or eccentric*, towards the centre, or from the centre, it not being determined whether the sun is the centre of the world or not; or whether it was *by longitude*, that is in length, east or west, as appears from iv. 539. and vii. 373.

580. —in numbers] That is, in measures. Richardson.

586. Shoots invisible virtue ev'n to the deep;] Milton frequently in the beginning of a verse chooses this artificial negligence of measure: so in ii. 302, 880. iii. 358. xi. 79, 377. Pearce.

590. Through his glaz'd optic

tube] The spots in the sun are visible with a telescope: but astronomer perhaps never yet saw *through his glazed optic tube*, that is his telescope, such a spot as Satan now he was in the sun's orb. The poet mentions this glass the oftener in honour of Galileo, whom he means here by the astronomer.

592. —metal or stone;] In the first editions it is *medal or stone*; it ought to be read *metal or stone*, as both *metal* and *stone* are repeated afterwards; ver. 595. *If metal*, so and so; and ver. 596. *If stone*, so and so.

593. Not all parts like, &c.]

With radiant light, as glowing ir'on with fire ;  
 If metal, part seem'd gold, part silver clear ; 595  
 If stone, carbuncle most or chrysolite,  
 Ruby or topaz, to the twelve that shone  
 In Aaron's breast-plate, and a stone besides  
 Imagin'd rather oft than elsewhere seen,  
 That stone, or like to that which here below 600  
 Philosophers in vain so long have sought,  
 In vain, though by their pow'rful art they bind

Ovid has given us a description of the palace of the sun, but few have described the sun himself : and I know not whether our author has shewn more fancy or more judgment in the description. An ordinary poet would in all probability have insisted chiefly upon its excessive heat ; but that was nothing to Satan who was come from the hotter region of hell ; and therefore Milton judiciously omits it, and enlarges upon the riches of the place, the gold and silver and precious stones which abounded therein, and by these means exhibit a pleasing picture instead of a disagreeable one.

597. —*to the twelve that shone &c.]* There is very good reason to think that *four* of the twelve stones in Aaron's breastplate are here mentioned. For what we translate the *sardius*, Exod. xxviii. 17. is rendered in the margin of our Bibles the *ruby* : and what we call the *beryl*, Exod. xxviii. 20. the Seventy, the Vulgate, and most of the versions, and Josephus, and many others, take for a *chrysolite*. The passage may be understood thus

without any alteration, Ruby or topaz *to the twelve*, that is, and *all the rest reckoning to the twelve*, that shone in Aaron's breast-plate. The poet had particularly mentioned some of the stones in Aaron's breastplate, and now he includes all the rest *to the number twelve*. Such a concise manner of speaking is not unusual with our author.

602. —*though by their pow'rful art they bind &c.]* Though by their powerful art they bind and fix quicksilver, and change their matter, unbound, unfixed, into as many various shapes as Proteus, till it be reduced at last to its first original form. *Hermes*, another word for Mercury or quicksilver, which is very fluid, and volatile, and hard to be fixed. *Proteus*, a sea-god, who could transform himself into various shapes, till being closely pressed he returned to his own proper form. By this the ancients understood the first principle of things and the subject-matter of nature ; and our poet therefore very fitly employs this metaphor or similitude to express the matter, which the chemists make

Volatile Hermes, and call up unbound  
 In various shapes old Proteus from the sea,  
 Drain'd through a limbec to his native form. 605  
 What wonder then if fields and regions here  
 Breathe forth elixir pure, and rivers run  
 Potable gold, when with one virtuous touch  
 Th' arch-chemic sun, so far from us remote,  
 Produces, with terrestrial humour mix'd, 610  
 Here in the dark so many precious things  
 Of colour glorious, and effect so rare ?  
 Here matter new to gaze the devil met  
 Undazzled ; far and wide his eye commands ;  
 For sight no obstacle found here, nor shade, 615  
 But all sun-shine, as when his beams at noon

experiments upon through all its  
 mutations, and which they drain  
 through their limbecs or stills,  
 till it resume its native and ori-  
 ginal form.

606. *What wonder then, &c.]*  
 And if chemists can do so much,  
 what wonder then if in the sun  
 itself is the true philosopher's  
 stone, the grand elixir, and rivers  
 of liquid gold ; when the sun,  
 the chief of chemists, though at  
 so great a distance, can perform  
 such wonders upon earth, and  
 produce so many precious things ?  
 The thought of making the sun  
 the chief chemist or alchemist  
 seems to be taken from Shake-  
 speare, King John, act iii.

To solemnize this day, the glorious  
 sun  
 Stays in his course, and plays the  
 alchemist,  
 Turning with splendor of his precious  
 eye

The meagre cloddy earth to glittering  
 gold.

606. —and regions here] See  
 my note on ii. 362. *Pearce.*

616. —as when his beams at  
 noon

*Culminate from th' equator, as  
 they now*

*Shot upward still direct.]*

The first *as* is used by way of si-  
 militude, in the sense of *like as* ;  
 There was no shadow but all  
 sun-shine, like *as when his beams  
 at noon culminate from the equator*,  
 that is, are vertical and shoot di-  
 rectly from the equator, which  
 is the reason why those who live  
 under the equator, under the line,  
 are called *Ascii*, and at noon cast  
 no shadows. The other *as* is  
 used by way of reason, in the  
 sense of *for as much as* ; There  
 was no shadow but all sun-shine,  
 for as much as his beams shot now  
 directly upward.

Culminate from th' equator, as they now  
 Shot upward still direct, whence no way round  
 Shadow from body opaque can fall ; and th' air  
 No where so clear, sharpen'd his visual ray 620  
 To objects distant far, whereby he soon  
 Saw within ken a glorious angel stand,  
 The same whom John saw also in the sun :  
 His back was turn'd, but not his brightness hid ;  
 Of beaming sunny rays a golden tiar 625  
 Circled his head, nor less his locks behind  
 Illustrious on his shoulders sledge with wings  
 Lay waving round ; on some great charge employ'd  
 He seem'd, or fix'd in cogitation deep.  
 Glad was the spi'rit impure, as now in hope 630  
 To find who might direct his wand'ring flight  
 To Paradise the happy seat of Man,  
 His journey's end and our beginning woe.  
 But first he casts to change his proper shape,

623. *The same whom John saw also in the sun :* And I saw an angel standing in the sun. Rev. xix. 17.

625. —*a golden tiar*] A golden coronet of shining rays circled his head, yet nevertheless did not hinder his lovely locks, that hung behind over his shoulders adorned with wings, from waving themselves into curls and rings. *Tiar* of *Tiara*, the Persian word for a round cap, high and ending in a point, the usual covering and ornament the eastern princes wore on their heads. *Hume*.

627. —*sledge with wings*] We now commonly say *fledged*, but our author uses *fledge* again in

vii. 420. *but feathered soon and fledged* &c. He prefers it doubtless as of a softer sound ; and there are several such words that want mollifying in our language.

628. —*employ'd*] Milton constantly spells this word *employ'd*, but the French word from whence it is derived is *employer*.

634. *But first he casts* &c.] He considers. The metaphor seems to be taken from casting the eye around every way. Spenser has the same expression, Faery Queen, b. i. cant. xi. st. 40.

He cast at once him to avenge for all.  
 And Milton himself again, xii. 43. *Richardson*.

Which else might work him danger or delay : 635  
 And now a stripling cherub he appears,  
 Not of the prime, yet such as in his face  
 Youth smil'd celestial, and to every limb  
 Suitable grace diffus'd, so well he feign'd :  
 Under a coronet his flowing hair 640  
 In curls on either cheek play'd ; wings he wore  
 Of many a colour'd plume sprinkled with gold,  
 His habit fit for speed succinct, and held

634. Spenser has the word in this sense very frequently; F. Q. i. ii. 37. i. vi. 3. i. ix. 15. and in many other places. It is hence that in hunting a hound is said to make a *cast*. *Forecast* is the same word, see *Sams. Agon.* 254. and *Comus*, 360. *T. Warton*.

636. —a *stripling cherub*] The evil spirit, the better to disguise his purpose, assumes the appearance of a stripling cherub, not of one of those of the prime order and dignity, for such could not so well be supposed to be ignorant of what Satan wanted now to be informed. And a finer picture of a young angel could not be drawn by the pencil of Raphael than is here by the pen of Milton. In Spenser there is a similar description of a young angel, Faery Queen, b. ii. cant. viii. st. 5.

Beside his head there sat a fair  
 young man,  
 Of wondrous beauty, and of freshest  
 years,  
 Whose tender bud to blossom new  
 began,  
 And flourish fair above his equal  
 peers :  
 His snowy front curled with golden  
 hairs,  
 Like Phoebus' face adorned with  
 sunny rays,

Divinely shone; and two sharp  
 winged shears,  
 Decked with diverse plumes, like  
 painted jays,  
 Were fixed at his back, to cut his  
 airy ways.

In Tasso likewise, when the angel Gabriel is sent to rouse the Christian army, he appears as a stripling, cant. i. st. 13.

Tra giovane, e fanciullo età confine  
 Prese, et ornò di raggi il blondo crine.  
 A stripling seem'd he thrice five  
 winters old,  
 And radiant beams adorn'd his locks  
 of gold. *Fairfax*.

But there doth not seem to be any particular reason for it in that place, as there is in the passage before us.

636. Dr. Newton is certainly mistaken in supposing that the poet means a cherub "not of the prime order or dignity." He is describing a cherub in the figure, and with the beauty, of a stripling. *Prime* is opposed to *stripling*. Compare *Comus*, 289.

Were they of manly prime, or youth-  
 ful bloom ?

*T. Warton*.

643. *His habit fit for speed succinct,*] If the author meant

Before his decent steps a silver wand.

He drew not nigh unheard; the angel bright, 645

Ere he drew nigh, his radiant visage turn'd,

Admonish'd by his ear, and straight was known

Th' archangel Uriel, one of the seven

Who in God's presence, nearest to his throne,

Stand ready at command, and are his eyes 650

That run through all the heav'ns, or down to th' earth

Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,

that Satan had clothes on as well as wings, it is contrary to his usual manner of representing the angels; but I rather understand it that the *wings he wore* were his *habit*, and they were certainly a habit *fit for speed succinct*, but *succinct* I understand with Dr. Pearce, not in its first and literal sense *girded or tucked up*; but in the metaphorical sense, *ready and prepared*; as Fabius in Inst. Orat. ii. 2. says, *Præni succinctique &c.*

644. *His decent steps*] The word *decent* in its common acceptance in our language will, I think, scarcely come up to what our poet is here describing, and therefore we ought in justice to him to recur to its Latin original. Hor. Od. iii. xxvii. 55.

*Antequam turpis macies decentes  
Occupet malas.*

*Thyer.*

650. —*and are his eyes &c.*] An expression borrowed from Zech. iv. 10. *Those seven, they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth.* The Jews therefore believed there were seven principal angels, who were the captains

and leaders as it were of the heavenly host. See Tobit xii. 15. Rev. i. 4. v. 6. viii. 2.

652. *Bear his swift errands*] *Errand* was not yet uniformly a vulgar word. It frequently occurs in Par. Lost, sometimes used seriously, as in this place, and again vii. 573. *On errands of supernal grace*: and so in Sams. Agon. 1285.

Swift as the lightning glance he executes

His errand on the wicked.

And in Comus, 506. Yet in many instances with a dash of the ludicrous and contemptuous, b. ii. 827. I go this uncouth *errand* sole. iv. 795. *On errand* bad no doubt. And so, b. x. 41. And even perhaps in the sublime address of Beelzebub to Satan, b. i. 152.

Here in the heart of hell to work in  
fire

Or do his *errands* in the gloomy deep

In Shakespeare it occurs exactly in its present familiar acceptance. Jul. Cas. act iv. sc. 1.

This is a slight unmeritable man  
Meet to be sent on *errands*.

*T. Warton.*

O'er sea and land : him Satan thus accosts.

Uriel, for thou of those seven spi'rits that stand  
 In sight of God's high throne, gloriously bright, 655  
 The first art wont his great authentic will  
 Interpreter through highest heav'n to bring,  
 Where all his sons thy embassy attend ;  
 And here art likeliest by supreme decree  
 Like honour to obtain, and as his eye 660  
 To visit oft this new creation round ;  
 Unspeakable desire to see, and know  
 All these his wondrous works, but chiefly Man,  
 His chief delight and favour, him for whom  
 All these his works so wondrous he ordain'd, 665  
 Hath brought me from the quires of cherubim  
 Alone thus wand'ring. Brightest seraph, tell  
 In which of all these shining orbs hath Man  
 His fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none,  
 But all these shining orbs his choice to dwell ; 670  
 That I may find him, and with secret gaze  
 Or open admiration him behold,

654. *Uriel,*] His name is derived from two Hebrew words, which signify *God is my light*. He is mentioned as a good angel in the second book of Esdras, chapters 4 and 5 ; and the Jews and some Christians conceive him to be an angel of light according to his name, and therefore he has properly his station in the sun.

663. —but chiefly *Man*,

*His chief delight and favour, him for whom &c.]*

Dr. Bentley reads *and favourite, for whom*, and says that *Man his chief favour* is not English. But,

as Dr. Pearce replies, by *favour* surely may be meant the object of his favour ; as by *delight* is plainly meant not his delight itself, but the object of his delight. And, as Mr. Upton observes, it is only using the abstract for the concrete. So Terence uses *scelus* for *scelustus*. Andriæ, act. v. *Scelus quem hic laudat*. And Virgil, *Æn.* v. 541.

*Nec bonus Eurytio prælato invidit honori.*

*honor* is the honourable person, *prælato* which was preferred before him.

On whom the great Creator hath bestow'd  
 Worlds, and on whom hath all these graces pour'd ;  
 That both in him and all things, as is meet, 675  
 The universal Maker we may praise ;  
 Who justly hath driv'n out his rebel foes  
 To deepest hell, and to repair that loss  
 Created this new happy race of men  
 To serve him better : wise are all his ways. 680

So spake the false dissembler unperceiv'd ;  
 For neither man nor angel can discern  
 Hypocrisy, the only' evil that walks  
 Invisible, except to God alone,  
 By his permissive will, through heav'n and earth : 685  
 And oft though Wisdom wake, Suspicion sleeps  
 At Wisdom's gate, and to Simplicity  
 Resigns her charge, while Goodness thinks no ill  
 Where no ill seems : which now for once beguil'd  
 Uriel, though regent of the sun, and held 690

678. —*that loss*] This is Milton's own reading in both his editions. Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton read not so well *their loss*.

683. *Hypocrisy, &c.*] What is said here of hypocrisy is censured as a digression, but it seems no more than is absolutely necessary ; for otherwise it might be thought very strange, that the evil spirit should pass undiscovered by the archangel Uriel, the regent of the sun, and the sharpest-sighted spirit in heaven, and therefore the poet endeavours to account for it by saying, that hypocrisy cannot be discerned by man or angel, it is invisible to all but God, &c. But yet the evil

spirit did not pass wholly undiscovered, for though Uriel was not aware of him now, yet he found reason to suspect him afterwards from his furious gestures in the mount.

686. *And oft though Wisdom wake, &c.*] He must be very critically splenetic indeed, who will not pardon this little digressional observation. There is not in my opinion a nobler sentiment, or one more poetically expressed, in the whole poem. What great art has the poet shewn in taking off the dryness of a mere moral sentence by throwing it into the form of a short and beautiful allegory ! *Thyer.*



The sharpest sighted spi'rit of all in heaven ;  
 Who to the fraudulent impostor foul  
 In his uprightness answer thus return'd.

Fair angel, thy desire which tends to know  
 The works of God, thereby to glorify 695  
 The great Work-master, leads to no excess  
 That reaches blame, but rather merits praise  
 The more it seems excess, that led thee hither  
 From thy empyreal mansion thus alone,  
 To witness with thine eyes what some perhaps 700  
 Contented with report hear only' in heaven :  
 For wonderful indeed are all his works,  
 Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all  
 Had in remembrance always with delight ;  
 But what created mind can comprehend 705  
 Their number, or the wisdom infinite  
 That brought them forth, but hid their causes deep ?  
 I saw when at his word the formless mass,  
 This world's material mould, came to a heap :  
 Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar 710  
 Stood rul'd, stood vast infinitude confin'd ;  
 Till at his second bidding darkness fled,

694. *Fair angel, &c.*] In the answer which this angel returns to the disguised evil spirit, there is such a becoming majesty as is altogether suitable to a superior being. The part of it, in which he represents himself as present at the creation, is very noble in itself, and not only proper where it is introduced, but requisite to prepare the reader for what follows in the seventh book. In the following part of the speech

he points out the earth with such circumstances, that the reader can scarce forbear fancying himself employed on the same distant view of it. *Addison.*

704. *Had in remembrance*] Ps. cxi. 4. in the new version, *He hath made his wonderful works to be remembered* : in the old, *He hath so done his marvellous works, that they ought to be had in remembrance.* *Greenwood.*

Light shone, and order from disorder sprung :  
 Swift to their several quarters hasted then  
 The cumbrous elements, earth, flood, air, fire ; 715  
 And this ethereal quintessence of heaven  
 Flew upward, spirited with various forms,  
 That roll'd orbicular, and turn'd to stars  
 Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move ;  
 Each had his place appointed, each his course ; 720  
 The rest in circuit walls this universe.

713. —and order from disorder sprung :] So Plato in *Timæo*, Εἰς ταξιν αὐτοὺς ἡγάγει ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας, which Tully renders in Latin thus, *Id ex inordinato in ordinem adduxit. Cicero de Univ.* So also Philo the Jew after his master Plato, *Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας ἀτακτοὶ καὶ συγκεχυμένη οὐσαν ὡς ταξιν ἐξ ἀταξίας, καὶ ἐκ συγχύσεως ὡς διακρίσειν αὐγὴν ὁ κοσμοπλάστης, κοσμοὺν ἤρξατο.* It would be no small pleasure to the curious reader to compare Uriel's account of the creation with that in Plato's *Timæus*. This instance plainly shews that Milton had that in his eye. *Thyer.*

715. *The cumbrous elements,]* Even air and fire are so in comparison of the ethereal quintessence, celestial fire, or pure spirit. *Richardson.*

716. *And this ethereal quintessence of heaven]* The four elements hasted to their quarters, but this fifth essence flew upward. It should be *this*, as it is in Milton's own editions : and not *the ethereal quintessence*, as it is in Bentley's, Fenton's, and some other editions. For the angel who speaks is in the sun, and

therefore says *this*, as the sun was a part of this ethereal quintessence. And this notion our author borrowed from Aristotle and others of the ancient philosophers, who supposed that besides the four elements there was likewise an ethereal quintessence or fifth essence, out of which the stars and heavens were formed, and its motion was orbicular : *ἵνα δὲ παρὰ τὰ πέντε στοιχεῖα, καὶ ἄλλο τιμῇται, ἐξ οὗ τὰ αἰθέρια συνστασῶσι· ἄλλοιαν δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν κίνησιν ἵνα, κυκλοφορικήν γὰρ :* which are the very words of Diogenes Laertius in his life of Aristotle ; and it would be easy to make a parade of learning and multiply quotations, but this is authority sufficient to justify our author. These stars are *numberless as thou seest*, (says the angel,) *and seest how they move* ; and the rest of this fifth essence that is not formed into stars surrounds and like a wall incloses the universe. *Lucret. v. 470.*

Et latè diffusus in omnes undique partes  
 Omnia sic avido complexu cætera cepit.

Look downward on that globe, whose hither side  
 With light from hence, though but reflected, shines ;  
 That place is earth the seat of Man, that light  
 His day, which else as th' other hemisphere 795  
 Night would invade ; but there the neighb'ring moon  
 (So call that opposite fair star) her aid  
 Timely' interposes, and her monthly round  
 Still ending, still renewing, through mid heaven,  
 With borrow'd light her countenance triform 730  
 Hence fills and empties to enlighten th' earth  
 And in her pale dominion checks the night.  
 That spot to which I point is Paradise,  
 Adam's abode, those lofty shades his bower.  
 Thy way thou canst not miss, me mine requires. 735  
 Thus said, he turn'd ; and Satan bowing low,  
 As to superior spi'rits is wont in heaven,  
 Where honour due and reverence none neglects,  
 Took leave, and tow'ard the coast of earth beneath,  
 Down from th' ecliptic, sped with hop'd success, 740  
 Throws his steep flight in many an aery wheel,

730. —*her countenance triform*] Increasing with horns towards the east, decreasing with horns towards the west, and at the full.

741. —*in many an aery wheel,*] This sportive motion is attributed to Satan for joy, that he was now so near his journey's end : and it is very properly taken notice of here, as it is said to have been observed by the angel Uriel, afterwards in iv. 567.

—I describ'd his way,  
 Bent all on speed, and mark'd his  
 aery gate.

So beautifully do not only the greater, but even the minuter parts of this poem hang together. But Mr. Thyer says, " I differ  
 " from you in your sense of these  
 " words. I do not think that  
 " Milton intended to describe  
 " any sportive motion of Satan's,  
 " but only the speediness of his  
 " flight. It is a manner of ex-  
 " pression familiar to the Ita-  
 " lians, and no doubt he borrow-  
 " ed it from them. To give one  
 " instance out of many. Ariosto  
 " describing the magician At-

Nor stay'd, till on Niphates' top he lights.

" lante upon his Hippogrif de-  
 " scending in great haste to seize  
 " Bradamante, who was fallen  
 " on the ground, uses these  
 " terms,

" *Accelerando il volator le penne*

" *Con larghe ruote in terra à por sì*  
 " *venne.*

" *Orl. Fur. cant. iv. st. 24.*"

742. —on *Niphates' top he*  
*lights.*] A mountain in the bor-  
 ders of Armenia, not far from the  
 spring of Tigris, as Xenophon  
 affirms upon his own knowledge.  
 The poet lands Satan on this  
 mountain, because it borders on  
 Mesopotamia, in which the most

judicious describers of Paradise  
 place it. *Hume.*

I must not conclude my reflec-  
 tions upon this third book of  
 Paradise Lost, without taking no-  
 tice of that celebrated complaint  
 of Milton with which it opens,  
 and which certainly deserves all  
 the praises that have been given  
 it; though, as I have before hint-  
 ed, it may rather be looked upon  
 as an excrescence, than as an  
 essential part of the poem. The  
 same observation might be ap-  
 plied to that beautiful digression  
 upon hypocrisy, in the same  
 book. *Addison.*

**PARADISE LOST.**

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**BOOK IV.**

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## THE ARGUMENT.

SATAN now in prospect of Eden, and nigh the place where he must now attempt the bold enterprise which he undertook alone against God and Man, falls into many doubts with himself, and many passions, fear, envy, and despair; but at length confirms himself in evil, journeys on to Paradise whose outward prospect and situation is described, overleaps the bounds, sits in the shape of a cormorant on the tree of life, as highest in the garden, to look about him. The garden described; Satan's first sight of Adam and Eve; his wonder at their excellent form and happy state, but with resolution to work their fall; overhears their discourse, thence gathers that the tree of knowledge was forbidden them to eat of, under penalty of death; and thereon intends to found his temptation by seducing them to transgress: then leaves them a while, to know further of their state by some other means. Mean while Uriel descending on a sunbeam warns Gabriel, who had in charge the gate of Paradise, that some evil spirit had escaped the deep, and passed at noon by his sphere in the shape of a good angel down to Paradise, discovered after by his furious gestures in the mount. Gabriel promises to find him ere morning. Night coming on, Adam and Eve discourse of going to their rest: their bower described; their evening worship. Gabriel drawing forth his bands of night-watch to walk the round of Paradise, appoints two strong angels to Adam's bower, lest the evil spirit should be there doing some harm to Adam or Eve sleeping; there they find him at the ear of Eve, tempting her in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling, to Gabriel; by whom questioned, he scornfully answers, prepares resistance, but hindered by a sign from heaven, flies out of Paradise.

# PARADISE LOST.

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## BOOK IV.

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O FOR that warning voice, which he who saw  
Th' Apocalypse heard cry in heav'n aloud,

Those, who know how many volumes have been written on the poems of Homer and Virgil, will easily pardon the length of my discourse upon Milton. The *Paradise Lost* is looked upon, by the best judges, as the greatest production, or at least the noblest work of genius, in our language, and therefore deserves to be set before an English reader in its full beauty. For this reason, though I have endeavoured to give a general idea of its graces and imperfections in my six first papers, I thought myself obliged to bestow one upon every book in particular. The three first books I have already dispatched, and am now entering upon the fourth. I need not acquaint my reader that there are multitudes of beauties in this great author, especially in the descriptive parts of his poem, which I have not touched upon, it being my intention to point out those only, which appear to me the most exquisite, or those which are not so obvious to ordinary readers. Every one that has read the

critics who have written upon the *Odyssey*, the *Iliad*, and the *Æneid*, knows very well, that though they agree in their opinions of the great beauties in those poems, they have nevertheless each of them discovered several master-strokes, which have escaped the observation of the rest. In the same manner, I question not, but any writer who shall treat of this subject after me, may find several beauties in Milton, which I have not taken notice of. I must likewise observe, that as the greatest masters of critical learning differ among one another, as to some particular points in an epic poem, I have not bound myself scrupulously to the rules which any one of them has laid down upon that art, but have taken the liberty sometimes to join with one, and sometimes with another, and sometimes to differ from all of them, when I have thought that the reason of the thing was on my side. *Aldson.*

1. *O for that warning voice, &c.]* The poet opens this book with a wish in the manner of

Then when the dragon, put to second rout,  
 Came furious down to be reveng'd on men,  
*Woe to th' inhabitants on earth!* that now, 5  
 While time was, our first parents had been warn'd  
 The coming of their secret foe, and scap'd,  
 Haply so scap'd his mortal snare: for now  
 Satan, now first inflam'd with rage, came down,  
 The tempter ere th' accuser of mankind, 10  
 To wreck on innocent frail man his loss  
 Of that first battle, and his flight to hell:  
 Yet not rejoicing in his speed, though bold  
 Far off and fearless, nor with cause to boast,  
 Begins his dire attempt, which nigh the birth 15  
 Now rolling boils in his tumultuous breast,

Shakespeare, *O for a muse of fire*, &c. Prologue to Henry V. *O for a falconer's voice*, &c. Romeo and Juliet, act ii. and in order to raise the horror and attention of his reader, introduces his relation of Satan's adventures upon earth by wishing that the same warning voice had been uttered now at Satan's first coming, that St. John, who in a vision saw the *Apocalypse* or Revelation of the most remarkable events which were to befall the Christian church to the end of the world, heard when the dragon (*that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan*) was put to second rout. Rev. xii. 12. *Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea, for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath.*

10. —*th' accuser of mankind,*] As he is represented in that same chapter of the Revelation, which

the poet is still alluding to. *For the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night*, ver. 10.

13. *Yet not rejoicing in his speed,*] Does not this confirm what I have observed of ver. 741. of the preceding book, and prove that Milton did not intend by it to attribute any sportive motion to Satan for joy that he was so near his journey's end? *Thyer.*

No more than ii. 1011. *But glad that now his sea should find a shore*, and iii. 740. *sped with hoped success*, prove the contrary. Satan was bold far off and fearless, and as he drew nearer, was pleased with hoped success; but now he is come to earth to begin his dire attempt, he does not rejoice in it, his heart misgives him, horror and doubt distract him. This is all very natural.



And like a devilish engine back recoils  
 Upon himself; horror and doubt distract  
 His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom stir  
 The hell within him; for within him hell 20  
 He brings, and round about him, nor from hell  
 One step no more than from himself can fly  
 By change of place: now conscience wakes despair  
 That slumber'd, wakes the bitter memory  
 Of what he was, what is, and what must be 25  
 Worse; of worse deeds worse sufferings must ensue.  
 Sometimes tow'ards Eden, which now in his view  
 Lay pleasant, his griev'd look he fixes sad;  
 Sometimes tow'ards heav'n and the full-blazing sun,  
 Which now sat high in his meridian tower: 30

20. —for within him hell

He brings, and round about  
 him, &c.]

Compare Comus, v. 383.

—he that hides a dark soul, and foul  
 thoughts,

Benighted walks under the mid-day  
 sun;

Himself is his own dungeon.

And again, with the following  
 lines,

—nor from hell

One step no more than from himself  
 can fly

By change of place.

Compare Horace, b. ii. ode xvi.  
 l. 18.

Quid terras alio calentes  
 Sole mutans? patriæ quis exul  
 Se quoque fugit?

E.

24. —the memory

Of what he was, what is, and  
 what must be]

If it is sense to say *μνησθε α-  
 λειωντες υμιν*, or remember that you

must die, we may keep the word  
*memory* here. Memory is *reco-  
 ratio*, or the thinking or reflect-  
 ing upon any thing, as well pre-  
 sent and future as past. *Pearce*.

Thus Virgil says of his bees,  
 that remembering the winter coming  
 on, they lay by provisions in the  
 summer, *Georg. iv. 156*.

*Venturaque hycmis memores æstate  
 laborem*

*Experiantur, et in medium quæsitâ  
 reponunt.*

30. —meridian tower:] At  
 noon the sun is lifted up as in a  
 tower. The metaphor is used  
 by Virgil in his *Culex*, ver. 41.

*Ignæus æthereas jam sol penetrârat  
 in arces.*

Spenser in his admirable trans-  
 lation of that poem has followed  
 him punctually.

The fiery sun was mounted now on  
 light

Up to the heav'nly tow'rs.

Richardson.

Then much revolving, thus in sighs began.

O thou that with surpassing glory crown'd,  
 Look'st from thy sole dominion like the God  
 Of this new world ; at whose sight all the stars  
 Hide their diminish'd heads ; to thee I call, 35  
 But with no friendly voice, and add thy name  
 O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,  
 That bring to my remembrance from what state  
 I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere ;  
 Till pride and worse ambition threw me down 40

32. *O thou &c.*] Satan being now within prospect of Eden, and looking round upon the glories of the creation, is filled with sentiments different from those which he discovered while he was in hell. The place inspires him with thoughts more adapted to it: he reflects upon the happy condition from whence he fell, and breaks forth into a speech that is softened with several transient touches of remorse and self-accusation: but at length he confirms himself in impenitence, and in his design of drawing Man into his own state of guilt and misery. This conflict of passions is raised with a great deal of art, as the opening of his speech to the sun is very bold and noble. This speech is, I think, the finest that is ascribed to Satan in the whole poem. *Addison.*

When Milton designed to have made only a tragedy of the *Paradise Lost*, it was his intention to have begun it with the first ten lines of the following speech, which he shewed to his nephew Edward Philips and others, as

Philips informs us in his account of the life of his uncle. And what a noble opening of a play would this have been ! The lines were certainly too good to be lost, and the author has done well to employ them here, they could not have been better employed any where. Satan is made to address the sun, as it was the most conspicuous part of the creation ; and the thought is very natural of addressing it like the god of this world, when so many of the heathen nations have worshipped and adored it as such.

40. *Till pride and worse ambition*] Dr. Bentley reads *and curs'd ambition*, because he thinks it hard to say whether *pride* or *ambition* is worse: but Milton seems to mean by *pride* the vice considered in itself, and only as it is the temper of the proud man ; and by *ambition* the vice that carried him to aim at being equal with God: and was not this vice the worst of the two ? I observe that Satan always lays the blame on his *ambition*, as in ver. 61. and 92. *Pearce.*

Warring in heav'n against heav'n's matchless King :  
 Ah wherefore ! he deserv'd no such return  
 From me, whom he created what I was  
 In that bright eminence, and with his good  
 Upbraided none ; nor was his service hard. 45  
 What could be less than to afford him praise,  
 The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks,  
 How due ! yet all his good prov'd ill in me,  
 And wrought but malice ; lifted up so high  
 I sdein'd subjection, and thought one step higher 50  
 Would set me hig'h'est, and in a moment quit  
 The debt immense of endless gratitude,  
 So burdensome still paying, still to owe,  
 Forgetful what from him I still receiv'd,  
 And understood not that a grateful mind 55  
 By owing owes not, but still pays, at once  
 Indebted and discharg'd ; what burden then ?  
 O had his pow'rful destiny ordain'd  
 Me some inferior angel, I had stood  
 Then happy ; no unbounded hope had rais'd 60  
 Ambition. Yet why not ? some other power  
 As great might have aspir'd, and me though mean  
 Drawn to his part ; but other pow'rs as great  
 Fell not, but stand unshaken, from within

50. *I sdein'd*] For disdained ; an imitation of the Italian *sdegnare*. Hume.

The same word is used by Spenser, *Faery Queen*, b. v. cant. v. st. 44. and other places.

55. *And understood not*] This verb is to be connected with the other verbs in ver. 50. *I sdein'd*

and *thought*.

55. —a grateful mind

*By owing owes not, but still pays,*]

Satan here has anticipated a sentence, afterwards used by Cicero ; *Gratiam autem et qui retulerit, habere, et qui habeat, retulisse*. Bentley.

Or from without, to all temptations arm'd. 65  
 Hadst thou the same free will and pow'r to stand?  
 Thou hadst: whom hast thou then or what t' accuse,  
 But heav'n's free love dealt equally to all?  
 Be then his love accurs'd, since love or hate,  
 To me alike, it deals eternal woe. 70  
 Nay curs'd be thou; since against his thy will  
 Chose freely what it now so justly rues.  
 Me miserable! which way shall I fly  
 Infinite wrath, and infinite despair?  
 Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell; 75  
 And in the lowest deep a lower deep  
 Still threat'ning to devour me opens wide,  
 To which the hell I suffer seems a heaven.  
 O then at last relent: is there no place  
 Left for repentance, none for pardon left? 80  
 None left but by submission; and that word  
 Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame  
 Among the spi'rits beneath, whom I seduc'd  
 With other promises and other vaunts  
 Than to submit, boasting I could subdue 85

79. *O then at last relent:]*  
 There is no fault to be found  
 with this reading, but I am  
 sometimes inclined to think that  
 the author might have given it

O then at last *repent*:  
 because of what follows,

—is there no place  
 Left for *repentance*—  
 and again, ver. 93.

But say I could *repent*, &c.  
 And it is not improbable, that he

had Shakespeare in his thoughts,  
 Hamlet, act iii.

Try, what repentance can: what can  
 it not?  
 Yet what can it, when one cannot  
 repent?

Or if we retain the word *relent*,  
 we may suppose that Satan could  
 not at first bring himself to say  
*repent*, and therefore makes use  
 of the softer term *relent*.

81. —and that word  
*Disdain forbids me,*  
 Disdain forbids me that word  
*submission*. Bentley.

Th' Omnipotent. Aye me, they little know  
 How dearly I abide that boast so vain,  
 Under what torments inwardly I groan,  
 While they adore me on the throne of hell.  
 With diadem and sceptre high advanc'd, 90  
 The lower still I fall, only supreme  
 In misery ; such joy ambition finds.  
 But say I could repent, and could obtain  
 By act of grace my former state ; how soon  
 Would highth recall high thoughts, how soon unsay 95  
 What feign'd submission swore ? ease would recant  
 Vows made in pain, as violent and void.  
 For never can true reconciliation grow,  
 Where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd so deep :  
 Which would but lead me to a worse relapse 100  
 And heavier fall : so should I purchase dear  
 Short intermission bought with double smart.  
 This knows my punisher ; therefore as far  
 From granting he, as I from begging peace :  
 All hope excluded thus, behold in stead 105  
 Of us outcast, exil'd, his new delight,  
 Mankind created, and for him this world.  
 So farewell hope, and with hope farewell fear,  
 Farewell remorse : all good to me is lost ;  
 Evil be thou my good ; by thee at least 110  
 Divided empire with heav'n's King I hold,  
 By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign ;

111. *Divided empire*] *Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet.* Greenwood.

112. *By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign ;*] This

passage has occasioned much perplexity and confusion, but it may easily be understood thus.

112. *Evil be thou my good ;* be thou all my delight, all my happiness ;

As Man ere long, and this new world shall know.

Thus while he spake, each passion dimm'd his face  
 Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and despair; 115  
 Which marr'd his borrow'd visage, and betray'd  
 Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld.  
 For heav'nly minds from such distempers foul  
 Are ever clear. Whereof he soon aware,  
 Each perturbation smooth'd with outward calm, 120  
 Artificer of fraud; and was the first  
 That practis'd falsehood under saintly show,  
 Deep malice to conceal, couch'd with revenge:  
 Yet not enough had practis'd to deceive  
 Uriel once warn'd; whose eye pursued him down 125  
 The way he went, and on th' Assyrian mount

*by thee I hold at least divided empire with heaven's King at present, I ruling in hell as God in heaven: by thee I say; he is made to repeat it with emphasis, to add the greater force to his diabolical sentiment, and to mark it more strongly to the reader: and in a short time will reign perhaps more than half, in this new world as well as in hell; as Man ere long and this new world shall know.* And he is very properly made to conclude his speech with this, as this was now his main business, and the end of his coming hither.

114. —each passion dimm'd his face

*Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and despair;]*

Each passion, ire, envy, and despair, dimm'd his countenance, which was thrice changed with pale through the successive agi-

tations of these three passions. For that paleness is the proper hue of envy and despair every body knows, and we always reckon that sort of anger the most deadly and diabolical, which is accompanied with a pale livid countenance. It is remarkable that in the argument to this book we read, instead of *ire, fear, envy, and despair*; and as *fear* may be justified by ver. 18. *horror and doubt distract*, and other places; so is *anger* warranted by ver. 9. and by his cursing God and himself, and by his threatening of man in the close of his speech.

126. —on th' Assyrian mount]

Dr. Bentley reads *Armenian mount*: but Niphates is by Pliny reckoned between Armenia and Assyria, and therefore may be called *Assyrian*. It is plain from Milton's account of the situation

Saw him disfigur'd, more than could befall  
 Spirit of happy sort : his gestures fierce  
 He mark'd and mad demeanour, then alone,  
 As he suppos'd, all unobserv'd, unseen. 130  
 So on he fares, and to the border comes  
 Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,  
 Now nearer, crowns with her inclosure green,  
 As with a rural mound, the champagne head  
 Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides 135  
 With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,  
 Access denied ; and over head up grew  
 Insuperable highth of loftiest shade,  
 Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,  
 A sylvan scene, and as the ranks ascend 140

of Eden, ver. 210, 285, that Eden was in Assyria ; and it is plain from comparing iii. 742. with iv. 27. that Niphates was not far from Eden ; so that Milton must have placed it in Assyria, at least on the borders of it. *Pearce.*

132. —*where delicious Paradise, &c.*] Satan is now come to the border of Eden, where he has a nearer prospect of Paradise, which the poet represents as situated in a champagne country upon the top of a steep hill, called the Mount of Paradise. The sides of this hill were overgrown with thickets and bushes, so as not to be passable ; and over head above these, on the sides of the hill, likewise grew the loftiest trees, and as they ascended in ranks shade above shade, they formed a kind of natural theatre, the rows of trees

rising one above another in the same manner as the benches in the theatres and places of public shows and spectacles. And yet higher than the highest of these trees grew up the verdurous wall of Paradise, a green inclosure like a rural mound, like a bank set with a hedge, but this hedge grew not up so high as to hinder Adam's prospect into the neighbouring country below, which is called his *empire*, as the whole earth was his *dominion*, v. 751. But above this hedge or green wall grew a circling row of the finest fruit trees ; and the only entrance into Paradise was a gate on the eastern side. This account in prose may perhaps help the reader the better to understand the description in verse.

140. *A sylvan scene,*] So Virgil, *Æn.* i. 164.

Shade above shade, a woody theatre  
 Of stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops  
 The verd'rous wall of Paradise up sprung :  
 Which to our general sire gave prospect large  
 Into his nether empire neighb'ring round. 145  
 And higher than that wall a circling row  
 Of goodliest trees loaden with fairest fruit,  
 Blossoms and fruits at once of golden hue,  
 Appear'd, with gay enamell'd colours mix'd :  
 On which the sun more glad impress'd his beams 150  
 Than in fair evening cloud, or humid bow,  
 When God hath show'r'd the earth ; so lovely seem'd

Tum sylvis scena coruscis  
 Desuper, horrentique atrum nemus  
 imminet umbra.

Hume,

147. —with fairest fruit,  
 Blossoms and fruits at once of  
 golden hue,]

Dr. Bentley reads *fruits* in the first verse, because *fruits* follows in the next : but I should choose to read *fruit* in both places ; because I observe when Milton speaks of what is hanging on the trees, he calls it *fruit* in the singular number, (when gathered, in the plural,) as in v. 341. *fruit of all kinds*. See also viii. 307. and iv. 422. and in iv. 249. he repeats this very thought again thus,

Others whose *fruit* burnish'd with  
 golden rind &c.

and in the Mask we have

To save her *blossoms*, and defend her  
*fruit*.

Pearce.

We may add another instance from the Paradise Lost, vii. 324.

—and spread  
 Their branches hung with copious  
*fruit*, or gemm'd  
 Their blossoms.

151. *Than in fair evening cloud,*] Dr. Bentley reads, *Than on fair evening cloud*.

151. For in read on. We are to attend to the effect of the sun on the evening cloud, and the rainbow, or its cloud. This reading makes the image plain. T. Warton.

152. —so lovely seem'd  
 That landscape:]

And now if we compare our poet's topography of Paradise with Homer's description of Alcinous's gardens, or with that of Calypso's shady grotto, we may without affectation affirm, that in half the number of verses that they consist of, our author has outdone them. But to make a comparison more obvious to most understandings, read the description of the bower of bliss by a poet of our own nation, and famous in his time ; but it



That landscape : and of pure now purer air  
 Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires  
 Vernal delight and joy, able to drive 155  
 All sadness but despair : now gentle gales  
 Fanning their odoriferous wings dispense  
 Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole  
 Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail  
 Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past 160  
 Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow  
 Sabea odours from the spicy shore

is *impar congressus*, and rhyme fettered his fancy. Spenser's *Faery Queen*, b. ii. cant. xii. st. 42. &c. *Hume*.

This description exceeds any thing I ever met with of the same kind, but the Italians, in my opinion, approach the nearest to our English poet; and if the reader will give himself the trouble to read over Ariosto's picture of the garden of Paradise, Tasso's garden of Armida, and Marino's garden of Venus, he will, I think, be persuaded that Milton imitates their manner, but yet that the copy greatly excels the originals. *Thyer*.

158. —and *whisper whence they stole*

*Those balmy spoils.*]

This fine passage is undoubtedly taken from as fine a one in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* at the beginning,

—like the sweet south

That breathes upon a bank of violets  
 Stealing and giving odour.

But much improved (as Dr. Greenwood remarks) by the addition of that beautiful metaphor

included in the word *whisper*, which conveys to us a soft idea of the gentle manner in which they are communicated. Mr. Thyer is still of opinion, that Milton rather alluded to the following lines of Ariosto's description of Paradise, where speaking of the *dolce aura* he says,

E quella à i fiori, à i pomi, e à la  
 verzura

Gli odor' diversi depredando giva,  
 E di tutti faceva una mistura,  
 Che di soavità à l'alma notriva.

*Orl. Fur. c. xxiv. st. 51.*

The two first of these lines express the air's stealing of the native perfumes, and the two latter that vernal delight which they give to the mind. Besides, it may be further observed, that this expression of the air's stealing and dispersing the sweets of flowers is very common in the best Italian poets. To instance only in one more.

Dolce confusione di mille odori

Sparge, e 'nvola volando aura pre-  
 dace.

*Adon. di Marino, c. i. st. 13.*

Of Araby the blest ; with such delay  
 Well pleas'd they slack their course, and many a league  
 Cheer'd with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles : 165  
 So entertain'd those odorous sweets the Fiend  
 Who came their bane, though with them better pleas'd  
 Than Asmodæus with the fishy fume  
 That drove him, though enamour'd, from the spouse  
 Of Tobit's son, and with a vengeance sent 170  
 From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound.

Now to th' ascent of that steep savage hill  
 Satan had journey'd on, pensive and slow ;

169. —with such delay  
 Well pleas'd they slack their  
 course,]

The north-east winds blowing contrary to those who have doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and are past the island *Mozambic* on the eastern coast of Africa near the continent, and are sailing forwards, they must necessarily slack their course ; but yet they are well enough pleased with such delay, as it gives them the pleasure of smelling such delicious odours, *Sabean odours*, from *Saba*, a city and country of Arabia Felix, *Araby the blest*, the most famous for frankincense. *Sabæi Arabum propter thura clarissimi*. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. 28. and Virg. Georg. ii. 117.

—solis est thurea virga Sabæis.

168. Than *Asmodeus* with &c.] *Asmodeus* was the evil spirit, enamoured of *Sarah* the daughter of *Raguel*, whose seven husbands he destroyed ; but after that she was married to the son of *Tobit*, he was driven away by the fumes of the heart and liver

of a fish ; the which smell when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him. See the book of *Tobit*, chap. viii.

173. *Satan had journey'd on*, &c.] The evil spirit proceeds to make his discoveries concerning our first parents, and to learn after what manner they may be best attacked. His bounding over the walls of Paradise ; his sitting in the shape of a cormorant upon the tree of life, which stood in the centre of it and overtopped all the other trees of the garden ; his alighting among the herd of animals, which are so beautifully represented as playing about Adam and Eve, together with his transforming himself into different shapes, in order to hear their conversation, are circumstances that give an agreeable surprise to the reader, and are devised with great art to connect that series of adventures, in which the poet has engaged this artificer of fraud.

Addison.

But further way found none, so thick entwin'd,  
 As one continued brake, the undergrowth 175  
 Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplex'd  
 All path of man or beast that pass'd that way :  
 One gate there only was, and that look'd east  
 On th' other side : which when th' arch-felon saw,  
 Due entrance he disdain'd, and in contempt, 180  
 At one slight bound high over leap'd all bound  
 Of hill or highest wall, and sheer within  
 Lights on his feet. As when a prowling wolf,  
 Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,  
 Watching where shepherds pen their flocks at eve 185  
 In hurdled cotes amid the field secure,

177. *All path of man or beast that pass'd that way :*] Satan is now come to the ascent of the hill of Paradise, which was so overgrown with thicket and underwood, that neither man nor beast could pass that way. *That passed that way*, that would have passed that way, a remarkable manner of speaking, somewhat like that in li. 642. *So seem'd far off the flying Fiend*, that is, (speaking strictly,) would have seem'd if any one had been there to have seen him. And the like manner of speaking we may observe in the best classic authors, as in Virg. *Æn.* vi. 467.

*Talibus Æneas ardentem et torva tu-  
 entem  
 Lenibat dictis animum, lacrymasque  
 ciebat.*

*Lenibat animum*, did appease her mind, that is, would have appeased her mind, for what he said was without the desired

effect. So Euripides in *Ion*. 1326.

*Ἦσενός τις πο' ἔκτανε τὴν μάχην :*  
 Have you heard how she killed me, that is, would have killed me?

183. — *As when a prowling wolf,*] A wolf is often the subject of a simile in Homer and Virgil, but here is considered in a new light, and perhaps never furnished out a stronger resemblance; and the hint of this and the additional simile of a thief seems to have been taken from those words of our Saviour in St. John's Gospel, x. 1. *He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.*

185. — *pen their flocks at eve  
 In hurdled cotes]*  
 Compare *Comus*, 344.

The folded flocks penn'd in their watted cotes.

*T. Warton.*

Leaps o'er the fence with ease into the fold :  
 Or as a thief bent to unhoard the cash  
 Of some rich burgher, whose substantial doors,  
 Cross-barr'd and bolted fast, fear no assault, 190  
 In at the window climbs, or o'er the tiles :  
 So clomb this first grand thief into God's fold ;  
 So since into his church lewd hirelings climb.  
 Thence up he flew, and on the tree of life,  
 The middle tree and highest there that grew, 195  
 Sat like a cormorant ; yet not true life

193. —*lewd hirelings*] The word *lewd* was formerly understood in a larger acceptation than it is at present, and signified profane, impious, wicked, vicious, as well as wanton: and in this larger sense it is employed by Milton in the other places where he uses it, as well as here; i. 490.

—than whom a spirit more *lewd*:  
and vi. 182.

Yet *lewdly* dar'st our minist'ring up-  
braid.

193. *Lewd* here signifies ignorant. See note on *Lycidas*, 114. T. Warton.

195. *The middle tree and highest there that grew.*] *The tree of life also in the midst of the garden*, Gen. ii. 9. *In the midst* is a Hebrew phrase, expressing not only the local situation of this enlivening tree, but denoting its excellency, as being the most considerable, the tallest, goodliest, and most lovely tree in that beauteous garden planted by God himself: so Scotus, Duran, Valesius, &c. whom our poet follows, affirming it the

*highest there that grew. To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God*, Rev. ii. 7. Hume.

196. *Sat like a cormorant;*] The thought of Satan's transformation into a cormorant, and placing himself on the tree of life, seems raised upon that passage in the *Iliad*, where two deities are described, as perching on the top of an oak in the shape of vultures. Addison.

The poet had compared Satan to a vulture before, iii. 431. and here again he is well likened to a cormorant, which being a very voracious sea-fowl, is a proper emblem of this destroyer of mankind.

196. —*yet not true life* &c.] The poet here moralizes, and reprehends Satan for making no better use of the tree of life. He sat upon it, but did not thereby regain true life to himself, but sat devising death to others who were alive. Neither did he think at all on the virtues of the tree, but used it only for the convenience of prospect, when it

Thereby regain'd, but sat devising death  
 To them who liv'd; nor on the virtue thought  
 Of that life-giving plant, but only us'd  
 For prospect, what well us'd had been the pledge 200  
 Of immortality. So little knows  
 Any, but God alone, to value right  
 The good before him, but perverts best things  
 To worst abuse, or to their meanest use.  
 Beneath him with new wonder now he views 205  
 To all delight of human sense expos'd  
 In narrow room Nature's whole wealth, yea more,  
 A heav'n on earth: for blissful Paradise  
 Of God the garden was, by him in th' east

might have been used so as to have been a pledge of immortality. And so he perverted the best of things *to worst abuse*, by sitting upon the tree of life devising death, or *to meanest use*, by using it only for prospect, when he might have applied it to nobler purposes. But what use then would our author have had Satan to have made of the tree of life? Would eating of it have altered his condition, or have rendered him more immortal than he was already? What other use then could he have made of it, unless he had taken occasion from thence to reflect duly on life and immortality, and thereby had put himself in a condition to regain true life and a happy immortality? If the poet had not some such meaning as this, it is not easy to say what is the sense of the passage. Mr. Thyer thinks that the *well used* in this passage relates to our first

parents, and not to Satan: but I conceive that *well used* and *only used* must both refer to the same person: and what *ill use* did our first parents make of the tree of life? They did not use it ill before the fall, and after the fall they were not permitted to use or eat of it at all.

209. *Of God the garden was,  
 by him in th' east  
 Of Eden planted;]*

So the sacred text, Gen. ii. 8. *And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden*, that is, eastward of the place where Moses wrote his history, though Milton says *in the east of Eden*; and then we have in a few lines our author's topography of Eden. This province (in which the terrestrial Paradise was planted) extended from *Auran* or *Haran* or *Charran* or *Charræ*, a city of Mesopotamia near the river Euphrates, extended, I say, from thence eastward to *Seleucia*, a

Of Eden planted ; Eden stretch'd her line 210  
 From Auran eastward to the royal towers  
 Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian kings,  
 Or where the sons of Eden long before  
 Dwelt in Telassar : in this pleasant soil  
 His far more pleasant garden God ordain'd ; 215

city built by Seleucus one of the successors of Alexander the Great, upon the river Tigris. Or, in other words, this province was the same, where the children of Eden dwelt in *Telassar*, (as Isaiah says chap. xxxvii. 12.) which *Telassar* or *Talatha* was a province and a city of the children of Eden, placed by Ptolomy in Babylonia, upon the common streams of Tigris and Euphrates. See Sir Isaac Newton's Chronol. p. 275. So that our author places Eden, agreeably to the accounts in Scripture, somewhere in Mesopotamia.

215. *His far more pleasant garden*] In the description of Paradise, the poet has observed Aristotle's rule of lavishing all the ornaments of diction on the weak unactive parts of the fable, which are not supported by the beauty of sentiments and characters. Accordingly the reader may observe, that the expressions are more florid and elaborate in these descriptions, than in most other parts of the poem. I must further add, that though the *drawings* of gardens, rivers, rainbows, and the like dead pieces of nature, are justly censured in an heroic poem, when they run out into an unnecessary length ; the description of Paradise would have been faulty, had not the

poet been very particular in it, not only as it is the scene of the principal action, but as it is requisite to give us an idea of that happiness from which our first parents fell. The plan of it is wonderfully beautiful, and formed upon the short sketch which we have of it in holy writ. Milton's exuberance of imagination has poured forth such a redundancy of ornaments on this seat of happiness and innocence, that it would be endless to point out each particular. I must not quit this head without farther observing, that there is scarce a speech of Adam and Eve in the whole poem, wherein the sentiments and allusions are not taken from this their delightful habitation. The reader, during their whole course of action, always finds himself in the walks of Paradise. In short, as the critics have remarked that in those poems, wherein shepherds are actors, the thoughts ought always to take a tincture from the woods, fields, and rivers ; so we may observe, that our first parents seldom lose sight of their happy station in any thing they speak or do ; and if the reader will give me leave to use the expression, that their thoughts are always *Paradisiacal*. Addison.

Out of the fertile ground he caus'd to grow  
 All trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste ;  
 And all amid them stood the tree of life,  
 High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit  
 Of vegetable gold ; and next to life, 220  
 Our death the tree of knowledge grew fast by,  
 Knowledge of good bought dear by knowing ill.  
 Southward through Eden went a river large,  
 Nor chang'd his course, but through the shaggy hill  
 Pass'd underneath ingulf'd ; for God had thrown 225  
 That mountain as his garden mould high rais'd  
 Upon the rapid current, which through veins  
 Of porous earth with kindly thirst up drawn,  
 Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill  
 Water'd the garden ; thence united fell 230  
 Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,  
 Which from his darksome passage now appears,  
 And now divided into four main streams,

223. *Southward through Eden went a river large,*] This is most probably the river formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, which flows southward, and must needs be a river large by the joining of two such mighty rivers. Upon this river it is supposed by the best commentators that the terrestrial Paradise was situated. Milton calls this river Tigris in ix. 71.

233. *And now divided into four main streams,*] This is grounded upon the words of Moses, Gen. ii. 10. *And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.* Now the

most probable account that is given of these four rivers we conceive to be this. The river that watered the garden of Eden was, as we think, the river formed by the junction of Euphrates and Tigris ; and this river was parted into four other main streams or rivers ; two above the garden, namely Euphrates and Tigris before they are joined, and two below the garden, namely Euphrates and Tigris after they are parted again ; for Euphrates and Tigris they were still called by the Greeks and Romans, though in the time of Moses they were named Pison and Gihon. Our

Runs diverse, wand'ring many a famous realm  
 And country, whereof here needs no account ; 235  
 But rather to tell how, if art could tell,  
 How from that sapphire fount the crisped brooks,  
 Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,  
 With mazy error under pendent shades  
 Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed 240  
 Flow'rs, worthy' of Paradise, which not nice Art  
 In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon  
 Pour'd forth profuse on hill and dale and plain,  
 Both where the morning sun first warmly smote

poet expresses it as if the river had been parted into four other rivers below the garden; but there is no being certain of these particulars, and Milton, sensible of the great uncertainty of them, wisely avoids giving any farther description of the countries through which the rivers flowed, and says in the general that no account needs to be given of them here.

237. —*the crisped brooks,*] *Indented, running in and out,* says Dr. Johnson: and Mr. Warton remarks, that here v. 239. the brooks are said to run with mazy error; and he cites the *Tempest*, a. iv. sc. 1. where we have the "*crisp channels*" of brooks, and the *First part of K. Henry IV.* a. i. s. 4. where the Severn hides "his *crisped* head in the hollow "bank." But the surface of water, he says, *curled* by the wind may be signified. See the notes, *Il. Pens.* 50. *Arcades*, 46. *Comus*, 984. E.

238. *Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,*] *Pactolus,*

Hermus, and other rivers, are described by the poets as having golden sands; but the description is made richer here, and the water rolls on *the choicest pearls as well as sands of gold*. So in iii. 507. we have *orient gems*; see the note there. We have likewise *orient pearl* in Shakespeare, Richard III. act iv. and in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The faithful Shepherdess*, act iii. And in the Fox, Mosca asks Corvino, who had brought a rich pearl as a present to old Volpone, *Is your pearl orient, Sir?* act i.

244. *Both where the morning sun first warmly smote*

*The open field,*]

This is a manner of expression unusual in our language, and plainly borrowed from the Italian poets, with whom it is very common. Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* cant. viii. st. 20.

*Percote il sole ardente il vicin colle.*  
 cant. x. st. 35.

*Percote il sol nel colle, e fa ritorno.*  
*Th'yer.*



The open field, and where the unpierc'd shade 245  
 Inbrown'd the noontide bow'rs : Thus was this place  
 A happy rural seat of various view ;  
 Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm,  
 Others whose fruit burnish'd with golden rind  
 Hung amiable, Hesperian fables true, 250

244. Virgil says of light, *Æn.* viii. 25.

—*Summique ferit inquearia tecti.*

And V. Flaccus, *Argon.* i. 496.

—*Percussaque sole sequuntur  
 Scuta virum.*—

And Statius, *Theb.* vi. 666.

*Qualis Bistonis clypeus Mavortis in  
 agris  
 Luce mala Pangæa ferit.*

So also Shakespeare, *Love's Lab.  
 Lost*, a. iv. s. 3.

As thy eye-beams when their fresh  
 rays have smote

The dew of night that on my cheek  
 down flows.

*T. Warton.*

246. *Imbrown'd the noontide  
 bow'rs :*] A person must be ac-  
 quainted with the Italian lan-  
 guage to discern the force and  
 exact propriety of this term. It  
 is a word which their poets  
 make use of to describe any  
 thing shaded. Thus Boiardo  
 describing a fleet of ships going  
 to put to sea. *Orl. Inam. cant.*  
*xxix.*

*De le sue vele e tanto spessa l'ombra  
 Che sotto a quelle il mar e fatto  
 bruno.*

So also Ariosto I remember upon  
 a like occasion,

—*sotto le vele il mar s'imbruni.*

To these instances may be added

from Tasso, *Gier. Lib. cant. xiv.*  
*st. 70.*

*Quinci ella in cima à una montagna  
 ascende  
 Disabitata, e d'ombra oscura, e  
 bruna.*

In like manner to express the  
 approach of the evening they  
 say *su l'imbrunir*, or if they  
 would say it grows dusky or  
 gloomy—*Il tempo comincia ad  
 imbrunirsi.* Thyer.

248. *Groves whose rich trees  
 &c.]* They are said to weep  
 gums and balm by a beautiful  
 metaphor not unusual in poetry :  
 as Ovid says of the myrrh-tree,  
*Met. x. 500.*

*Flet tamen, et tepidæ manant ex  
 arbore guttæ,  
 Est honor et lacrymis.*

250. —*Hesperian fables true,  
 &c.]* Every objection is answer-  
 ed by reading, as I think we  
 ought to do, the whole passage  
 thus,

*Others, whose fruit burnish'd with  
 golden rind  
 Hung amiable, (Hesperian fables  
 true,  
 If true, here only) and of delicious  
 taste.*

*Pearce.*

*Fables, stories,* as xi. 11. What  
 is said of the Hesperian gardens  
 is true here only ; if all is not  
 pure invention, this garden was

If true, here only', and of delicious taste :  
 Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks  
 Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd,  
 Or palmy hilloc ; or the flow'ry lap  
 Of some irriguous valley spread her store, 255  
 Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the rose :  
 Another side, umbrageous grots and caves  
 Of cool recess, o'er which the mantling vine  
 Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps  
 Luxuriant ; mean while murm'ring waters fall 260

meant : and moreover these fruits have a delicious taste, those had none. *Richardson.*

255. —*irriguous valley*] Well-watered, full of springs and rills : it is the epithet of a garden in Horace, sat. ii. iv. 16.

*Irriguo nihil est elutius borto.*

*Hume.*

256. *Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the rose :*] Dr. Bentley rejects this verse, because he thinks it a *jejune identity* in the poet to say *The flowery lap—spread flowers* : but, as Dr. Pearce observes, though the expression be not very exact, it is not so bad as Dr. Bentley represents it ; for the construction and sense is, *The flowery lap of some valley spread her store*, which store was what ? why *flowers* of every colour or hue. Dr. Bentley objects too to the latter part of the verse, *and without thorn the rose*, and calls it a puerile fancy. But it should be remembered, that it was part of the curse denounced upon the earth for Adam's transgression,

that it should bring forth thorns and thistles, Gen. iii. 18. and from hence the general opinion has prevailed that there were no thorns before ; which is enough to justify a poet in saying the rose was without thorns or prickles.

257. *Another side, umbrageous grots and caves*] Another side of the garden was umbrageous grots and caves, &c. Or on another side were shady grots and caves, &c. the preposition being omitted as is not unusual with our author. See i. 282. and 723. *On one side* were groves of aromatics, others of fruit, and betwixt them lawns or downs. *On another side* were shady grottos and caves of cool recess. Our author indeed has not mentioned *one side* before, but without that he often makes use of the expression, *on the other side*, as you may see in ii. 108, 706. iv. 985. ix. 888. as Virgil frequently says in *parte alia*, in *another part*, though he has not said expressly in *one part* before, *Æn.* i. 474. viii. 682. ix. 521.

Down the slope hills, dispers'd, or in a lake,  
 That to the fringed bank with myrtle crown'd  
 Her crystal mirror holds, unite their streams.  
 The birds their quire apply ; airs, vernal airs,  
 Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune 265  
 The trembling leaves, while universal Pan  
 Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance

261. —*dispers'd, or in a lake,*] The waters fall dispersed, or unite their streams in a lake, that presents her clear looking-glass, holds her crystal mirror to the fringed bank crowned with myrtle. He makes the lake we may observe a person, and a critic like Dr. Bentley may find fault with it; but it is usual with the poets to personify lakes and rivers, as Homer does the river Scamander and Virgil the Tiber; and Milton himself makes a person of the river of bliss, and a female person too, iii. 359. as he does here of the lake. This language is certainly more poetical; and I suppose he thought *Her crystal mirror* sounded smoother and better than *Its crystal mirror*, or even *His crystal mirror*.

266. —*while universal Pan &c.*] While universal nature linked with the graceful seasons danced a perpetual round, and throughout the earth yet unpol- luted led eternal spring. All the poets favour the opinion of the world's creation in the spring. Virg. Georg. ii. 338.

Ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat  
 Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus  
 Euri,

Cum primum lucem pecudes han-  
 sere &c.

Ov. Met. i. 107.

Ver erat æternum, placidique tepen-  
 tibus auris  
 Mulcebat Zephyri natos sine se-  
 mine flores.

That the Graces were taken for the beautiful seasons in which all things seem to dance and smile in an universal joy is plain from Horace, Od. iv. vii. 1.

Diffugere nives, redeunt jam gra-  
 mina campis—  
 Gratis cum nymphis geminique  
 sororibus audet  
 Ducere nuda choras.

And Homer joins both the Graces and Hours hand in hand with Harmony, Youth, and Venus, in his Hymn to Apollo. *Hume*.

The ancients personized every thing. *Pan* is nature, the *Graces* are the beautiful seasons, and the *Hours* are the time requisite for the production and perfection of things. Milton only says in a most poetical manner, (as Homer in his Hymn to Apollo had done before him,) that now all nature was in beauty, and every hour produced something new, without any change for the worse. *Richardson*.

Led on th' eternal spring. Not that fair field  
 Of Enna, where Proserpine gathering flowers,  
 Herself a fairer flow'r by gloomy Dis 270  
 Was gather'd, which cost Ceres all that pain :  
 To seek her through the world ; nor that sweet grove :  
 Of Daphne by Orontes, and th' inspir'd  
 Castalian spring, might with this Paradise  
 Of Eden strive ; nor that Nyseian isle 275  
 Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,  
 Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Lybian Jove,

268. — *Not that fair field &c.*] Not that fair field of Enna in Sicily, celebrated so much by Ovid and Claudian for its beauty, from whence Proserpine was carried away by the gloomy god of hell Dis or Pluto, which occasioned her mother Ceres to seek her all the world over ; nor that sweet grove of Daphne near Antioch, the capital of Syria, seated on the banks of the river Orontes, together with the Castalian spring there, of the same name with that in Greece, and extolled for its prophetic qualities ; nor the island Nysa, encompassed with the river Triton in Africa, where Cham or Ham the son of Noah, therefore called old, (who first peopled Egypt and Lybia, and among the Gentiles goes by the name of Ammon or Lybian Jove,) hid his mistress Amalthea and her beautiful son Bacchus (therefore called Dionysius) from his stepdame Rhea's eye, the stepdame of Bacchus and wife of the Lybian Jove according to some authors, particularly Diodorus Siculus, lib. iii. and Sir Walter Raleigh's Hist.

b. i. ch. vi. sect. 5. though different from others ; nor mount Amara, where the kings of Abassinia or Abyssinia (a kingdom in the upper Ethiopia) keep their children guarded, a place of most delightful prospect and situation, inclosed with alabaster rocks, which it is a day's journey to ascend, supposed by some (though so far distant from the true Paradise) to be the seat of Paradise under the Ethiopian or equinoctial line near the springs of the river Nile : not any nor all of these could vie with this Paradise of Eden ; this exceeded all that historians have written or poets have feigned of the most beautiful places in the world. By the way we should observe his manner of pronouncing Proserpine with the accent upon the second syllable, like the Latin, and as Spenser and the old English authors pronounce it. Faery Queen, book i. cant. st. 2.

And sad Proserpine's wrath, them to  
 affright ;  
 but not as it is commonly used  
 at this time, as in Cato,

So Pluto seiz'd of Proserpine convey'd.

Hid Amalthea and her florid son  
 Young Bacchus from his stepdame Rhea's eye ;  
 Nor where Abassin kings their issue guard, 280  
 Mount Amara, though this by some suppos'd  
 True Paradise under the Ethiop line  
 By Nilus head, inclos'd with shining rock,  
 A whole day's journey high, but wide remote  
 From this Assyrian garden, where the Fiend 285  
 Saw undelighted all delight, all kind  
 Of living creatures new to sight and strange.  
 Two of far nobler shape erect and tall,  
 Godlike erect, with native honour clad  
 In naked majesty seem'd lords of all, 290  
 And worthy seem'd ; for in their looks divine  
 The image of their glorious Maker shone,  
 Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure,

285. — *Assyrian garden,*] Milton here follows Strabo, who comprehends Mesopotamia in the ancient Assyria. *Richardson.*

288. *Two of far nobler shape &c.*] The description of Adam and Eve, as they first appeared to Satan, is exquisitely drawn, and sufficient to make the fallen angel gaze upon them with all that astonishment and those emotions of envy, in which he is represented. There is a fine spirit of poetry in the lines which follow, wherein they are described as sitting on a bed of flowers by the side of a fountain, amidst a mixed assembly of animals. *Ad-dison.*

293. *Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure,*

(*Severe but in true filial freedom plac'd*)

*Whence true authority in men ;]*  
 The middle verse ought to have been put thus in a parenthesis ; for the *true authority in men* arises not from *filial freedom*, but from their having *truth, wisdom, and sanctitude severe and pure*, that is strict holiness ; which are qualities that give to magistrates *true authority*, that proper authority which they may want who yet have legal authority. This is Milton's meaning ; and for explaining the word *severe*, he inserts a verse to shew that he does not mean such a *sanctitude* or holiness as is rigid and austere, but such as is *placed in filial freedom* ; alluding to the Scriptural expressions, which represent good Christians as *free* and as the *sons of God* : on which foundation our obedience (from

(Severe but in true filial freedom plac'd)

Whence true authority in men; though both

295

Not equal, as their sex not equal seem'd;

For contemplation he and valour form'd,

For softness she and sweet attractive grace,

He for God only, she for God in him:

His fair large front and eye sublime declar'd

300

whence our sanctitude arises) is a *filial*, and not a slavish one; a reverence rather than a fear of the Deity. From hence we may see that Dr. Bentley had no sufficient reason to change *severe* in the first verse into *serene*, and to throw out the second verse entirely. *Pearce*.

297. *For contemplation he and valour form'd,*

*For softness she and sweet attractive grace,]*

The curious reader may please to observe upon these two charming lines, how the numbers are varied, and how artfully *he* and *she* are placed in each verse, so as the tone may fall upon them, and yet fall upon them differently. The author might have given both exactly the same tone, but every ear must judge this alteration to be much for the worse.

*For valour he and contemplation form'd,*

*For softness she and sweet attractive grace.*

299. *He for God only, she for God in him:]* The author gave it thus, says Dr. Bentley,

*He for God only, she for God and him.*

The opposition demonstrates

this, and ver. 440. Eve speaks to Adam,

—O thou for whom

And from whom I was form'd—

Dr. Pearce approves this reading of Dr. Bentley, and to the proof which he brings, adds x. 150.

—made of thee

And for thee.

And indeed, though some have endeavoured to justify the common reading, yet this is so much better, that we cannot but wish it was admitted into the text.

300. *His fair large front and eye sublime declar'd*

*Absolute rule;]*

Greatness, nobleness, authority, and awe, are by all Greek and Latin poets placed in the forehead. So P. L. ix. 537. Satan to Eve,

—nor have fear'd

*Thy awful brow, more awful thus retir'd.*

And vii. 509.

—and upright with front serene  
Govern the rest.

And Spenser's Belphebe,

*Her ivory forehead fall of bounty  
brave*

*Like a broad table did itself dispread,  
All good and honour might therein be  
read,*

*And there their dwelling was.*

*Bentley.*

Absolute rule ; and hyacinthine locks  
 Round from his parted forelock manly hung  
 Clust'ring, but not beneath his shoulders broad :  
 She as a veil down to the slender waste

So Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, act iii. sc. 2.

Upon his brow shame is asham'd to sit,

For 'tis a throne where honour may be crown'd

Sole monarch of the universal earth.

*Dunster.*

301. —*hyacinthine locks*] Thus Minerva in Homer gives Ulysses hyacinthine locks to make him more beautiful,

*Καὶ δὲ κακτὸς*

*Οὐλας καὶ μακρὰς, ὑακινθίου κατὰ στροφάς.*

*Odyss. vi. 231.*

Back from his brows a length of hair unfurls,

His hyacinthine locks descend in wavy curls.

*Broomie.*

Eustathius interprets hyacinthine locks by black locks, and Suidas by very dark brown ; and Milton in like manner means brown or black locks, distinguishing Adam's hair from Eve's in the colour as well as in other particulars. It is probable the hyacinth among the ancients might be of a darker colour than it is among us.

303. *Clust'ring,*] His hair hung clustering, or like bunches of grapes, as her's was like the young shoots or tendrils of the vine. They are opposed, you see, the one to the other. The circumstance of the hair hanging like bunches of grapes, as the ingenious Mr. Warton observes, has been justly admired ; but it is literally translated from this description of Apollo's hair in

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Apollonius Rhodius. *Argon. lib. ii. ver. 678.*

—*χρυσὴν δὲ παρὰ καὶ ἱακινθίαν*

*Πλαχμαί βοτρυοειτές ἐπιβήμεναι κίαντι.*

—*Aurei ab utraque gena*

*Cincinnati racemantes assultabant eunti.*

The word *βοτρυοειτές* could hardly be rendered into English by any other word than by *clustering*.

303. He adopted the image here from *Comus*, 54.

This nymph that gaz'd upon his clust'ring locks.

Compare also *Sams. Agon. 568.*

—these redundant locks

Robustious, to no purpose clust'ring down.

*T. Warton.*

304. *She as a veil down to the slender waste*

*Her unadorned golden tresses &c.]*

In like manner Marino paints his *Venus. Adon. cant. xiii. st. 47.*

*Onde a guisa d'un vel dorato, e sotto*

*Celando il bianco sen tra l'onde loro*

*In mille minutissimi ruscelli*

*Dal capo scaturir gli aurei capelli.*

The poet has, I think, shewed great judgment and delicacy in avoiding in this place the entering into a circumstantial description of Eve's beauty. It was, no doubt, a very tempting occasion of giving an indulgent loose to his fancy ; since the most lavish imagination could not possibly carry too high the charms of Woman, as she first came out of the hands of her

R

Her unadorned golden tresses wore  
 Dishevell'd, but in wanton ringlets wav'd  
 As the vine curls her tendrils, which implied

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heavenly Maker. But as a picture of this kind would have been too light and gay for the graver turn of Milton's plan, he has very artfully mentioned the charms of her person in general terms only, and directed the reader's attention more particularly to the beauty of her mind. Most great poets have laboured in a particular manner the delineation of their beauties, (Ariosto's Alcina, Tasso's Armida, and Spenser's Belphebe,) and it is very probable that the portrait of Eve would have rivalled them all, if the chaste correctness of our author's Muse had not restrained him. *Thyer.*

305. —*golden tresses*] This sort of hair was most admired and celebrated by the ancients, I suppose as it usually betokens a fairer skin and finer complexion. It would be almost endless to quote passages to this purpose in praise of Helen and the other famous beauties of antiquity. Venus herself, the goddess of beauty, is described of this colour and complexion; and therefore is styled *golden Venus*, χρυσή Αφροδίτη by Homer, and *Venus aurea* by Virgil. As Milton had the taste of the ancients in other things, so likewise in this particular. He must certainly have preferred this to all other colours, or he would never have bestowed it upon Eve, whom he designed as a pattern of beauty to all her daughters. And possibly he might at the same time

intend a compliment to his wife; for I remember to have heard from a gentleman who had seen his widow in Cheshire, that she had hair of this colour: It is the more probable, that he intended a compliment to his wife in the drawing of Eve; as it is certain, that he drew the portrait of Adam not without regard to his own person, of which he had no mean opinion.

307. —*which implied Subjection,*]

The poet manifestly alludes to St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xi. *Doth not even nature itself teach you, (says the Apostle,) that if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him? And therefore Milton gives Adam locks, that hung clustering, but not beneath his shoulders brood. But if a woman have long hair, (continues the Apostle,) it is a glory to her; for her hair is given her for a covering, or veil, as it is rendered in the margin: and therefore our author gives Eve very long hair, she wore her golden tresses as a veil down to the slender waste. And this long hair the Apostle considers as an argument and token of her subjection, a covering, a veil, in sign that she is under the power of her husband; and for the same reason the poet says that it implied subjection: such excellent use doth he make of the sacred writings. The poet adds, that this subjection was required by him with gentle sway, and yielded by her,*



Subjection, but requir'd with gentle sway,  
 And by her yielded, by him best receiv'd,  
 Yielded with coy submission, modest pride, 310  
 And sweet reluctant amorous delay.

Nor those mysterious parts were then conceal'd,  
 Then was not guilty shame, dishonest shame  
 Of nature's works, honour dishonourable,  
 Sin-bred, how have ye troubled all mankind 315  
 With shows instead, mere shows of seeming pure,  
 And banish'd from man's life his happiest life,  
 Simplicity and spotless innocence!

So pass'd they naked on, nor shunn'd the sight  
 Of God or angel, for they thought no ill: 320  
 So hand in hand they pass'd, the loveliest pair  
 That ever since in love's embraces met;  
 Adam the goodliest man of men since born

but it was *best received by him, when yielded with coy submission, modest pride, and sweet reluctant amorous delay*, which is expressed with more elegance than that admired passage in Horace, which no doubt Milton had in his thoughts, Od. ii. xii. 26.

—facill sævitia negat  
 Quæ poscente magis gaudeat eripi,  
 Interdum rapere occupat.

314. —honour dishonourable.] He alludes to 1 Cor. xii. 23. *And those members of the body which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour.* But the honour paid to those parts is really a dishonour, a token of our fall, and an indication of our guilt. Innocent nature made no such distinction. *Sin-bred, how have*

*ye troubled* &c. Should we not read,

Sin-bred, how have *you* troubled—

for what is he speaking to besides *Shame*?

315. A semicolon might be placed after *guilty shame*; and then *ye* might refer to *dishonest shame of nature's works*, and, *honour dishonourable*. E.

323. *Adam the goodliest man of men* &c.] These two lines are censured by Mr. Addison, and are totally rejected by Dr. Bentley, as implying that Adam was one of his sons, and Eve one of her daughters: but this manner of expression is borrowed from the Greek language, in which we find sometimes the superlative degree used instead of the

His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.

Under a tuft of shade that on a green 325  
 Stood whisp'ring soft, by a fresh fountain side  
 They sat them down; and after no more toil  
 Of their sweet gard'ning labour then suffic'd  
 To recommend cool Zephyr, and made ease  
 More easy, wholesome thirst and appetite 330  
 More grateful, to their supper fruits they fell,  
 Nectarine fruits which the compliant boughs  
 Yielded them, side-long as they sat recline  
 On the soft downy bank damask'd with flowers:  
 The savoury pulp they chew, and in the rind 335  
 Still as they thirsted scoop the brimming stream;  
 Nor gentle purpose, nor endearing smiles  
 Wanted, nor youthful dalliance as beseems  
 Fair couple, link'd in happy nuptial league,  
 Alone as they. About them frisking play'd 340

comparative. The meaning therefore is, that Adam was a goodlier man than any of his sons, and Eve fairer than her daughters. So Achilles is said to have been *καλλιστάτος ἄλλων*, Iliad. i. 505. that is, more short-lived than others. So Nireus is said to have been the handsomest of the other Grecians, Iliad. ii. 637.

—*ἰς καλλιστὸς ἀνὴρ ὅσος ἴλιος ἄλφι,*  
*τὸν ἄλλων Δαίμονον.*—

And the same manner of speaking has passed from the Greeks to the Latins. So a freed woman is called in Horace, Sat. i. i. 100. *fortissima Tyndaridarum*, not that she was one of the Tyndaridæ, but more brave than any of them. And as Dr. Pearce observes, so Diana is said by one

of the poets to have been *comitum pulcherrima*, not one of her own companions, but more handsome than any of them. And I believe a man would not be corrected for writing false English, who should say *the most learned of all others* instead of *more learned than all others*.

336. —*the brimming stream;*] See note on Comus, 924. E.

337. *Nor gentle purpose, &c.*] This also from Spenser, Faery Queen, b. lii. cant. viii. st. 14.

He 'gan make gentle purpose to his dame.

b. i. cant. ii. st. 30.

Fair seemly pleasance each to other makes

With goodly purposes there as they sit.  
*Thyger.*

All beasts of th' earth, since wild, and of all chase  
 In wood or wilderness, forest or den ;  
 Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw  
 Dandled the kid ; bears, tigers, ounces, pards,  
 Gamboll'd before them ; th' unwieldy elephant 345  
 To make them mirth us'd all his might, and wreath'd  
 His lithe proboscis ; close the serpent sly  
 Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine  
 His breaded train, and of his fatal guile  
 Gave proof unheeded ; others on the grass 350  
 Couch'd, and now fill'd with pasture gazing sat,

345. —[*th' unwieldy elephant*] Mind the accent of *unwieldy* in the first syllable. The author knew the common pronunciation to be in the second, as vii. 411. *Wallowing unwieldy*. But with great art and judgment following his principals Homer and Virgil, he made the verse itself *unwieldy*, that the reader might feel it as well as understand it. *Bentley*.

347. *His lithe proboscis ;*] His limber trunk, so pliant and useful to him, that Cicero calls it, *elephantorum manum*, the elephant's hand. *Hume*.

348. *Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine*

*His breaded train, &c.]*

*Insinuating*, wrapping, or rolling up, and as it were embosoming himself. Virgil frequently uses the words *sinuosus* and *sinuare* to express the winding motions of this animal. *With Gordian twine*, with many intricate turnings and twistings, like the famous Gordian knot, which nobody could untie, but Alexander cut it with

his sword. *His breaded train*, his plaited twisted tail. *And of his fatal guile gave proof unheeded ;* That intricate form into which he put himself was a sort of symbol or type of his fraud, though not then regarded. *Hume and Richardson*.

We may observe that the poet is larger in the description of the serpent, than of any of the other animals, and very judiciously, as he is afterwards made the instrument of so much mischief ; and at the same time an intimation is given of *his fatal guile*, to prepare the reader for what follows.

351. *Couch'd,*] Let the reader observe how artfully the word *couch'd* is placed, so as to make the sound expressive of the sense,

—others on the grass

*Couch'd*.—

Such a rest upon the first syllable of the verse is not very common, but is very beautiful when it is so accommodated to the sense. The learned reader

Or bedward ruminating ; for the sun  
Declin'd was hasting now with prone career  
To th' ocean isles, and in th' ascending scale  
Of heav'n the stars that usher evening rose :  
When Satan still in gaze, as first he stood,  
Scarce thus at length fail'd speech recover'd sad.

355

O Hell ! what do mine eyes with grief behold !  
Into our room of bliss thus high advanc'd

may observe a beauty of the like  
kind in these verses of Homer,  
Iliad. i. 51.

Λυτὴν ἰαυε' αὐτοῖσι βίλλας ἰχθυόωντι  
ἰφίμῃ  
βαλλ' αὖτις δὲ πικρὸν νεκρὸν κείοντο  
δαίμονα.

and Iliad, v. 146.

Τοι δ' ἰστέον ἔφθι' μεγάλην ἀλυσά παρ,  
αἶμα  
πλαξ'.

and again, ver. 156.

—Πατέρη δὲ γαστ' καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ  
Αἰετ'.

and in several other places.

And the English reader may  
see similar instances in our  
English Homer. Pope's Homer,  
b. xvi. ver. 445.

Chariots on chariots roll ; the clash-  
ing spokes

Shock ; | while the madding steeds  
brake short their yokes.

And in the Temple of Fame,  
ver. 85.

Amphion there the loud creating lyre  
Strikes, | and behold a sudden Thebes  
aspire !

And it is observable that this  
pause is usually made upon the  
verb, to mark the action more  
strongly to the reader.

352. *Or bedward ruminating ;*]  
Chewing the cud before they go  
to rest. *Hume.*

354. *To th' ocean isles,]* The  
islands in the western ocean ;  
for that the sun set in the sea,  
and rose out of it again, was an  
ancient poetic notion, and is be-  
come part of the phraseology of  
poetry. *And in the ascending  
scale of heaven.* The balance of  
heaven or *Libra* is one of the  
twelve signs, and when the sun  
is in that sign, as he is at the  
autumnal equinox, the days and  
nights are equal, as if weighed  
in a balance :

*Libra diel somnique pares ubi fecerit  
horas :* Virg. Georg. i. 208.

and from hence our author  
seems to have borrowed his  
metaphor of the *scales* of heaven,  
weighing night and day, the one  
ascending as the other sinks.

357. *Scarce thus at length fail'd  
speech recover'd sad.]* Though  
Satan came in quest of Adam  
and Eve, yet he is struck with  
such astonishment at the sight  
of them, that it is a long time  
before he can recover his speech,  
and break forth into this soli-  
loquy : and at the same time  
this dumb admiration of Satan  
gives the poet the better oppor-  
tunity of enlarging his descrip-  
tion of them. This is very  
beautiful.

*Homage  
to  
Pope's  
Homer*

Creatures of other mould, earth-born perhaps, 360  
 Not spirits, yet to <sup>clever</sup> heav'nly spirits bright  
 Little inferior ; whom my thoughts pursue  
 With wonder, and could love, so lively shines  
 In them divine resemblance, and such grace  
 The hand that form'd them on their shape hath pour'd.  
 Ah gentle pair, ye little think how nigh 366  
 Your change approaches, when all these delights  
 Will vanish and deliver ye to woe,  
 More woe, the more your taste is now of joy ;  
 Happy, but for so happy ill secur'd 370  
 Long to continue, and this high seat your heaven  
 Ill fenc'd for heav'n to keep out such a foe  
 As now is enter'd ; yet no purpos'd foe  
 To you, whom I could pity thus forlorn,  
 Though I unpitied : League with you I seek, 375  
 And mutual amity so strait, so close,  
 That I with you must dwell, or you with me  
 Henceforth ; my dwelling haply may not please,  
 Like this fair Paradise, your sense, yet such  
 Accept your Maker's work ; he gave it me, 380  
 Which I as freely give ; hell shall unfold,  
 To entertain you two, her widest gates,  
 And send forth all her kings ; there will be room,  
 Not like these narrow limits, to receive  
 Your numerous offspring ; if no better place, 385  
 Thank him who puts me loath to this revenge  
 On you who wrong me not for him who wrong'd.

362. *Little inferior ;*] For this *lower than the angels*, Psal. viii.  
 there is the authority of Scrip- 5. Heb. ii. 7.  
 ture. *Thou hast made him a little*

And should I at your harmless innocence  
 Melt, as I do, yet public reason just,  
 Honour and empire with revenge enlarg'd, 390  
 By conqu'ring this new world, compels me now  
 To do what else though damn'd I should abhor.

So spake the Fiend, and with necessity,  
 The tyrant's plea, excus'd his devilish deeds.  
 Then from his lofty stand on that high tree 395  
 Down he alights among the sportful herd  
 Of those four-footed kinds, himself now one,  
 Now other, as their shape serv'd best his end  
 Nearer to view his prey, and unespied  
 To mark what of their state he more might learn 400  
 By word or action mark'd : about them round  
 A lion now he stalks with fiery glare ;

389. —*yet public reason just, &c.*] Public reason *compels me*, and that public reason is honour and empire enlarged with revenge, by conquering this new world. And thus Satan is made to plead *public reason just*, and necessity to excuse his devilish deeds; the tyrant's plea, as the poet calls it, probably with a view to his own times, and particularly to the plea for ship-money.

395. *Then from his lofty stand on that high tree &c.*] The tree of life, higher than the rest, where he had been perching all this while from ver. 196. And then for the transformations which follow, what changes in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are so natural, and yet so surprising as these? He is well likened to the

fiercest beasts, the lion and the tiger, and Adam and Eve in their native innocence to two gentle fawns.

400. *To mark what of their state he more might learn*

*By word or action mark'd:]*

Though the poet uses *mark* and *marked* too, yet such repetitions of the same word are common with him; so common that we may suppose he did not do it for want of attention, and that it was not merely the effect of his blindness. See instances of it in my note on iii. 147. and we have another following here, ver. 405.

Straight couches close, then rising  
 changes oft  
 His couchant watch.

Pearce.

Then as a tiger, who by chance hath spied  
 In some purlieu two gentle fawns at play,  
 Straight couches close, then rising changes oft 405  
 His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground,  
 Whence rushing he might surest seize them both  
 Grip'd in each paw: when Adam first of men  
 To first of women Eve thus moving speech,  
 Turn'd him all ear to hear new utterance flow. 410

Sole partner, and sole part, of all these joys,  
 Dearer thyself than all; needs must the Power  
 That made us, and for us this ample world,  
 Be infinitely good, and of his good 415  
 As liberal and free as infinite;  
 That rais'd us from the dust and plac'd us here  
 In all this happiness, who at his hand  
 Have nothing merited, nor can perform  
 Ought whereof he hath need, he who requires

410. *Turn'd him all ear &c.*] A pretty expression borrowed from the Latin,

*Totum te cupias, Fabulle, nasum.*

*Bentley.*

So in the Mask,

*I was all ear.*

Richardson.

411. *Sole partner, &c.*] The speeches of these two first lovers flow equally from passion and sincerity. The professions they make to one another are full of warmth, but at the same time founded upon truth. In a word they are the gallantries of Paradise. Addison.

*Sole partner, and sole part, of all these joys.*

so the passage ought to be read (I think) with a comma after *part*; and *of here* signifies *among*. The sense is, among all these joys thou alone art my partner, and (what is more) Thou alone art part of me, as in ver. 487.

*Part of my soul I seek thee, and thee claim  
 My other half.*

*Of* in Milton frequently signifies *among*. The want of observing this made Dr. Bentley read *best part* for *sole part*, thinking that *sole part* is a contradiction, and so it is as he understands *of here*, to be the mark of the genitive case governed of *part*. Pearce.

From us no other service than to keep 420  
 This one, this easy charge, of all the trees  
 In Paradise that bear delicious fruit  
 So various, not to taste that only tree  
 Of knowledge, planted by the tree of life ;  
 So near grows death to life, whate'er death is, 425  
 Some dreadful thing no doubt ; for well thou know'st  
 God hath pronounc'd it death to taste that tree,  
 The only sign of our obedience left  
 Among so many signs of pow'r and rule  
 Conferr'd upon us, and dominion given 430  
 Over all other creatures that possess  
 Earth, air, and sea. Then let us not think hard  
 One easy prohibition, who enjoy  
 Free leave so large to all things else, and choice  
 Unlimited of manifold delights : 435  
 But let us ever praise him, and extol  
 His bounty, following our delightful task  
 To prune these growing plants, and tend these flowers,  
 Which were it toilsome, yet with thee were sweet.

421. *This one, this easy charge,*  
 &c.] It was very natural for  
 Adam to discourse of this, and  
 this was what Satan wanted  
 more particularly to learn; and  
 it is expressed from God's com-  
 mand, Gen. ii. 16, 17. *Of every*  
*tree of the garden thou mayest*  
*freely eat; but of the tree of*  
*knowledge of good and evil, thou*  
*shalt not eat of it, for in the day*  
*that thou eatest thereof, thou*  
*shalt surely die.* And in like  
 manner when Adam says after-  
 wards,

—dominion given  
*Over all other creatures that possess*  
*Earth, air, and sea,*

it is taken from the divine com-  
 mission, Gen. i. 28. *Have do-*  
*minion over the fish of the sea,*  
*and over the fowl of the air, and*  
*over every living thing that moveth*  
*upon the earth.* These things  
 are so evident, that it is almost  
 superfluous to mention them.  
 If we take notice of them, it is  
 that every reader may be sensi-  
 ble how much of Scripture our  
 author hath wrought into this  
 divine poem.



To whom thus Eve replied. O thou for whom 440  
 And from whom I was form'd flesh of thy flesh,  
 And without whom am to no end, my guide  
 And head, what thou hast said is just and right.  
 For we to him indeed all praises owe,  
 And daily thanks ; I chiefly who enjoy 445  
 So far the happier lot, enjoying thee  
 Preeminent by so much odds, while thou  
 Like consort to thyself canst no where find.  
 That day I oft remember, when from sleep  
 I first awak'd, and found myself repos'd 450

- \* 449. *That day I oft remember,* &c.] The remaining part of Eve's speech, in which she gives an account of herself upon her first creation, and the manner in which she was brought to Adam, is I think as beautiful a passage as any in Milton, or perhaps in any other poet whatsoever. These passages are all worked off with so much art, that they are capable of pleasing the most delicate reader without offending the most severe. A poet of less judgment and invention than this great author would have found it very difficult to have filled these tender parts of the poem with sentiments proper for a state of innocence; to have described the warmth of love and the professions of it without artifice or hyperbole; to have made the man speak the more endearing things without descending from his natural dignity; and the woman receiving them without departing from the modesty of her character; in a word, to adjust the prerogatives of wisdom and beauty, and make each appear to the other in its proper force and loveliness. This mutual subordination of the two sexes is wonderfully kept up in the whole poem, as particularly in this speech of Eve, and the lines following it. The poet adds, that the devil turned away at the sight of so much happiness. *Addison.*
- That day I oft remember.* From this as well as several other passages in the poem it appears, that the poet supposes Adam and Eve to have been created, and to have lived many days in Paradise before the fall. See iv. 639, 680, 712. v. 31. &c.
450. *I first awak'd.*] As death is often compared to *sleep*, so our coming into life may well be likened to *waking*: and Adam speaks in the same figure, viii. 253.
- As new wak'd from soundest sleep,  
 &c.
- If we compare his account of himself upon his creation with

Under a shade on flow'rs, much wond'ring where  
 And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.  
 Not distant far from thence a murm'ring sound  
 Of waters issued from a cave, and spread  
 Into a liquid plain, then stood unmov'd 455  
 Pure as th' expanse of heav'n ; I thither went  
 With unexperienc'd thought, and laid me down  
 On the green bank, to look into the clear  
 Smooth lake, that to me seem'd another sky.  
 As I bent down to look, just opposite 460  
 A shape within the wat'ry gleam appear'd,  
 Bending to look on me : I started back,

this here given by Eve, the beauty and propriety of each will appear to greater advantage.

451. *Under a shade on flow'rs.*] The first edition has *under a shade on flowers*, the second *under a shade of flowers*; and the subsequent editions vary in like manner, some exhibiting *on flowers*, others *of flowers*; but *reposed on flowers* under a shade seems to be much better than *a shade of flowers*.

458. —*to look into the clear Smooth lake,*] It has been asked, sarcastically enough, (Spectator, vol. v. No. 325.) whether some moral is not couched under this place, where the poet lets us know, that the first woman immediately after her creation ran to a looking-glass, and became so enamoured of her own face, that she had never removed to view any of the other works of nature, had not she been led off to a man. However that be, this account

that Eve gives of her coming to a lake, and there falling in love with her own image, when she had seen no other human creature, is much more probable and natural, as well as more delicate and beautiful, than the famous story of Narcissus in Ovid, from whom our author manifestly took the hint, and has expressly imitated some passages, but has avoided all his puerilities without losing any of his beauties, as the reader may easily observe by comparing both together, Met. iii. 457.

Spem mihi nescio quam vultu promittis amico :  
 Cumque ego porrexi tibi brachia,  
 porrigis ultro :  
 Cum risi, arrides : lacrymas quoque sæpe notavi  
 Me lacrymante tuas.—  
 Ista repercussæ, quam cernis, imaginis umbra est :  
 Nil habet ista sui : tecum ventique manebique ;  
 Tecum discedet, si tu discedere possis.

It started back ; but pleas'd I soon return'd,  
 Pleas'd it return'd as soon with answe'ring looks  
 Of sympathy and love : there I had fix'd 465  
 Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain desire,  
 Had not a voice thus warn'd me, What thou seest,  
 What there thou seest, fair creature, is thyself ;  
 With thee it came and goes : but follow me  
 And I will bring thee where no shadow stays 470  
 Thy coming, and thy soft embraces; he  
 Whose image thou art ; him thou shalt enjoy  
 Inseparably thine, to him shalt bear  
 Multitudes like thyself, and thence be call'd  
 Mother of human race. What could I do, 475  
 But follow straight, invisibly thus led ?  
 Till I espied thee, fair indeed and tall,  
 Under a platan ; yet methought less fair,  
 Less winning soft, less amiably mild,  
 Than that smooth wat'ry image : back I turn'd ; 480  
 Thou following cry'dst aloud, Return fair Eve,  
 Whom fly'st thou ? whom thou fly'st, of him thou art,  
 His flesh, his bone ; to give thee be'ing I lent  
 Out of my side to thee, nearest my heart,  
 Substantial life, to have thee by my side 485  
 Henceforth an individual solace dear ;

478. *Under a platan ;*] The  
 plane tree, so named from the  
 breadth of its leaves, Πλάτυς,  
 Greek, broad ; a tree useful and  
 delightful for its extraordinary  
 shade, Virg. Georg. iv. 146.

*Jamque ministrantem platanum po-  
 tantibus umbram.*

*Hume.*

483. *His flesh, his bone ;*] The

Scripture expression ; *bone of  
 my bones and flesh of my flesh* ;  
 Gen. ii. 23. as afterwards when  
 he calls her *part of my soul—my  
 other half*, it is from Horace,

*Anima dimidium meæ.* Od. i. iil. 8.

486. —*individual*] Eternal,  
 inseparable. So b. v. 610.

United as one individual soul  
 For ever happy.

*T. Warton.*

Part of my soul I seek thee, and thee claim  
 My other half: with that thy gentle hand  
 Seiz'd mine; I yielded, and from that time see  
 How beauty is excell'd by manly grace 490  
 And wisdom, which alone is truly fair.

So spake our general mother, and with eyes  
 Of conjugal attraction unprov'd,  
 And meek surrender, half embracing lean'd  
 On our first father; half her swelling breast 495  
 Naked met his under the flowing gold  
 Of her loose tresses hid: he in delight  
 Both of her beauty and submissive charms  
 Smil'd with superior love, as Jupiter

492. *So spake our general mother, and with eyes*

*Of conjugal attraction unprov'd, &c.]*

Spenser, Faery Queen, b. ii. cant. vii. st. 16.

But with glad thanks and *unreproved* truth.

What a charming picture of love and innocence has the poet given us in this paragraph! There is the greatest warmth of affection, and yet the most exact delicacy and decorum. One would have thought that a scene of this nature could not with any consistency have been introduced into a divine poem, and yet our author has so nicely and judiciously covered the soft description with the veil of modesty, that the purest and chastest mind can find no room for offence. The *meek surrender* and the *half embracement* are circumstances inimitable. An Italian's imagination would have hurried

him the length of ten or a dozen stanzas upon this occasion, and with its luxuriant wildness changed Adam and Eve into a Venus and Adonis. *Thyer.*

494. —*embracing*] Milton sometimes spells the word *embrace* after the French *embrasser*, and sometimes *imbrace* after the Italian *imbracciare*; but the former has now prevailed universally.

499. —*as Jupiter &c.*] As the heaven smiles upon the air, when it makes the clouds and every thing fruitful in the spring. This seems to be the meaning of the allegory: for Jupiter is commonly taken for the heaven or æther, and Juno for the air, though some understand by them the air and earth. However that be, the congress of Jupiter and Juno was accounted the great cause of fruitfulness. Homer in the fourteenth book of the *Iliad* enlarges much upon the story of their loves, more,

On Juno smiles, when he impregns the clouds 500  
 That shed May flow'rs ; and press'd her matron lip  
 With kisses pure : aside the devil turn'd  
 For envy, yet with jealous leer malign  
 Ey'd them askance, and to himself thus plain'd.

Sight hateful, sight tormenting ! thus these two 505  
 Imparadis'd in one another's arms,  
 The happier Eden, shall enjoy their fill  
 Of bliss on bliss ; while I to hell am thrust,  
 Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,

than enough to give occasion to  
 this simile, and describes the  
 earth putting forth her fairest  
 flowers as the immediate effect  
 of them. And Virgil likewise  
 in describing the spring employs  
 the same kind of images,  
 Georg. li. 325.

Tum pater omnipotens fecundis im-  
 bribus æther

Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit,  
 et omnes

Magnus alit, magno commixtus  
 corpore, fœtus.

That expression of *the clouds  
 shedding flowers* is very poetical,  
 and not unlike that fine one in  
 the Psalms of *the clouds dropping  
 fatness*, Psalm lxxv. 12. and it  
 is said *May flowers*, to signify  
 that this is done in the spring,  
 as Virgil describes it. And then  
 follows, *and pressed her matron  
 lip*, where the construction is,  
*Adam smiled with superior love,  
 and pressed her matron lip*, the  
 simile being to be understood as  
 included in a parenthesis. *Her  
 matron lip* evidently signifies her  
 married lip, as Ovid, Fast. ii.  
 828. speaking of Lucretia then  
 married, says *matron cheeks*,

Et matronales erubuere genæ.

It was the innocence of their  
 loves that made the devil turn  
 aside for envy.

502. —*aside the devil turn'd*

*For envy, yet with jealous leer  
 malign*

*Ey'd them askance,]*

Compare v. 106. of the verses  
*Ad Patrem.*

Invidiæque acies, transverso tortilis  
 birquo.

T. Warton.

506. *Imparadis'd in one an-  
 other's arms,]* *Imparadis'd* has  
 been remarked as a word first  
 coined by Milton. But Sir  
 Philip Sidney has it in *Arcadia*,  
 p. 109. *So this imparadis'd  
 neighbourhood made Zelman's soul  
 cleave unto her.* And the Italians  
 had prior possession *Imparadi-  
 sato*. Bentley.

506. It is also in Daniel's  
*Delia*, ed. 1591. sonn. xii.

For she that can my heart *imparadize*.  
 It occurs also in Drayton, Phi-  
 neas Fletcher, and Donne. T.  
 Warton.

509. *Where neither joy nor  
 love,]* This sentence has no exit,

Among our other torments not the least, 510  
 Still unfulfill'd with pain of longing pines.  
 Yet let me not forget what I have gain'd  
 From their own mouths : all is not theirs it seems ;  
 One fatal tree there stands of knowledge call'd,  
 Forbidden them to taste : Knowledge forbidden ? 515  
 Suspicious, reasonless. Why should their Lord  
 Envy them that ? can it be sin to know ?  
 Can it be death ? and do they only stand  
 By ignorance ? is that their happy state,  
 The proof of their obedience and their faith ? 520  
 O fair foundation laid whereon to build  
 Their ruin ! Hence I will excite their minds  
 With more desire to know, and to reject  
 Envious commands, invented with design  
 To keep them low whom knowledge might exalt 525  
 Equal with gods : aspiring to be such,  
 They taste and die : what likelier can ensue ?  
 But first with narrow search I must walk round  
 This garden, and no corner leave unspied ;  
 A chance but chance may lead where I may meet 530

unless you will say without sense, where neither joy nor love pines. He gave it therefore

*Where's neither joy nor love.*

*Bentley.*

But Milton often leaves out the word *is*, as in viii. 621. and *without love no happiness*. Pearce.

515. — *Knowledge forbidden ?*] This is artfully perverted by Satan as if some useful and necessary knowledge was forbidden : whereas our first parents were created with perfect

understanding, and the only knowledge that was forbidden was the knowledge of evil by the commission of it.

530. *A chance but chance may lead*] Dr. Bentley censures this jingle, and thinks it unbecoming Satan at so serious a juncture to catch at puns ; therefore proposes to read *some lucky chance may lead* &c. But this sort of jingle is but too common with Milton. This here is not much unlike the *forte fortuna* of the Latins.

Some wand'ring spi'rit of heav'n by fountain side,  
 Or in thick shade retir'd, from him to draw  
 What further would be learn'd. Live while ye may,  
 Yet happy pair ; enjoy, till I return,  
 Short pleasures, for long woes are to succeed. 535

So saying, his proud step he scornful turn'd,  
 But with sly circumspection, and began  
 Through wood, through waste, o'er hill, o'er dale, his  
 roam.

Mean while in utmost longitude, where heaven  
 With earth and ocean meets, the setting sun 540  
 Slowly descended, and with right aspect  
 Against the eastern gate of Paradise  
 Levell'd his evening rays : it was a rock  
 Of alabaster, pil'd up to the clouds,  
 Conspicuous far, winding with one ascent 545  
 Accessible from earth, one entrance high ;  
 The rest was craggy cliff, that overhung  
 Still as it rose, impossible to climb.  
 Betwixt these rocky pillars Gabriel sat,

539. —in *utmost longitude*,]  
 At the utmost length, at the  
 farthest distance. Longitude is  
 length, as in v. 754.

—from one entire globe  
 stretch'd into longitude ;

and it is particularly applied to  
 the distance from east to west.  
 See the notes upon lii. 553, 574.

541. *Slowly descended*,] This  
 verse seems to contradict what  
 is said before, ver. 353.

\* The sun—was *hasting now with prone  
 career*

To th' ocean isles,

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and to reconcile them I think  
 we must read *Lowly descended*.

549. —*Gabriel*] One of the  
 archangels, sent to shew Daniel  
 the vision of the four mon-  
 archies and the seventy weeks,  
 Dan. vii. and ix. and to the Vir-  
 gin Mary to reveal the incar-  
 nation of our Saviour, Luke i.  
 His name in the Hebrew signifies  
 the man of God, or the strength  
 and power of God ; well by our  
 author posted as chief of the  
 angelic guards placed about Pa-  
 radise. *Hume*.

S

Chief of th' angelic guards, awaiting night ; 550  
 About him exercis'd heroic games  
 Th' unarmed youth of heav'n, but nigh at hand  
 Celestial armoury, shields, helms, and spears,  
 Hung high with diamond flaming, and with gold.  
 Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even 555  
 On a sun beam, swift as a shooting star

555. —*gliding through the even*] That is, through that part of the hemisphere, where it was then evening. In the sense which I have given to *even*, Milton says in the next verse but one *thwarts the night*, and elsewhere speaks of *the confines of day*. Pearce.

In ver. 792. Uriel is said to be arrived from *the sun's decline*, which is no more a place than the evening, but beautifully poetical: and justified by Virgil, Georg. iv. 59. where a swarm of bees sails through the glowing summer:

Nare per aestatem liquidam suspex-  
 eris agmen.

Richardson.

556. *On a sun beam,*] Uriel's gliding down to the earth upon a sun-beam, with the poet's device to make him *descend*, as well in his return to the sun, as in his coming from it, is a prettiness that might have been admired in a little fanciful poet, but seems below the genius of Milton. The description of the host of armed angels walking their nightly round in Paradise, is of another spirit,

So saying, on he led his radiant files  
 Dazzling the moon ;

as that account of the hymns which our first parents used to

hear them sing in these their midnight walks, is altogether divine, and inexpressibly amusing to the imagination. Addison.

The thought of making Uriel glide on a sun beam, is taken from a picture of Annibal Carracci in the French king's cabinet.

556. The same fiction is found in Drayton's Legend of Robert D. of Normandy, st. xliii.

As on the sun-beams gloriously I ride,  
 By them I mount, and down by  
 them I slide.

Young has adopted a similar idea, Night Thoughts, ix.

Perhaps a thousand demi-gods descend  
 On every beam we see, to walk with  
 men.

T. Warton.

556. —*swift as a shooting star* &c.] Homer in like manner compares Minerva's descent from heaven to a shooting star, Iliad. iv. 74.

Βη δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμπῳ καρήναι αἴθερα.  
 Οἷον δ' ἀστὲρ ἥτις Κρονίου παῖς ἀγχιόλεμος  
 γένετο,  
 Ἡ καὶ τρεῖς σείρει, καὶ στρατὸν ὑπερὶ λαόν,  
 λαμψέον· τὸν δὲ τοὶ πολλοὶ ἀπὸ γαῖθάρης  
 ἵκνυνται.

Where Dr. Clarke says, *Non τὸν λογιζόμενον καμάρταν*, ut Scholiastes *malè* (and so likewise Mr. Pope



In autumn thwarts the night, when vapours fir'd  
 Impress the air, and shows the mariner  
 From what point of his compass to beware  
 Impetuous winds : he thus began in haste. 560

Gabriel, to thee thy course by lot hath given  
 Charge and strict watch, that to this happy place  
 No evil thing approach or enter in.  
 This day at highth of noon came to my sphere  
 A spirit, zealous, as he seem'd, to know, 565  
 More of th' Almighty's works, and chiefly Man,  
 God's latest image : I describ'd his way

translates it) sed stellæ trjectionem. The fall of Phaeton is illustrated with the same comparison by Ovid, Met. ii. 320.

Volvitur in præceps longoque per  
 æra tractu  
 Fertur; ut interdum de cœlo stella  
 sereno,  
 Etai non cecidit, potuit cecidisse vi-  
 deri.

The breathless Phaeton, with flaming  
 hair,  
 Shot from the chariot, like a falling  
 star,  
 That in a summer's evening from the  
 top  
 Of heav'n drops down, or seems at  
 least to drop. Addison.

Milton adds, that this shooting star *thwarts* or crosses the night in *autumn*, because then these phenomena are most common after the heat of summer, when the vapours taking fire make violent impressions and agitations in the air, and they usually portend tempestuous weather, as Virgil himself has noted long ago, Georg. i. 365.

Sæpe etiam stellas vento impendente  
 videbis

Præcipites cœlo labi, noctisque per  
 umbram  
 Flammarum longos a tergo albescere  
 tractus.

And oft before tempestuous winds  
 arise,  
 The seeming stars fall headlong from  
 the skies;  
 And shooting through the darkness  
 gild the night  
 With sweeping glories, and long trails  
 of light. Dryden.

560. —*he thus began in haste*] This abruptness is here very elegant and proper to express the haste that he was in.

561. —*thy course by lot*] He speaks as if the angels had their particular courses and offices assigned them by lot, as the priests had in the service of the temple. See 1 Chron. xxiv. and Luke i. 8, 9.

563. *No evil thing approach or enter in.*] Not to suffer any evil thing to approach, or at least to enter in. Pearce.

567. *God's latest image:*] For the first was Christ, and before man were the angels. So in iii. 151. man is called God's *youngest son*.

Bent all on speed, and mark'd his aery gate ;  
 But in the mount that lies from Eden north,  
 Where he first lighted, soon discern'd his looks 570  
 Alien from heav'n, with passions foul obscur'd :  
 Mine eye pursued him still, but under shade  
 Lost sight of him : one of the banish'd crew,  
 I fear, hath ventur'd from the deep, to raise  
 New troubles ; him thy care must be to find. 575

To whom the winged warrior thus return'd.  
 Uriel, no wonder if thy perfect sight,  
 Amid the sun's bright circle where thou sitt'st,  
 See far and wide : in at this gate none pass  
 The vigilance here plac'd, but such as come 580  
 Well known from heav'n ; and since meridian hour  
 No creature thence : if spi'rit of other sort,  
 So minded, have o'er-leap'd these earthly bounds  
 On purpose, hard thou know'st it to exclude  
 Spiritual substance with corporeal bar. 585  
 But if within the circuit of these walks,  
 In whatsoever shape he lurk, of whom  
 Thou tell'st, by morrow dawning I shall know.

So promis'd he ; and Uriel to his charge  
 Return'd on that bright beam, whose point now rais'd

567. — *I describ'd his way*] Some read *descried*, but *described* is properest. He *described* to Satan or shewed him the way to Paradise, as it is said he did in iii. 722, 733. and *marked his aery gate* ; for it was sportive in many an *aery wheel*, as we read in the conclusion of the third book ; and it was well taken notice of there, as such use is made of it

here. And the same we may observe of the turbulent passions discovered in him on mount Niphates in this book, ver. 125 — 130. Uriel marked them then, and reports them now.

590. *Return'd on that bright beam, whose point now rais'd*] He supposes, that he slides back on the same beam that he came upon ; which sun-beam he con-

Bore him slope downward to the sun now fall'n 591  
 Beneath th' Azores ; whether the prime orb,  
 Incredible how swift, had thither roll'd  
 Diurnal, or this less volúbil earth,  
 By shorter flight to th' east, had left him there 595  
 Arraying with reflected purple' and gold  
 The clouds that on his western throne attend.  
 Now came still evening on, and twilight gray

\* siders not as a flowing punctum of light, but as a continued rod extending from sun to earth. The extremity of this rod, while Uriel was discoursing, and the sun gradually descending, must needs be raised up higher than when he came upon it ; and consequently the rod bore him slope downward back again. This has been represented as a pretty device, but below the genius of Milton, [see Mr. Addison's remark on ver. 556.] to make Uriel descend, for more ease and expedition, both in his way from the sun, and to the sun again. But Milton had no such device here : he makes Uriel come from the sun, not on a descending, but on a level ray, ver. 541. from the sun's right aspect to the east in the very margin of the horizon. Here is no trick then or device ; but perhaps a too great affectation to shew his philosophy ; as in the next lines, on this common occasion of the sun's setting, he starts a doubt whether that is produced in the Ptolemaic or Copernican way. But this little foible he makes ample amends for. Bentley.

592. Beneath th' Azores ;] They are islands in the great Atlantic or western ocean ; nine

in number ; commonly called the Terceras, from one of them. Hume and Richardson.

592. —whether the prime orb, &c.] The sun was now fallen beneath th' Azores, with three syllables, for so it is to be pronounced : whether (not whither as in Milton's own editions) the prime orb, the sun, had rolled thither diurnal, that is in a day's time, with an incredible swift motion ; or this less volúbil earth (with the second syllable long as it is in the Latin volubilis,

Impubesque manus mirata volubile  
 buxum. Virg. Æn. vii. 382.

he writes it voluble when he makes the second syllable short as in ix. 436.) by shorter flight to the east, had left him there at the Azores, it being a less motion for the earth to move from west to east upon its own axis according to the system of Copernicus, than for the heavens and heavenly bodies to move from east to west according to the system of Ptolemy. Our author in like manner, iii. 575. questions whether the sun was in the centre of the world or not, so scrupulous was he in declaring for any system of philosophy.

598. Now came still evening on,

Had in her sober livery all things clad ;  
Silence accompanied ; for beast and bird,

600

&c.] This is the first evening in the poem; for the action of the preceding books lying out of the sphere of the sun, the time could not be computed. When Satan came first to the earth, and made that famous soliloquy at the beginning of this book, the sun was *high in his meridian tower*; and this is the evening of that day; and surely there never was a finer evening; words cannot furnish out a more lovely description. The greatest poets in all ages have as it were vied one with another in their descriptions of evening and night; but for the variety of numbers and pleasing images, I know of nothing parallel or comparable to this to be found among all the treasures of ancient or modern poetry. There is no need to point out the beauties of it; it must charm every body, who does but read it or hear it. I can recollect only one description fit to be mentioned after this, and that is of a fine moonshiny night by way of similitude in Homer, *Iliad. viii. 555.* where Mr. Pope has taken more than ordinary pains to make the translation excellent as the original.

Ὠς δ' ἐν' ἐς ἑσπέρην αὐτῆρα φαίνεται ἡμῶς  
εἰλημένη  
Φαίνεται ἀετρίσι, ὅτι τ' ὀπίσσω νημεῖς  
αἰθερ,  
Ἐκ τ' ἰφαίνει πᾶσαι τασσάται, καὶ πρῶτος  
αἶθερ,  
Καὶ ἡπῆαι' ἀνέκαστοι δ' αἶ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαν  
ἀσπετος αἰθερ,  
Πᾶσα δὲ τ' ἰδύται αὐτῆρα' γιγνῆσι δὲ τοὶ  
φρίκα πνιμῆν.

As when the moon, refulgent lamp  
of night,  
O'er heav'n's clear azure spreads her  
sacred light,  
When not a breath disturbs the deep  
serene,  
And not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn  
scene;  
Around her throne the vivid planets  
roll,  
And stars unnumber'd gild the glow-  
ing pole,  
O'er the dark trees a yellower ver-  
dure shed,  
And tip with silver every mountain's  
head;  
Then shine the vales, the rocks in  
prospect rise.  
A flood of glory bursts from all the  
skies:  
The conscious swains rejoicing in the  
sight,  
Eye the blue vault, and bless the use-  
ful light.

Milton's description, we see, leaves off, where Homer's begins; and though the quotation is somewhat long, yet I am persuaded the reader cannot but be pleased with it, as it is a sort of continuation of the same beautiful scene.

598. —and twilight gray] Milton is very singular in the frequent and particular notice which he takes of the twilight, whenever he has occasion to speak of the evening. I do not remember to have met with the same in any other poet; and yet there is, to be sure, something so agreeable in that soft and gentle light, and such a peculiar fragrance attends it in the summer months, that it is a circumstance which adds great beauty to his description. I have often thought that the weakness

They to their grassy couch, these to their nests  
 Were slunk, all but the wakeful nightingale ;  
 She all night long her amorous descant sung ;  
 Silence was pleas'd : now glow'd the firmament  
 With living sapphires : Hesperus, that led 605  
 The starry host, rode brightest, till the moon  
 Rising in clouded majesty, at length  
 Apparent queen unveil'd her peerless light,  
 And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw.

When Adam thus to Eve. Fair consort, th' hour  
 Of night, and all things now retir'd to rest 611  
 Mind us of like repose, since God hath set  
 Labour and rest, as day and night to men  
 Successive ; and the timely dew of sleep

of our poet's eyes, to which this kind of light must be vastly pleasant, might be the reason that he so often introduces the mention of it. *Thyer.*

598. The same may be said of his descriptions of the early morning. As in *Par. Lost*, vii. 374. and *Lycidas*, 187.

When the still morn went out with  
*sandals gray.*

But Shakespeare also is fond of  
*the gray morning.*

*The gray-ey'd morn* smiles on the  
*frowning night.*

Romeo and Juliet, ii. 3. and again  
 iii. 5. And *the morrow gray* was  
 a common expression with our  
 early poets, as Chaucer, in his  
*Knight's Tale*, 1493. Sackville,  
*Induct.* st. 40. *Dunster.*

603. *She all night long her  
 amorous descant sung ;*] Perhaps  
 he remembered Petrarch, *Sonn.* x.

*Et' rosignuol, che dolcemente a l'om-  
 bra  
 Tutte le notte si lamenta e piagne.*  
*T. Warton.*

604. *Silence was pleas'd*] Com-  
 pare *Comus*, 557.

—that even Silence

Was took ere she ware, &c.

The conceit in both passages is  
 unworthy of the poet. *T. War-  
 ton.*

609. *And o'er the dark her  
 silver mantle threw.*] See *Ode on  
 the Passion*, 30. And in Buck-  
 hurst's *Induction*, st. iv.

*Loe, the night with mistie mantels  
 spread.*

and st. xl.

—Let the night's black mistie mantels  
 rise.

*Bowle.*

614. —and the timely dew of  
*sleep*

*Now falling with soft slumb'rous  
 weight inclines*

*Our eye-lids:]*

S 4

Now falling with soft slumb'rous weight inclines 615  
 Our eye-lids : other creatures all day long  
 Rove idle unemploy'd, and less need rest ;  
 Man hath his daily work of body' or mind  
 Appointed, which declares his dignity,  
 And the regard of heav'n on all his ways ; 620  
 While other animals unactive range,  
 And of their doings God takes no account.  
 To morrow ere fresh morning streak the east  
 With first approach of light, we must be risen,  
 And at our pleasant labour, to reform 625  
 Yon flow'ry arbours, yonder alleys green,  
 Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,  
 That mock our scant manuring, and require  
 More hands than ours to lop their wanton growth :  
 Those blossoms also, and those dropping gums, 630  
 That lie bestrown unsightly and unsmooth,  
 Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with ease ;  
 Mean while, as nature wills, night bids us rest.  
 To whom thus Eve with perfect beauty' adorn'd.  
 My author and disposer, what thou bidd'st 635

Spenser Faery Queen, b. i. cant.  
i. st. 36.

The drooping night thus creepeth on  
 them fast,  
 And the sad humour loading their eye-  
 lids,  
 As messenger of Morpheus on them  
 cast  
 Sweet slumb'ring dew, the which to  
 sleep them bids.

Thyer.

627. *Our walk*] In the first edition it was *our walks*, in the second and all following *our walk*.

628. *That mock our scant manuring.*] Manuring is not here to be understood in the common sense, but as working with hands, as the French *manœuvrer* ; it is, as immediately after, to lop, to rid away what is scattered. Richardson.

635. *My author and disposer,*] *For whom and from whom I was formed*, in our poet's own words, ver. 440. *My author*, the author of my being, out of whom I was made. Hume.

Unargued I obey ; so God ordains ;  
 God is thy law, thou mine : to know no more  
 Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.  
 With thee conversing I forget all time ;  
 All seasons and their change, all please alike. 640  
 Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet,  
 With charm of earliest birds ; pleasant the sun,  
 With charm of earliest birds ; pleasant the sun,  
 When first on this delightful land he spreads  
 His orient beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,  
 Glist'ring with dew ; fragrant the fertile earth 645  
 After soft show'rs ; and sweet the coming on

We have another view of our first parents in their evening discourses, which are full of pleasing images and sentiments suitable to their condition and characters. The speech of Eve in particular is dressed up in such a soft and natural turn of the words, as cannot be sufficiently admired. *Addison.*

640. *All seasons and their change,*] We should understand here the seasons of the day, and not of the year. So in viii. 69. we read

His seasons, hours, or days, or months,  
 or years :

and in ix. 200. he says, Adam and Eve partake *the season prime for sweetest scents*, that is, the morning. It was now an *eternal spring*, ver. 268. and we shall read in x. 677. of the changes made after the fall,

— to bring in change

Of seasons to each clime ; else had  
 the spring

Perpetual smil'd on earth with verdant  
 flowers.

And we may farther observe, that Eve in the following charming lines mentions *morning, evening, night*, the times of the day, and not the seasons of the year.

641. *Sweet is the breath of morn, &c.*] Mr. Dryden in his preface to Juvenal has observed upon our author, that he could not find any elegant turns in him either on the words or on the thoughts. But Mr. Addison in one of the *Tatlers* (No. 114.) quotes this delightful passage in vindication of Milton, and remarks that the variety of images in it is infinitely pleasing, and the recapitulation of each particular image, with a little varying of the expression, makes one of the finest turns of words he had ever seen. He farther observes, that though the sweetness of these verses has something in it of a pastoral, yet it excels the ordinary kind, as much as the scene of it is above an ordinary field or meadow.

Of grateful evening mild ; then silent night  
 With this her solemn bird, and this fair moon,  
 And these the gems of heav'n, her starry train :  
 But neither breath of morn, when she ascends 650  
 With charm of earliest birds ; nor rising sun  
 On this delightful land ; nor herb, fruit, flower,  
 Glist'ring with dew ; nor fragrance after showers ;  
 Nor grateful evening mild ; nor silent night  
 With this her solemn bird, nor walk by moon, 655  
 Or glittering star-light without thee is sweet.  
 But wherefore all night long shine these ? for whom  
 This glorious sight, when sleep hath shut all eyes ?

To whom our general ancestor replied.

Daughter of God and man, accomplish'd Eve, 660  
 These have their course to finish round the earth,  
 By morrow evening, and from land to land  
 In order, though to nations yet unborn,

648. *With this her solemn bird,*] The nightingale, *most musical, most melancholy*, as he says elsewhere. She is called *the solemn nightingale*, vii. 435.

660. *Daughter of God and man, accomplish'd Eve,*] Mr. Pope, in his excellent notes upon Homer, b. i. ver. 97. observes, that those appellations of praise and honour, with which the heroes in Homer so frequently salute each other, were agreeable to the style of the ancient times, as appears from several of the like nature in Scripture. Milton has not been wanting to give his poem this cast of antiquity, throughout which our first parents almost always accost each

other with some title, that expresses a respect to the dignity of human nature.

661. *These have their course*] I have presumed to make a small alteration here in the text, and read *These*, though in most other editions, and even in Milton's own, I find *Those* ; because it is said before, ver. 657.

But wherefore all night long shine  
*these* ?

and afterwards, ver. 674.

*These* then, though unbeheld in deep  
 of night,  
 Shine not in vain ;

both which passages evince that *Those* here is an error of the press.



Minist'ring light prepar'd, they set and rise ;  
 Lest total darkness should by night regain 665  
 Her old possession, and extinguish life  
 In nature and all things, which these soft fires  
 Not only' inlighten, but with kindly heat  
 Of various influence foment and warm,  
 Temper or nourish, or in part shed down 670  
 Their stellar virtue on all kinds that grow  
 On earth, made hereby apter to receive  
 Perfection from the sun's more potent ray.  
 These then, though unbeheld in deep of night, 674  
 Shine not in vain ; nor think, though men were none,  
 That heav'n would want spectators, God want praise :  
 Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth  
 Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep :  
 All these with ceaseless praise his works behold  
 Both day and night : how often from the steep 680  
 Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard  
 Celestial voices to the midnight air,

671. *Their stellar virtue*] As Milton was an universal scholar, so he had not a little affectation of shewing his learning of all kinds, and makes Adam discourse here somewhat like an adept in astrology, which was too much the philosophy of his own times. What he says afterwards of numberless spiritual creatures walking the earth unseen, and joining in praises to their great Creator, is of a nobler strain, more agreeable to reason and revelation, as well as more pleasing to the imagination, and seems to be an imitation and improvement of old

Hesiod's notion of good geniusses, the guardians of mortal men, clothed with air, wandering every where through the earth. See Hesiod, i. 120—125.

682. *Celestial voices to the midnight air.*] Singing to the midnight air. So in Virg. Ecl. i. 57.

—*cuncti frondator ad auras.*

For, as Dr. Pearce observes, there should be a comma after *note*, that the construction may be *Singing their great Creator to the midnight air*. And this notion of their singing thus by night is agreeable to the account given by Lucretius, iv. 586.

Sole, or responsive each to other's note,  
 Singing their great Creator? oft in bands  
 While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk 685  
 With heav'nly touch of instrumental sounds  
 In full harmonic number join'd, their songs  
 Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to heaven.

Thus talking hand in hand alone they pass'd  
 On to their blissful bow'r; it was a place 690  
 Chos'n by the sovran Planter, when he fram'd  
 All things to Man's delightful use; the roof  
 Of thickest covert was inwoven shade  
 Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew  
 Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either side 695  
 Acanthus, and each odorous bushy shrub  
 Fenc'd up the verdant wall; each beauteous flower,  
 Iris all hues, roses, and jessamine  
 Rear'd high their flourish'd heads between, and wrought  
 Mosaic; underfoot the violet, 700

Quorum noctivago strepitu, ludoque  
 jocanti,  
 Adfirmant vulgò taciturna silentia  
 rumpl,  
 Chordarumque sonos fieri, dulcesque  
 querelas,  
 Tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata ca-  
 nentum.

688. *Divide the night.*] Into  
 watches, as the trumpet did  
 among the ancients, sounding  
 as the watch was relieved, which  
 was called *dividing the night*.

—cum buccina noctem  
 Divideret. *Sil. Ital.* vii. 154.

Richardson.

694. *Laurel and myrtle,*] *Virg.*  
*Ecl.* ii. 54.

Et vos, ô lauri, carpam, et te proxima myrte,

Sic positæ quoniam suaves miscetis  
 odores.

Hume.

698. *Iris*] The flower-de-luce  
 so called from resembling the  
 colours of the Iris or rainbow.  
*Iris all hues*, that is *of all hues*,  
 as a little before we have *inwoven*  
*shade laurel and myrtle*, that is,  
 inwoven shade *of* laurel and  
 myrtle. Such omissions are fre-  
 quent in Milton.

700. —the violet,  
*Crocus, and hyacinth*]  
*Homer, Iliad.* xiv. 347.

Ταῖς δ' ὅσας χθονὶ διὰ φθινὸς πεφύλια παύει,  
 ἅντοι δ' ἱερπύττα, ἰδί κροκόν, καὶ ὑακινθόν.  
 Πικρὰν καὶ μαλ' ἀκροὺς, ἧς ἀνὰ χθονὸς ὕψος  
 μέγιστον.

Crocus, and hyacinth with rich inlay  
 Broider'd the ground, more colour'd than with stone  
 Of costliest emblem: other creature here,  
 Beast, bird, insect, or worm durst enter none,  
 Such was their awe of Man. In shadier bower 705  
 More sacred and sequester'd, though but feign'd,  
 Pan or Sylvanus never slept, nor Nymph,  
 Nor Faunus haunted. Here in close recess  
 With flowers, garlands, and sweet-smelling herbs  
 Espoused Eve deck'd first her nuptial bed, 710  
 And heav'nly quires the hymenæan sung,

Glad earth perceives, and from her  
 bosom pours  
 Unbidden herbs, and voluntary  
 flow'rs;  
 Thick new-born violets a soft carpet  
 spread,  
 And clust'ring lotos swell'd the rising  
 bed,  
 And sudden hyacinths the turf be-  
 atrow,  
 And flamy crocus made the moun-  
 tain glow.

Where Mr. Pope remarks, that in our author the very turn of Homer's verses is observed, and the cadence, and almost the words finely translated.

703. *Of costliest emblem:*] *Emblem* is here in the Greek and Latin sense for inlaid floors of stone or wood, to make figures mathematical or pictural:

*Arte pavimenti atque emblemate vermiculato.*

*Bentley.*

705. —*In shadier bower*] So it is in the first edition. The purport of the simile is this, There never was a more shady, more sacred and sequestered bower, though but in fiction,

than this was in reality. *Pan*, the god of shepherds, or *Sylvanus*, the god of woods and groves, *Wood-nymph*, or *Faunus*, the tutelary God of husbandmen, were not even feigned to enjoy a more sweet recess than this of Adam and Eve.

706. *Sequestered* occurs in the same application, *Comus*, 500.

How could'st thou find this dark sequester'd nook?

*T. Warton.*

709. *With flowers,*] Milton usually spells it *flours*, but here it is with two syllables *flowers*; when he pronounces the word as one syllable, he sometimes spells it *flower*, *flow'r*, sometimes *floure*, sometimes *flower*: and so likewise *bower* he spells differently *bower*, *bowr*, *bowre*; and *shower* likewise *shower*, *showr*, *showre*. It is fitting that all these should be reduced to some certain standard, and what standard more proper than the present practice, and especially since there are several instances of the same in Milton himself?

What day the genial Angel to our sire  
 Brought her in naked beauty more adorn'd,  
 More lovely than Pandora, whom the gods  
 Endow'd with all their gifts, and O too like 715  
 In sad event, when to th' unwiser son  
 Of Japhet brought by Hermes, she insnar'd  
 Mankind with her fair looks, to be aveng'd  
 On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire.

Thus at their shady lodge arriv'd, both stood, 720  
 Both turn'd, and under open sky ador'd  
 The God that made both sky, air, earth, and heaven,

714. *More lovely than Pandora*, &c.] The story is this. Prometheus the son of *Japhet* (or *Japetus*) had stolen fire from heaven, *Jove's authentic fire*, the original and prototype of all earthly fire, which Jupiter being angry at, to be revenged sent him *Pandora*, so called because all the gods had contributed their gifts to make her more charming, (for so the word signifies.) She was brought by *Hermes* (*Mercury*), but was not received by Prometheus the wiser son of *Japhet*, (as the name implies,) but by his brother *Epimetheus the unwiser son*. She enticed his foolish curiosity to open a box which she brought, wherein were contained all manner of evils. *Richardson*.

The epithet *unwiser* does not imply that his brother Prometheus was unwise. Milton uses *unwiser*, as any Latin writer would *imprudensior*, for not so wise as he should have been. So *audacior*, *timidior*, *vehementior*,

*iracundior*, &c. mean bolder, &c. *quam par est*, than is right and fit, and imply less than *audax*, *timidus*, &c. in the positive degree. *Jortin*.

720. *Thus at their shady lodge arriv'd, both stood,*

*Both turn'd, &c.]*

A great admirer of Milton observes, that he sometimes places two monosyllables at the end of the line stopping at the fourth foot, to adapt the measure of the verse to the sense; and then begins the next line in the same manner, which has a wonderful effect. This artful manner of writing makes the reader see them *stand and turn* to worship God before they went into their bower. If this manner was altered, much of the effect of the painting would be lost.

And now arriving at their shady lodge

Both stood, both turn'd, and under open sky

Ador'd the God &c.

Which they beheld, the moon's resplendent globe,  
 And starry pole: Thou also mad'st the night,  
 Maker omnipotent, and thou the day, 725  
 Which we in our appointed work employ'd  
 Have finish'd, happy in our mutual help  
 And mutual love, the crown of all our bliss  
 Ordain'd by thee, and this delicious place  
 For us too large, where thy abundance wants 730  
 Partakers, and uncropt falls to the ground.

723. —*the moon's resplendent globe,*

*And starry pole:]*

Virg. *Æn.* vi. 725.

*Læcentemque globum lunæ, Titania-  
 que astra.*

724. —*Thou also mad'st the night, &c.]* A masterly transition this, which the poet makes to their evening worship. Most of the modern heroic poets have imitated the ancients, in beginning a speech without premising, that the person said thus and thus; but as it is easy to imitate the ancients in the omission of two or three words, it requires judgment to do it in such a manner as they shall not be missed, and that the speech may begin naturally without them. There is a fine instance of this kind out of Homer, in the twenty-third chapter of Longinus. *Addison.*

I conceive Mr. Addison meant sect. 27. and the instance there given is of Hector being first named, and then of a sudden introduced as speaking, without any notice given that he does so. But the transition here in Milton is of another sort; it is first

speaking of a person, and then suddenly turning the discourse, and speaking to him. And we may observe the like transition from the third to the second person in the hymn to Hercules, Virg. *Æn.* viii. 291.

—*ut duros mille labores*

*Pertulerit. Tu nubigenas, invictæ,  
 himembres &c.*

729. —*and this delicious place]* Dr. Bentley reads, *Thou this delicious place*, that is, *Thou mad'st &c.* as in ver. 724. *Thou also mad'st the night.* Dr. Pearce chooses rather to read thus,

—*the crown of all our bliss*

*Ordain'd by thee in this delicious place.*

The construction no doubt is somewhat obscure, but without any alteration we may understand the passage with Dr. Pearce thus, *and thou mad'st this delicious place:* or with Mr. Richardson thus, *happy in our mutual help, and mutual love*, the chief of all our bliss, thy gift, and happy in *this delicious Paradise:* or thus, *happy in our mutual help and mutual love, the crown of all our bliss, and of this delicious place.*

But thou hast promis'd from us two a race  
 To fill the earth, who shall with us extol  
 Thy goodness infinite, both when we wake,  
 And when we seek, as now, thy gift of sleep. 735

This said unanimous, and other rites  
 Observing none, but adoration pure  
 Which God likes best, into their inmost bower  
 Handed they went; and eas'd the putting off  
 These troublesome disguises which we wear, 740  
 Straight side by side were laid; nor turn'd I ween  
 Adam from his fair spouse, nor Eve the rites  
 Mysterious of connubial love refus'd:  
 Whatever hypocrites austere talk  
 Of purity and place and innocence, 745

735. —*thy gift of sleep*] Dr. Bentley reads *the gift*, and observes that it is word for word from Homer, who has the expression frequently:

*Καμνησέ' αὖ' αὖτις, καὶ ἴππῳ δούξαι  
 ἱλόντα.*

But *thy gift* is right, for in ver. 612. Milton says that *God hath set labour and rest to men successive*; therefore sleep is *God's gift*: and Virgil (whom Milton oftener imitates than Homer) says of sleep,

—*dono Divūm gratissima serpit.*  
*Æn. ii. 269.*  
*Pearce.*

736. *This said unanimous, and other rites*

*Observing none, but adoration pure*

*Which God likes best,]*

Here Milton expresses his own favourite notions of devotion,

which, it is well known, were very much against any thing ceremonial; and this confirms what was observed in his life, that he was full of the interior of religion, though he little regarded the exterior. *Thyer.*

744. *Whatever hypocrites &c.]* Our author calls those, who under a notion of greater purity and perfection decry and forbid marriage as they do in the Church of Rome, *hypocrites*; and says afterwards that it is the doctrine of our *Destroyer*, in allusion to that text of St. Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3. *Now the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, &c.*

Defaming as impure what God declares  
 Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all.  
 Our Maker bids increase ; who bids abstain  
 But our destroyer, foe to God and Man ?  
 Hail wedded Love, mysterious law, true source 750  
 Of human offspring, sole propriety  
 In Paradise of all things common else.  
 By thee adult'rous lust was driv'n from men  
 Among the bestial herds to range ; by thee  
 Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure, 755  
 Relations dear, and all the charities

750. *Hail wedded Love, &c.*] An ingenious friend has informed me, that this address to wedded Love is borrowed from one of Tasso's letters ; *O dolce congiunzione de' cuori, o soave unione de gli animi nostri, o legittimo nodo, &c.* The quotation would swell this note to too great a length ; but the reader, who understands Italian, may, if he please, compare the original with our author, and he will easily perceive what an excellent copier Milton was, as judicious in omitting some circumstances as in imitating others. It is in one of Tasso's letters to his relation Signor Hercole Tasso, lib. ii. p. 150. Edit. In Venetia. 1592.

750. —*mysterious law,*] That is, including a mystery in it, in the same sense as *mysterious rites* are spoken of before. He plainly alludes to St. Paul's calling matrimony a *mystery*, Eph. v. 32. No need then for Dr. Bentley's *mysterious league*: and his objection, that a *law*

supposed to be *mysterious* is no law at all, is easily answered ; for by *mysterious* he (Dr. Bentley) means, itself *hidden or concealed* ; and Milton means, containing some hidden meaning in it, besides the plain precept which appeared. *Pearce.*

752. —*of all things common else.*] Dr. Bentley reads '*mong all things* ; but *of* signifies *among* in this place, as it does in ver. 411. and in v. 659. vi. 24. and elsewhere. *Pearce.*

756. —*and all the charities*] *Charities* is used in the Latin signification, and like *caritates* comprehends all the relations, all the endearments of consanguinity and affinity, as in Cicero De Officiis, i. 17. *Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares ; sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est.* It is used likewise in this manner in the Italian, and by Tasso in the place which our author is here imitating, *Ma la charita del fglivolo, e del padre.*

Of father, son, and brother first were known.  
 Far be' it, that I should write thee sin or blame,  
 Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,  
 Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets, 760  
 Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounc'd,  
 Present, or past, as saints and patriarchs us'd.  
 Here love his golden shafts employs, here lights  
 His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings,  
 Reigns here and revels ; not in the bought smile 765

761. *Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounc'd,*] In allusion to Heb. xiii. 4. *Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled.* And Milton must have had a good opinion of marriage, or he would never have had three wives. And though this panegyric upon wedded love may be condemned as a digression, yet it can hardly be called a digression, when it grows so naturally out of the subject, and is introduced so properly, while the action of the poem is in a manuer suspended, and while Adam and Eve are lying down to sleep; and if morality be one great end of poetry, that end cannot be better promoted than by such digressions as this and that upon hypocrisy at the latter part of the third book.

763. *Here love his golden shafts employs, here lights*

*His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings,*]

Here, as Mr. Steevens observes, there is a palpable imitation of Jonson, *Hymenæi*, vol. v. p. 291.

Marriage love's object is, at whose bright eyes  
 He lights his torches, and calls them his skies;  
 For her he wings his shoulders, &c.

But our author has a reference to Ovid's Cupid, who has a golden dart with a sharp point, which is attractive; and one of lead and blunted, which is repulsive. *Metam.* i. 470.

*Quod facit, auratum est, et cuspidē fulget acutū.*

So again, of faithless love,  
 " Strait his [Love's] arrows lose their golden heads." Divorce, b. i. ch. vi. *Prose Works*, i. 174. *T. Warton.*

765. *Reigns here and revels ;*] What our author here says of marriage, Marino applies in the same terms to Venus in his description of her, *Adon.* cant. ii. st. 114. and it is probable that Milton alluded to this and other such extravagances of the poets, and meant to say, that what they had extravagantly and falsely applied to loose wanton love, was really true of that passion in its state of innocence.



Of harlots, loveless, joyless, unindear'd,  
 Casual fruition ; nor in court amours,  
 Mix'd dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball,  
 Or serenate, which the starv'd lover sings  
 To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain. 770  
 These lull'd by nightingales embracing slept,  
 And on their naked limbs the flow'ry roof  
 Show'r'd roses, which the morn repair'd. Sleep on,  
 Blest pair ; and O yet happiest, if ye seek  
 No happier state, and know to know no more. 775  
 Now had night measur'd with her shadowy cone

Quia Amor si trastulla, e quindi  
 impera.

*Thyer.*

767. —*nor in court amours, Mix'd dance, or wanton mask,*] Milton now speaks contemptuously of those interludes, which had been among the chief diversions of an elegant and liberal monarch. And in his *Ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth*, written in 1660, on the inconveniences and dangers of readmitting kingship, and with a view to counteract the noxious humour of returning to Bondage, he says, "a king must be adored as a demigod, with a dissolute and haughty court about him, of vast expence and luxury, masks and revels, to the debauching our prime gentry, both male and female, not in their *pastimes* only, &c." Pr. W. i. 590.

There had been a time when Milton had not yet contracted an aversion to courts and court amusements. In *L'Allegro*,

—Pomp, and feast, and revelry,  
 With mask, and antique pageantry.

are among his pleasures : and the Mask was a species of entertainment to which as a writer he had given encouragement. The royal Masks however did not, like Comus, always abound with Platonic recommendations of the doctrine of chastity. *T. Warton.*

769. *Or serenate, which the starv'd lover sings*] We commonly say *serenade* with the French, but Milton keeps, as usual, the Italian word *serenate*, which the starved lover sings, starved as this compliment was commonly paid in *sereno*, in clear cold nights. Horace mentions this circumstance, Od. iii. x. i.

Extremum Tannai si biberes, Lyce,  
 Sævo nupta viro, me tamen asperas  
 Projectum ante fores objicere incolis  
 Plorares aquilonibus :

and in another of his odes he has preserved a fragment of one of these songs, Od. i. xxv. 7.

Me tuo longas pereunte noctes,  
 Lydia, dormis.

776. *Now had night measur'd*  
 T 2

Half way up hill this vast sublunar vault,  
 And from their ivory port the Cherubim  
 Forth issuing at th' accustom'd hour stood arm'd  
 To their night watches in warlike parade, 780  
 When Gabriel to his next in pow'r thus spake.

Uzziel, half these draw off, and coast the south  
 With strictest watch ; these other wheel the north ;

*with her shadowy cone*] A cone is a figure round at bottom, and lessening all the way ends in a point. This is the form of the shadow of the earth, the base of the cone standing upon that side of the globe where the sun is not, and consequently when it is night there. This cone to those who are on the darkened side of the earth, could it be seen, would mount as the sun fell lower, and be at its utmost highth in the vault of their heaven when it was midnight. The shadowy cone had now arisen half way, consequently supposing it to be about the time when the days and nights were of equal length, (as it was x. 329.) it must be now about nine o'clock, the usual time of the angels setting their sentries, as it immediately follows. This is marking the time very poetically. *Richardson.*

777. *Half way up hill*] The expression is something dark, but it is right. *Half way up hill*, half way towards midnight, the third hour of the night ; the accustomed hour for the first military watch to take their rounds. Spenser, Faery Queen, b. i. cant. ii. st. 1.

*Phœbus was climbing up the eastern hill.*

*Bentley.*

777. —*this vast sublunar vault,*] For the shadow of the earth sweeps as it were the whole arch or vault of heaven between the earth and moon, and extends beyond the orbit of the moon, as appears from the lunar eclipses.

778. *And from their ivory port &c.*] We cannot conceive that here is any allusion to the ivory gate of sleep, mentioned by Homer and Virgil, from whence false dreams proceeded ; for the poet could never intend to insinuate that what he was saying about the angelic guards was all a fiction. As the rock was of alabaster, ver. 543. so he makes the gate of ivory, and houses and palaces of ivory are mentioned as instances of magnificence in Scripture, as are likewise doors of ivory in Ovid, Met. iv. 185.

*Lemnius extemplo valvar patefecit eburnas.*

782. *Uzziel,*] The next commanding angel to Gabriel ; his name in Hebrew is *the strength of God*, as all God's mighty angels are. *Hume.*

Our circuit meets full west. As flame they part,  
 Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear. 785  
 From these, two strong and subtle spi'rits he call'd  
 That near him stood, and gave them thus in charge.

Ithuriel and Zephon, with wing'd speed  
 Search through this garden, leave unsearch'd no nook ;  
 But chiefly where those two fair creatures lodge, 790  
 Now laid perhaps asleep secure of harm.  
 This evening from the sun's decline arriv'd  
 Who tells of some infernal spirit seen  
 Hitherward bent (who could have thought ?) escap'd  
 The bars of hell, on errand bad no doubt : 795  
 Such where ye find, seize fast, and hither bring.

So saying, on he led his radiant files,  
 Dazzling the moon ; these to the bow'r direct  
 In search of whom they sought : him there they found  
 Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve, 800

784. — *As flame they part,*] This break in the verse is excellently adapted to the subject. They part as the flame divides into separate wreaths. A short simile, but expressive of their quickness and rapidity, and of their brightness and the splendor of their armour at the same time. Homer in the second book of the Iliad compares the march of the Trojans to the flame, but this simile is better suited to these beings, of whom the Scripture says, *He maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.*

785. *Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear.*] *Declinare ad hastam vel ad scutum.* Livy. to wheel to the right or left. *Hume.*

As all the angels stood in the eastern gate, their right hand was to the north, *to the spear* ; their left hand to the south, *to the shield.* From these that wheeled to the spear Gabriel calls out two : he himself then was in that company. *Shield and spear* for left hand and right, while the men are supposed in arms, gives a dignity of expression, more than the common words have. *Bentley.*

788. *Ithuriel and Zephon,*] Two angels having their names as indication of their offices. *Ithuriel* in Hebrew the discovery of God. *Zephon* in Hebrew a secret or searcher of secrets. *Hume.*

Assaying by his devilish art to reach  
 The organs of her fancy', and with them forge  
 Illusions as he list, phantasms and dreams,  
 Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint  
 Th' animal spirits that from pure blood arise 805  
 Like gentle breaths from rivers pure, thence raise  
 At least distemper'd, discontented thoughts,  
 Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,  
 Blown up with high conceits ingend'ring pride.  
 Him thus intent Ithuriel with his spear 810  
 Touch'd lightly; for no falsehood can indure  
 Touch of celestial temper, but returns  
 Of force to its own likeness; up he starts  
 Discover'd and surpris'd. As when a spark  
 Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid 815  
 Fit for the tun some magazine to store  
 Against a rumour'd war, the smutty grain

804. *Or if, inspiring venom, &c.]*  
 So Virg. *Æn.* vii. 351. where  
 the serpent, that the fury Alecto  
 had flung upon Amata, creeps  
 softly over her,

*Vipeream inspirans animam—  
 Pertentat sensus.*

*Richardson.*

The construction is, Assaying  
 to reach the organs of fancy, and  
 so to work upon her by phan-  
 tasms and dreams; or (assaying)  
 if he might taint the animal  
 spirits, which arise from pure  
 blood as soft and gentle airs  
 from clear rivers, and by tainting  
 the animal spirits might raise at  
 least vain thoughts, if not sinful  
 actions.

814. —*As when a spark  
 Lights on a heap of nitrous  
 powder, &c.]*

Ariosto uses the same simile to  
 describe a sudden start of pas-  
 sion. *Orl. Fur. cant. x. st. 40.*

*Non così fin salnitro, e zolfo puro  
 Tocco dal foco, subito s'auampa.  
 Ev'n as saltpetre mixt with beam-  
 stone pure,  
 Inflameth strait, when once it feels  
 the fire. Harrington.*

*Thyer.*

816. *Fit for the tun]* It is  
 commonly called a *barrel*: but  
 Milton for the sake of his verse,  
 and perhaps for the sake of a less  
 vulgar term, calls it a *tun* from  
 the French *tonneau*, any cask or  
 vessel.

With sudden blaze diffus'd inflames the air :  
 So started up in his own shape the Fiend.  
 Back stept those two fair Angels half amaz'd 820  
 So sudden to behold the grisly king ;  
 Yet thus, unmov'd with fear, accost him soon.

Which of those rebel spi'rits adjudg'd to hell  
 Com'st thou, escap'd thy prison ? and transform'd,  
 Why sat'st thou like an enemy in wait, 825  
 Here watching at the head of these that sleep ?

Know ye not then, said Satan fill'd with scorn,  
 Know ye not me ? ye knew me once no mate  
 For you, there sitting where ye durst not soar :  
 Not to know me argues yourselves unknown, 830  
 The lowest of your throng ; or if ye know, .  
 Why ask ye, and superfluous begin  
 Your message, like to end as much in vain ?

To whom thus Zephon, answ'ring scorn with scorn.

819. *So started up in his own shape the Fiend.*] His planting himself at the ear of Eve under the form of a toad, in order to produce vain dreams and imaginations, is a circumstance that surprises the reader ; as his starting up in his own form is wonderfully fine, both in the literal description, and in the moral which is concealed under it. His answer, upon his being discovered and demanded to give an account of himself, is conformable to the pride and intrepidity of his character. Zephon's rebuke, with the influence it had on Satan, is exquisitely graceful and moral. *Addison.*

829. —*there sitting where ye durst not soar :*] *As sitting* is frequently used in the Scriptures, and in other ancient writers, for a posture that implies a high rank of dignity and power ; Satan by this expression intimates his great superiority over them, that he had the privilege to *sit*, as an angel of figure and authority, in an eminent part of heaven, where they *durst not soar*, where they did not presume even to come. *Greenwood.*

834. *To whom thus Zephon,*] Zephon is very properly made to answer him, and not Ithuriel, that each of them may appear as actors upon this occasion. Ithuriel with his spear restored

Think not, revolted spi'rit, thy shape the same, 835  
 Or undiminish'd brightness to be known,  
 As when thou stood'st in heav'n upright and pure ;  
 That glory then, when thou no more wast good,  
 Departed from thee' ; and thou resemblest now  
 Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foul. 840  
 But come, for thou, be sure, shalt give account  
 To him who sent us; whose charge is to keep  
 This place inviolable, and these from harm.

So spake the Cherub ; and his grave rebuke,  
 Severe in youthful beauty, added grace 845  
 Invincible : abash'd the Devil stood,  
 And felt how awful goodness is, and saw  
 Virtue' in her shape how lovely ; saw, and pin'd

the fiend to his own shape, and Zephon rebukes him. It would not have been so well, if the same person had done both.

835. *Think not, revolted spi'rit,  
 thy shape the same  
 Or undiminish'd brightness to  
 be known,]*

Dr. Bentley judges rightly enough that the present reading is faulty; for if the words *thy shape the same* are in the ablative case put absolutely, it is necessary that *undiminished* should follow *brightness*: and accordingly the Doctor reads *or brightness undiminished*: which order of the words we must follow, unless it may be thought as small an alteration to read thus,

Think not, revolted spi'rit, *by shape*  
 the same  
 Or undiminish'd brightness to be  
 known :

just as in i. 732. we have

—his hand was known  
 In heav'n by many a tow'rd structure high.

Pearce.

But without any alteration may we not understand *shape* and *brightness* as in the accusative case after the verb *think*? Think not thy shape the same, or undiminished brightness to be known now, as it was formerly in heaven.

845. *Severe in youthful beauty, added grace]* Virg. *Æn.* v. 344.

Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.

848. *Virtue' in her shape how lovely ; &c.]* What is said here of seeing *Virtue* in her shape how lovely is manifestly borrowed from Plato and Cicero, *Formam quidem ipsam et quasi faciem honesti vides, quæ si oculis*

His loss ; but chiefly to find here observ'd  
 His lustre visibly impair'd ; yet seem'd 850.  
 Undaunted. If I must contend, said he,  
 Best with the best, the sender not the sent,  
 Or all at once ; more glory will be won,  
 Or less be lost. Thy fear, said Zephon bold,  
 Will save us trial what the least can do 855  
 Single against thee wicked, and thence weak.

The Fiend replied not, overcome with rage ;  
 But like a proud steed rein'd, went haughty on,  
 Champing his iron curb : to strive or fly  
 He held it vain ; awe from above had quell'd 860  
 His heart, not else dismay'd. Now drew they nigh  
 The western point, where those half-rounding guards  
 Just met, and closing stood in squadron join'd,  
 Awaiting next command. To whom their chief  
 Gabriël from the front thus call'd aloud. 865

O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet

cerneretur, mirabiles amores (ut ait Plato) excitaret sapientiæ. Cic. de Off. i. 5. as what follows, saw and pined his loss, is an imitation of Persius, Sat. iii. 38.

Virtutem vident intabescantque relictæ.

Virtue in all her charms before them set,

And rack them with the pangs of vain regret. Howes.

858. —went haughty on,] Satan is afterwards led to Gabriel, the chief of the guardian angels, who kept watch in Paradise. His disdainful behaviour on this occasion is so remarkable a beauty, that the most ordinary reader cannot but take notice of it. Addison.

But like a proud steed rein'd, went haughty on,  
 Champing his iron curb.

This literally from what Mercury saysto Prometheus. Æschyl. Prom. Vincit. 1008.

—Ζακας δε σπορμει ως τοζοργη Πωλες, βιαζη και προς ηνας μαχη.

Thyer.

865. Gabriël from the front] Gabriel is pronounced here as a word of three syllables, though commonly it is used as only of two ; a liberty which Milton takes in the names of the angels.

866. O friends, I hear &c.] Gabriel's discovering Satan's approach at a distance is drawn with great strength and liveliness of imagination. Addison.

Hasting this way, and now by glimpse discern  
 Ithuriel and Zephon through the shade,  
 And with them comes a third of regal port,  
 But faded splendour wan ; who by his gait 870  
 And fierce demeanour seems the prince of hell,  
 Not likely to part hence without contest ;  
 Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours.

He scarce had ended, when those two approach'd,  
 And brief related whom they brought, where found, 875  
 How busied, in what form and posture couch'd.

To whom with stern regard thus Gabriel spake.  
 Why hast thou, Satan, broke the bounds prescrib'd

The learned Mr. Upton in his *Critical Observations on Shakespeare* remarks, that Milton in this whole episode keeps close to his master Homer, who sends out Ulysses and Diomed into the Trojan camp as spies, *Iliad*. x. 533.

Ω φίλοι—

ἴσταν μ' ἀκούειν ἄρτι νύκτας οὐρανὸν βαλλῶ.

O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet.

Οὐρανὸν πάντες ἔμεντο ἴσταν, ὅτ' αἰὲρ ἤλυθεν αὐτοῖσι. ver. 340.

He scarce had ended, when those two approach'd.

877. —with stern regard] Answering to the Homeric *δυναὶ διακαρμῆος*, *Iliad*. iii and *ὑπεδρα ἰδαν*, *torve intuitus*, *Iliad*. iv. *Hume*.

878. —broke the bounds prescrib'd

*To thy transgressions.*]

Dr. Bentley reads *transcursions* ; and Mr. Richardson understands *transgressions* in the same sense. But as Dr. Pearce observes,

though it is right to say that bounds are prescribed to hinder *transcursions*, yet I think it is not proper to say, that bounds are prescribed to *transcursions*. And the common reading is justifiable: for though (as Dr. Bentley says) no bounds could be set to Satan's *transgressions*, but he could transgress in his thought and mind every moment ; yet it is good sense, if Milton meant (as I suppose he did) that the bounds of hell were by God prescribed to Satan's transgressions, so as that it was intended he should transgress no where else, but *within* those bounds ; whereas he was now attempting to transgress *without* them. And by this interpretation we shall not understand *transgressions* in the sense of the pure Latin, and *transgress* in the very next line in the usual English acceptation, but shall affix the same notion both to the one and the other.



To thy transgressions, and disturb'd the charge  
 Of others, who approve not to transgress 880  
 By thy example, but have pow'r and right  
 To question thy bold entrance on this place ;  
 Employ'd it seems to violate sleep, and those  
 Whose dwelling God hath planted here in bliss ?

To whom thus Satan with contemptuous brow. 885  
 Gabriel, thou hadst in heav'n th' esteem of wise,  
 And such I held thee ; but this question ask'd  
 Puts me in doubt. Lives there who loves his pain ?  
 Who would not, finding way, break loose from hell,  
 Though thither doom'd ? Thou would'st thyself, no doubt,  
 And boldly venture to whatever place 891  
 Farthest from pain, where thou might'st hope to change  
 Torment with ease, and soonest recompense  
 Dole with delight, which in this place I sought ;  
 To thee no reason, who know'st only good, 895  
 But evil hast not tried : and wilt object

883. —*to violate sleep,*] Shakespeare in Macbeth has a stronger expression, *to murder sleep* ; both equally proper in the places where they are employed.

887. —*but this question ask'd Puts me in doubt.*] Homer: Thou seem'dst a wise man formerly, *Νῦν δ' ἀφρονὶ φωνεῖς*. Bentley.

892. —*to change Torment with ease,*] We commonly say to change one thing for another, and Dr. Bentley would read *for ease* in this place: but to *change torment with ease* is according to the

Latins, whom Milton often follows. *Glandem mutavit arid.* Virg. Geor. i. 8.

896. —*and wilt object*

*His will who bound us ?*]

If these words are to be read with a note of interrogation as in all the editions, *thou* must be understood, and Dr. Bentley chooses to read *and wilt thou' object*. It is a concise way of speaking, somewhat like that in ii. 730. *and knowest for whom*. I have sometimes thought that the passage may be read without the note of interrogation, by joining it in

His will who bound us ? let him surer bar  
 His iron gates, if he intends our stay  
 In that dark durance : thus much what was ask'd.  
 The rest is true, they found me where they say ; 900  
 But that implies not violence or harm. \*

Thus he in scorn. The warlike angel mov'd,  
 Disdainfully half smiling thus replied.  
 O loss of one in heav'n to judge of wise,  
 Since Satan fell, whom folly overthrew, 905  
 And now returns him from his prison scap'd,  
 Gravely in doubt whether to hold them wise  
 Or not, who ask what boldness brought him hither  
 Unlicens'd from his bounds in hell prescrib'd ;  
 So wise he judges it to fly from pain 910  
 However, and to scape his punishment.  
 So judge thou still, presumptuous, till the wrath,  
 Which thou incurr'st by flying, meet thy flight  
 Sev'nfold, and scourge that wisdom back to hell,  
 Which taught thee yet no better, that no pain 915  
 Can equal anger infinite provok'd.  
 But wherefore thou alone ? wherefore with thee  
 Came not all hell broke loose ? is pain to them  
 Less pain, less to be fled ? or thou than they  
 Less hardy to indure ? courageous chief, 920  
 The first in flight from pain, hadst thou alleg'd  
 To thy deserted host this cause of flight,  
 Thou surely hadst not come sole fugitive.

To which the Fiend thus answer'd frowning stern.

construction with what goes tion gives a spirit and quickness  
 before ; but asking the ques- to it.

Not that I less indure, or shrink from pain, 925  
 Insulting angel ; well thou know'st I stood  
 Thy fiercest, when in battle to thy aid  
 The blasting vollied thunder made all speed,  
 And seconded thy else not dreaded spear.  
 But still thy words at random, as before, 930  
 Argue thy inexperience what behoves  
 From hard assays and ill successes past  
 A faithful leader, not to hazard all  
 Through ways of danger by himself untried :  
 I therefore, I alone first undertook 935  
 To wing the desolate abyss, and spy  
 This new created world, whereof in hell  
 Fame is not silent, here in hope to find  
 Better abode, and my afflicted powers  
 To settle here on earth, or in mid air ; 940  
 Though for possession put to try once more  
 What thou and thy gay legions dare against ;  
 Whose easier business were to serve their Lord  
 High up in heav'n, with songs to hymn his throne,  
 And practis'd distances to cringe, not fight. 945  
 To whom the warrior angel soon replied.

926. —well thou know'st I stood

*Thy fiercest.*]

Dr. Bentley reads *The fiercest*, that is pain : but *Thy fiercest* is right, and we may understand it with Dr. Pearce *Thy fiercest attack*, or with Mr. Richardson *Thy fiercest enemy*. *Fiercest* is used as a substantive, as our author often uses adjectives. Dr. Pearce gives several instances, ii. 278. *The sensible of*

*pain*. xi. 4. *The stony from their hearts*. xi. 497. *His best of man*.

928. *The blasting*] Thus it is in the first edition, the second has it *Thy* ; but the sense requires it to be *The*. Richardson.

945. *And practis'd distances to cringe, not fight.*] *With* is understood. *With songs to hymn his throne, and with practised distances to cringe, not fight*. Dr. Bentley has strangely mistaken it.

To say and strait unsay, pretending first  
 Wise to fly pain, professing next the spy,  
 Argues no leader but a liar trac'd,  
 Satan, and could'st thou faithful add? O name, 950  
 O sacred name of faithfulness profan'd!  
 Faithful to whom? to thy rebellious crew?  
 Army of Fiends, fit body to fit head.  
 Was this your discipline and faith engag'd,  
 Your military obedience, to dissolve 955  
 Allegiance to th' acknowledg'd Power supreme?  
 And thou, sly hypocrite, who now would'st seem  
 Patron of liberty, who more than thou  
 Once fawn'd, and cring'd, and servilely ador'd  
 Heav'n's awful Monarch? wherefore but in hope 960  
 To dispossess him, and thyself to reign?  
 But mark what I arreced thee now, Avant;  
 Fly thither whence thou fledd'st: if from this hour  
 Within these hallow'd limits thou appear,  
 Back to th' infernal pit I drag thee chain'd, 965  
 And seal thee so, as henceforth not to scorn  
 The facile gates of hell too slightly barr'd.

So threaten'd he; but Satan to no threats  
 Gave heed, but waxing more in rage replied.

Then when I am thy captive talk of chains, 970

962. —*arreced*] To decree, to award.

965. —*I drag thee*] The present tense used for the future, to signify the immediate execution of the menace. *Hume*.

A Latinism, and very emphatical. *Quæ prima pericula vito*. Virg. *Æn.* iii. 367. *Cui formula trador? Quem dominum vo-*

*co?* Senec. *Troad.* 473. *Richardson*.

966. *And seal thee so,*] This seems to allude to the chaining of the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, mentioned in the Revelation: and he cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him. *xx. 3. Hume*.

Proud liminary cherub, but ere then  
 Far heavier load thyself expect to feel  
 From my prevailing arm, though heaven's King  
 Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy compeers,  
 Us'd to the yoke, draw'st his triumphant wheels 975  
 In progress through the road of heav'n star-pav'd.

While thus he spake, th' angelic squadron bright  
 Turn'd fiery red, sharp'ning in mooned horns  
 Their phalanx, and began to hem him round  
 With ported spears, as thick as when a field 980

971. *Proud liminary Cherub.*] Thou proud prescribing angel that presumest to *limit* me, and appoint my prison, according to Mr. Hume. Or rather *liminary*, set to guard the bounds; a taunt insulting the good angel as one employed on a little mean office, according to Mr. Richardson. For *liminary* (as Dr. Heylin remarks) is from *limitaneus*. *Milites limitanei* are soldiers in garrison upon the frontiers. So *Dux limitaneus*. Digest. And as Mr. Thyer farther observes, the word is intended as a scornful sneer upon what Gabriel had just said,

—if from this hour  
 Within these hallow'd *limits* thou  
 appear.

974. *Ride on thy wings, &c.*] This seems to allude to Ezekiel's vision, where four cherubims are appointed to the four wheels: *And the cherubims did lift up their wings, and the wheels besides them, and the glory of the God of Israel was over them above.* See chap. i. and x. and xi. 22.

977. *While thus he spake, &c.*] The conference between Gabriel

and Satan abounds with sentiments proper for the occasion, and suitable to the persons of the two speakers. Satan clothing himself with terror, when he prepares for the combat, is truly sublime, and at least equal to Homer's description of Discord celebrated by Longinus, or to that of Fame in Virgil, who are both represented with their feet standing upon the earth, and their heads reaching above the clouds. Addison.

980. *With ported spears,*] With their spears borne pointed towards him. A military term. Hume.

980. —*as thick as when a field &c.*] It is familiar with the poets to compare an army with their spears and swords to a field of standing corn. Homer has a simile much of the same nature, comparing the motion of the army after Agamemnon's speech to the waving of the ears of corn. *Iliad*. ii. 147.

Ὅς δ' ἐνι κισσῷ Ζεφύρος βαδὺ λήϊον  
 ἰλθῶν,  
 λαβρῶς συναγέλει, οἷοι δ' ἤμῃσι ποτα-  
 χεύουσιν  
 ὅς ἐστι ποταμὸς ἀγέλη κισσῶν.

Of Ceres ripe for harvest waving bends  
 Her bearded grove of ears, which way the wind  
 Sways them; the careful ploughman doubting stands,  
 Lest on the threshing floor his hopeful sheaves  
 Prove chaff. On t'other side Satan alarm'd 985  
 Collecting all his might dilated stood,  
 Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd:  
 His stature reach'd the sky, and on his crest

And as on corn when western gusts  
 descend,  
 Before the blast the lofty harvests  
 bend:  
 Thus o'er the field the moving host  
 appears,  
 With nodding plumes and groves of  
 waving spears. Pope.

986. —*dilated stood*, &c.] Our author is indebted, I fancy, for this nervous expression to the following description of Tasso's Argantes addressing himself to fight with Tancred, Gier. Lib. cant. xix. st. 12.

Ma disteso e eretto il fero Argante.

*Disteso* in Italian is exactly the same with *dilated* in English, and expresses very strongly the attitude of an eager and undaunted combatant, where fury not only seems to erect and enlarge his stature, but expands as it were his whole frame, and extends every limb. I do not remember to have ever before met with the word *dilated* applied in the same manner in our language.

Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd:  
 So Satan in Tasso, cant. iv. st. 6.  
 Ne pur Calpe s'inalza, ò l' magno  
 Atlante,  
 Ch' anzi lui non pareasse un picciol  
 colle.

The use of the word *unremoved* for immoveable is very poetical, and justified by Milton's *conjugal attraction unproved*, and Spenser's *unproved truth*. See the note on 492. *Thyer*.

987. *Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd*:] Well may Satan be likened to the greatest mountains, and be said to stand as firm and immoveable as they, when Virgil has applied the same comparison to his hero, Æn. xii. 701.

Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx,  
 aut ipse coruscis  
 Cum fremit illicibus quantus, gaudet-  
 que nivall  
 Vertice se attollens pater Appenninus  
 ad auras.

Like Eryx, or like Athos great he  
 shows,  
 Or father Appennine, when white  
 with snows,  
 His head divine obscure in clouds  
 he hides,  
 And shakes the sounding forest on  
 his sides. Dryden.

988. *His stature reach'd the sky*.] It is probable that besides Homer's Discord, Iliad. iv. 443.

Οὐρανὸν ἑρριπύζαντα, καὶ τοὺς ἑβένιστον,  
 and Virgil's Fame, Æn. iv. 177.

Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nu-  
 hila condit,

mentioned in a note above by Mr. Addison, he alluded likewise

Sat horror plum'd ; nor wanted in his grasp  
 What seem'd both spear and shield : now dreadful deeds  
 Might have ensu'd, nor only Paradise 991  
 In this commotion, but the starry cope  
 Of heav'n perhaps, or all the elements  
 At least had gone to wrack, disturb'd and torn  
 With violence of this conflict, had not soon 995  
 Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray

to that noble description in the book of Wisdom, xviii. 16. *It touched the heaven, but it stood upon the earth.*

989. *Sat horror plum'd ;*] Horror is personified, and is made the plume of his helmet; and how much nobler an idea is this than the horses' tails and sphinxes and dragons and other terrible animals on the helmets of the ancient heroes, or even than the Chimæra vomiting flames on the crest of Turnus, *Æn.* vii. 785.

*Cul triplici crinita jubâ gulea alta  
 Chimæram  
 Sustinet, Ætæos efflantem faucibus  
 ignes.*

A triple pile of plumes his crest  
 adorn'd,  
 On which with belching flames Chl-  
 mæra burn'd ! *Dryden.*

989. Other and better explanations than Dr. Newton's might be offered. But, I believe, we have no precise or determinate conception of what Milton means. And we detract from the sublimity of the passage in endeavouring to explain it, and to give a distinct signification. Here is a nameless terrible grace, resulting from a mixture of ideas, and a confusion of imagery. *T. Warton.*

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989. —*nor wanted in his grasp &c.*] This is said to signify that he wanted not arms, though he was but just raised out of the form of a toad. He was represented as in arms, ii. 812. when he was upon the point of engaging with Death; and we must suppose that his power, as an angel, was such, that he could assume them upon occasion whenever he pleased.

991. —*nor only Paradise &c.*] This representation of what must have happened, if Gabriel and Satan had encountered, is imagined in these few lines with a nobleness suitable to the occasion, and is an improvement upon a thought in Homer, where he represents the terrors which must have attended the conflict of two such powers as Jupiter and Neptune, *Iliad.* xv. 224.

—*μᾶλα γὰρ καὶ μάχης σπιδέσθαι καὶ  
 ἄλλαι,  
 οἷατις νεκτοῖσι καὶ θύοι, Κρονίος ἀμφὶς  
 ἐσσεύετο.*

And all the Gods that round old  
 Saturn dwell,  
 Had heard the thunders to the deeps  
 of hell. *Pope.*

996. *Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray*] The breaking off the combat between Gabriel

U

Hung forth in heav'n his golden scales, yet seen  
Betwixt Astrea and the Scorpion sign,  
Wherein all things created first he weigh'd,

and Satan, by the hanging out of the golden scales in heaven, is a refinement upon Homer's thought, who tells us that before the battle between Hector and Achilles, Jupiter weighed the event of it in a pair of scales. The reader may see the whole passage in the {twenty-second Iliad. Virgil before the last decisive combat describes Jupiter in the same manner, as weighing the fates of Turnus and Æneas. Milton, though he fetched this beautiful circumstance from the Iliad and Æneid, does not only insert it as a poetical embellishment, like the authors above mentioned; but makes an artful use of it for the proper carrying on of his fable, and for the breaking off the combat between the two warriors who were upon the point of engaging. To this we may further add, that Milton is the more justified in this passage, as we find the same noble allegory in holy writ, where a wicked prince, some few hours before he was assaulted and slain, is said to have been weighed in the scales, and to have been found wanting. Addison.

997. —his golden scales,] So they are in Homer *χρυσῆς ταλαντα*, both where he weighs the destinies of the Greeks and Trojans in book the eighth, and the fates of Hector and Achilles in book the twenty-second. And this figure of weighing the destinies of men appeared so beau-

tiful to succeeding poets, that Æschylus (as we are informed by Plutarch in his treatise of *hearing the poets*) wrote a tragedy upon this foundation, which he entitled *ψυχαρταρια* or *the weighing of souls*.

998. *Betwixt Astrea and the Scorpion sign,*] *Libra* or the Scales is one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, as *Astrea* (or *Virgo* the Virgin) and *Scorpio* also are. This does as it were realize the fiction, and gives consequently a greater force to it. *Richardson*.

This allusion to the sign *Libra* in the heavens is a beauty that is not in Homer or Virgil, and gives this passage a manifest advantage over both their descriptions.

999. *Wherein all things created first he weigh'd, &c.*] This of weighing the creation at first and of all events since gives us a sublime idea of Providence, and is conformable to the style of Scripture, Job xxviii. 25. *To make the weight for the winds, and he weigheth the waters by measure.* chap. xxxvii. 16. *Dost thou know the balancing of the clouds?* Isaiah xl. 12. *Who weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance?* And then for weighing particular events since, see 1 Sam. ii. 3. *By him actions are weighed.* Prov. xvi. 2. *The Lord weigheth the spirits.* I do not recollect an instance of weighing battles particularly, but there is



The pendulous round earth with balanc'd air      1000  
 In counterpoise, now ponders all events,  
 Battles and realms: in these he put two weights  
 The sequel each of parting and of fight;

foundation enough for that in Homer and Virgil as we have seen; and then for *weighing kingdoms* we see an instance in Belshazzar, and it is said expressly, Dan. v. 26, 27. *God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it, thou art weighed in the balances.* So finely hath Milton improved upon the fictions of the poets by the eternal truths of holy Scripture.

1003. *The sequel each of parting and of fight;]* Dr. Bentley reads *The signal each &c.* To understand which of these two readings suits the place best, let us consider the poet's thought, which was this: God put in the golden scales two weights: in the one scale he put the weight, which was the *sequel* (that is represented the consequence) of Satan's *parting* from them; in the other scale he put the weight, which was the *sequel* of Satan's *fighting*; neither of the scales had any thing in it immediately relating to Gabriel: and therefore Dr. Bentley mistakes (I think) when he says, that the ascending weight, Satan's, was the signal to him of defeat; the descending, Gabriel's, the *signal* to him of victory: they were both signals (if signals) to Satan only, for he only was *weighed*, ver. 1012; or rather they shewed him what would be the consequence both of his fighting and of his retreating. The scale in

which lay the weight, that was the *sequel* of his *fighting*, by *ascending* shewed him that he was *light in arms*, and could not obtain victory; whereas the other scale, in which was the *sequel* of his *parting* or retreating, having descended, it was a sign that his going off quietly would be his wisest and weightiest attempt. The reader will excuse my having been so long in this note, when he considers that Dr. Bentley, and probably many others have misunderstood Milton's thought about the scales, judging of it by what they read of Jupiter's scales in Homer and Virgil; the account of which is very different from this of Milton; for in them the fates of the two combatants are weighed one against the other, and the descent of one of the scales foreshewed the death of him whose fate lay in that scale, *quo vergit pondere lethum*: whereas in Milton nothing is weighed but what relates to Satan only, and in the two scales are weighed the two different events of his retreating and his fighting. From what has been said it may appear pretty plainly, that Milton by *sequel* meant the consequence or *event*, as it is expressed in ver. 1001, and then there will be no occasion for Dr. Bentley's *signal*; both because it is a very improper word in this place, and because a *signal* of *parting* and of

The latter quick up flew, and kick'd the beam ;  
Which Gabriel spying, thus bespake the Fiend. 1005

*fight*, can be nothing else than a signal when to part and when to fight ; which he will not pretend to be the poet's meaning. *Pearce.*

It may be proper, before we conclude, to produce the passages out of Homer and Virgil, whereof so much has been said, that the reader may have the satisfaction of comparing them with our author, *Iliad. viii. 69.*

Και τότε δε χροσση πατηρ ιτιναι  
σταλσσε

Εν τ' ιτιναι δυς αρετ' επιβληγισι σταλσσε,  
Τρωων δ' ισπαδαμων και Αχαιων χαλ-  
κασιντων

'Ελκε δ' εμμεν λαβωσι, ριπι δ' αεισμεν  
ημας Αχαιων.

Αϊμις Αχαιων αρετ' ενι χροσι πουλυδ-  
εως

'Εξιστην, Τρωων δε προς ουρανον ιενεν  
αιρην.

The Sire of Gods his golden scales  
suspends,

With equal hand : in these explor'd  
the fate

Of Greece and Troy, and pois'd the  
mighty weight.

Press'd with its load the Grecian  
balance lies

Low sunk on earth, the Trojan strikes  
the skies. *Pope.*

The same lines, *mutatis mutan-  
dis*, are applied to Hector and  
Achilles in the twenty-second  
book, and there are thus trans-  
lated,

Jove lifts the golden balances, that  
show

The fates of mortal men, and things  
below :

Here each contending hero's lot he  
tries,

And weighs with equal hand their  
destinies.

Low sinks the scale surcharg'd with  
Hector's fate ;

Heavy with death it sinks, and hell  
receives the weight.

The passage in Virgil is shorter,  
*Æn. xii. 725.*

Jupiter ipse duas æquato examine  
lances

Sustinet, et fata imponit diversa duo-  
rum :

Quem damnet labor, et quo vergat  
pondere lethum.

Jove sets the beam ; in either scale  
he lays

The champion's fate, and each ex-  
actly weighs.

On this side life, and lucky chance  
ascends :

Loaded with death, that other scale  
descends. *Dryden.*

Every reader, who compares these passages with our author, must see plainly, that though there is some resemblance, yet there is also great difference. There are *golden scales* in Homer as well as in Milton ; but Milton in some measure authorizes the fiction, by making his scales the balance in the heavens. In Homer and Virgil the combatants are weighed one against another ; but here only Satan is weighed, in one scale the consequence of his retreating, and of his fighting in the other. And there is this farther improvement, that in Homer and Virgil the fates are weighed to satisfy Jupiter himself, but here it is done only to satisfy the contending parties, for Satan to read his own destiny. So that when Milton imitates a fine passage, he does not imitate it servilely, but

Satan; I know thy strength, and thou know'st mine,  
 Neither our own but giv'n ; what folly then  
 To boast what arms can do ? since thine no more  
 Than heav'n permits, nor mine, though doubled now  
 To trample thee as mire : for proof look up, 1010  
 And read thy lot in yon celestial sign,  
 Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light, how weak,  
 If thou resist. The Fiend look'd up, and knew  
 His mounted scale aloft : nor more ; but fled  
 "Murm'ring, and with him fled the shades of night. 1015

makes it as I may say an original of his own by his manner of varying and improving it.

1008. —*since thine no more*

*Than Heav'n permits, nor mine,]*  
*Thine and mine* refer to *strength*, ver. 1006. not to *arms* the substantive preceding. Dr. Bentley reads *strength* instead of *arms*.

1012. *Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light, how weak,]*

He does not make the ascending scale the sign of victory as in Homer and Virgil, but of lightness and weakness according to that of Belshazzar, Dan. v. 27. *Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.* So true it is, that Milton oftener imitates Scripture than Homer and Virgil, even where he is thought to imitate them most.

1. *Introduction*

2. *Method*

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# **PARADISE LOST.**

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## **BOOK V.**

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## THE ARGUMENT.

**MORNING** approached, Eve relates to Adam her troublesome dream; he likes it not, yet comforts her: they come forth to their day labours: their morning hymn at the door of their bower. God to render man inexcusable sends Raphael to admonish him of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy near at hand, who he is, and why his enemy, and whatever else may avail Adam to know. Raphael comes down to Paradise, his appearance described, his coming discerned by Adam afar off sitting at the door of his bower; he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choicest fruits of Paradise got together by Eve; their discourse at table: Raphael performs his message, minds Adam of his state and of his enemy; relates at Adam's request who that enemy is, and how he came to be so, beginning from his first revolt in heaven, and the occasion thereof; how he drew his legions after him to the parts of the north, and there incited them to rebel with him, persuading all but only Abdiel a seraph, who in argument dissuades and opposes him, then forsakes him.

# PARADISE LOST.

## BOOK V.

NOW morn her rosy steps in th' eastern clime  
Advancing, sow'd the earth with orient pearl,  
When Adam wak'd, so custom'd, for his sleep  
Was aery light from pure digestion bred,  
And temp'rate vapours bland, which th' only sound 5

1. *Now morn her rosy steps*] This is the morning of the day after Satan's coming to the earth; and as Homer makes the morning with *rosy fingers*, *ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως*, *Iliad*. i. 477. the *rosy-finger'd morn*, so Milton gives her *rosy steps*, and vi. 3. a *rosy hand*. The morn is first gray, then rosy upon the nearer approach of the sun. And she is said to *sow* the earth &c. by the same sort of metaphor as Lucretius says of the sun, ii. 211.

—et lumine conserit arva.

Mr. Thyer adds, that the same allegorical description he remembers in Shakespeare;

—The morn in saffron robe  
Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastern hill.

3. —*his sleep*  
*Was aery light from pure digestion bred,*]

Milton's panegyrics on temperance both in eating and drinking, resulting from his own practice, are frequent. See *P. L.* xi. 472, 515, 530. *Il Pens.* 46. and *Comus* in several places. *T. Warton.*

5. —*which th' only sound &c.*] Which refers to *sleep*, and not to *vapours* the substantive immediately preceding. I mention this because it has been mistaken. It is certainly more proper to say that the *sound* of leaves and *song* of birds dispersed *sleep* than *vapours*. The expression *only sound* (as Dr. Pearce rightly observes) seems the same with that in vii. 123. *Only omniscient*; in both which places *only* signifies *alone*; the *only sound*, for there was none other; and it is to be understood as meant of the *matin song of the birds*, as well as of the *sound of leaves and fuming*





Leaning half rais'd, with looks of cordial love  
 Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld  
 Beauty, which whether waking or asleep,  
 Shot forth peculiar graces ; then with voice 15  
 Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,  
 Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus. Awake  
 My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,  
 Heav'n's last best gift, my ever new delight,  
 Awake ; the morning shines, and the fresh field 20  
 Calls us ; we lose the prime, to mark how spring  
 Our tended plants, how blows the citron grove,  
 What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,  
 How nature paints her colours, how the bee  
 Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet. 25  
 Such whisp'ring wak'd her, but with startled eye

16. *Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,*] As when the soft western gales breathe on the flowers. *Richardson.*

Flora according to ancient fable was beloved by Zephyr. See *El.* iii. 43. and *Ovid, Fast.* l. v. 195. Compare *Cymbeline*, act iv. sc. 2.

—They are as gentle  
 As zephyrs blowing below the violet,  
 Not wagging his sweet head.

*T. Warton.*

For this delightful simile Milton was probably obliged to his admired Ben Jonson in his *Mask of Love reconciled to Virtue*, song 3.

The fair will think you do 'em wrong,  
 Go choose among—but with a mind  
 As gentle as the stroking wind  
 Runs o'er the gentler flow'rs.

*Thyer.*

21. —*we lose the prime,*] The prime of the day ; as he calls it elsewhere, *yer.* 170.

—*that sweet hour of prime.*

and ix. 200.

The season prime for sweetest sens  
 and airs.

The word is used by Chaucer and Spenser, as in *Faery Queen*, book i. cant. vi. st. 13.

They all, as glad as birds of joyous  
 prime.

26. *Such whisp'ring wak'd her,*] We were told in the foregoing book how the evil spirit practised upon Eve as she lay asleep, in order to inspire her with thoughts of vanity, pride, and ambition. The author, who shews a wonderful art throughout his whole poem, in preparing the reader for the several occur-

On Adam, whom embracing, thus she spake.

O sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,  
My glory, my perfection, glad I see  
Thy face, and morn return'd ; for I this night 30  
(Such night till this I never pass'd) have dream'd,  
If dream'd, not as I oft am wont, of thee,  
Works of day past, or morrow's next design,  
But of offence and trouble, which my mind  
Knew never till this irksome night : methought 35

rences that arise in it, founds upon the above-mentioned circumstance the first part of the fifth book. Adam upon his awaking finds Eve still asleep, with an unusual discomposure in her looks. The posture in which he regards her, is described with a tenderness not to be expressed, as the whisper with which he awakens her, is the softest that ever was conveyed to a lover's ear. I cannot but take notice that Milton, in the conferences between Adam and Eve, had his eye very frequently upon the book of Canticles, in which there is a noble spirit of eastern poetry, and very often not unlike what we meet with in Homer, who is generally placed near the age of Solomon. I think there is no question but the poet in the preceding speech remembered those two passages which are spoken on the like occasion, and filled with the same pleasing images of nature, Cant. ii. 10, &c. *My beloved spake and said unto me, Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away ; for lo the winter is past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers ap-*

*pear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land. The fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grapes give a good smell. Arise my love, my fair one, and come away.*—Cant. vii. 11, 12. *Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field, let us get up early to the vineyards, let us see if the vine flourish, whether the tender grapes appear, and the pomegranate bud forth*—His preferring the garden of Eden to that,

—where the sapient king  
Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian  
spouse, ix. 443.

shews that the poet had this delightful scene in view. *Addison.*

35. —methought

*Close at mine ear &c.]*

Eve's dream is full of those *high conceits ingendering pride*, which we are told the Devil endeavoured to instil into her. Of this kind is that part of it where she fancies herself awakened by Adam in the following beautiful lines,

Why sleep'st thou Eve ? &c.

Close at mine ear one call'd me forth to walk  
 With gentle voice, I thought it thine ; it said,  
 Why sleep'st thou Eve ? now is the pleasant time,  
 The cool, the silent, save where silence yields  
 To the night-warbling bird, that now awake 40  
 Tunes sweetest his love-labour'd song ; now reigns  
 Full orb'd the moon, and with more pleasing light  
 Shadowy sets off the face of things ; in vain,

An injudicious poet would have made Adam talk through the whole work in such sentiments as these : but flattery and falsehood are not the courtship of Milton's Adam, and could not be heard by Eve in her state of innocence, excepting only in a dream produced on purpose to taint her imagination. Other vain sentiments of the same kind in this relation of her dream will be obvious to every reader. Though the catastrophe of the poem is finely presaged on this occasion, the particulars of it are so artfully shadowed, that they do not anticipate the story which follows in the ninth book. I shall only add, that though the vision itself is founded upon truth, the circumstances of it are full of that wildness and inconsistency, which are natural to a dream. Addison.

41. *Tunes sweetest his love-labour'd song ;* ] Spenser in his *Epithalamion*, a poem which Milton seems often to imitate, has it "*the bird's love-learned song.*" We must farther observe that our author takes great liberties in his use of the genders, sometimes making *him* and *her* and

*it* of the same thing or creature. We have a very remarkable instance in vi. 878.

Disburden'd heav'n rejoic'd and soon  
 repair'd  
*Her* mural breach, returning whence  
*it* roll'd.

The nightingale, though 'it is the cock that sings, he makes usually of the feminine gender, as in iv. 602.

—the wakeful nightingale ;  
*She* all long her amorous descendant sung.

See likewise iii. 40. vii. 436. But here he says *his love-laboured song*, as the speech is addressed to Eve. And for the same reason he says

—Heav'n wakes with all *his eyes*,  
 though commonly he uses heaven itself in the feminine gender, as in vii. 205.

—Heav'n open'd wide  
*Her* ever during gates—

and again, vii. 574.

—He through heaven  
 That open'd wide *her* blazing portals  
 &c.

The reason of this alteration of the genders the judicious reader, when he examines each passage, will easily perceive.

If none regard ; heav'n wakes with all his eyes,  
 Whom to behold but thee, Nature's desire ? 45  
 In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment  
 Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze.  
 I rose as at thy call, but found thee not ;  
 To find thee I directed then my walk ;  
 And on, methought, alone I pass'd through ways 50  
 That brought me on a sudden to the tree  
 Of interdicted knowledge : fair it seem'd,  
 Much fairer to my fancy than by day :  
 And as I wond'ring look'd, beside it stood  
 One shap'd and wing'd like one of those from heaven  
 By us oft seen ; his dewy locks distill'd 56  
 Ambrosia ; on that tree he also gaz'd ;  
 And O fair plant, said he, with fruit surcharg'd,  
 Deigns none to ease thy load and taste thy sweet,  
 Nor God, nor Man ? is knowledge so despis'd ? 60  
 Or envy, or what reserve forbids to taste ?  
 Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold  
 Longer thy offer'd good, why else set here ?

44. — *Heav'n wakes with all his eyes.*] Here again he has his master Spenser full in view, b. iii. cant. xi. st. 45.

— with how many eyes  
 High heav'n beholds &c.

49. *To find thee I directed then my walk ;*] So Ennius apud Ciceronem, De Divinat. i. 20.

— ita sola  
 Post illa, germana soror, errare vide-  
 bar,  
 Tardaque vestigare, et querere te,  
 neque posse  
 Corde cupessere: semita nulla pedem  
 stabilibat.

53. *Much fairer to my fancy*

*than by day :*] As the sensations are often more pleasing, and the images more lively, when we are asleep than when we are awake. And what can be the cause of this ? Our author plainly thinks it may be effected by the agency of some spiritual being upon the sensory while we are asleep.

56. — *his dewy locks distill'd Ambrosia :*] So Virgil of Venus, Æn. i. 403.

Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice  
 odorem  
 Spiravere.—

Hume.

This said, he paus'd not, but with vent'rous arm  
 He pluck'd, he tast'd ; me damp horror chill'd 65  
 At such bold words vouch'd with a deed so bold :  
 But he thus overjoy'd, O fruit divine,  
 Sweet of thyself, but much more sweet thus cropt,  
 Forbidden here, it seems, as only fit  
 For gods, yet able to make gods of men : 70  
 And why not gods of men, since good, the more  
 Communicated, more abundant grows,  
 The author not impair'd, but honour'd more ?  
 Here, happy creature, fair angelic Eve,  
 Partake thou also ; happy though thou art, 75  
 Happier thou may'st be, worthier canst not be :  
 Taste this, and be henceforth among the gods  
 Thyself a goddess, not to earth confin'd,  
 But sometimes in the air, as we, sometimes  
 Ascend to heav'n, by merit thine, and see 80  
 What life the gods live there, and such live thou.  
 So saying, he drew nigh, and to me held,  
 Ev'n to my mouth of that same fruit held part  
 Which he had pluck'd ; the pleasant savory smell  
 So quicken'd appetite, that I, methought, 85  
 Could not but taste. Forthwith up to the clouds  
 With him I flew, and underneath beheld  
 The earth outstretch'd immense, a prospect wide  
 And various : wond'ring at my flight and change  
 To this high exaltation ; suddenly 90  
 My guide was gone, and I, methought, sunk down,  
 And fell asleep ; but O how glad I wak'd

79. *But sometimes in the air,* relate to both, and in the first  
*as we, sometimes &c.]* The words sentence the verb *be* is under-  
*as we* are so placed between the stood. *Pearce.*  
 two sentences, as equally to

To find this but a dream ! Thus Eve her night  
Related, and thus Adam answer'd sad.

Best image of myself and dearer half, 95  
The trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep  
Affects me equally ; nor can I like  
This uncouth dream, of evil sprung I fear ;  
Yet evil whence ? in thee can harbour none,  
Created pure. But know that in the soul 100  
Are many lesser faculties, that serve  
Reason as chief ; among these fancy next  
Her office holds ; of all external things,  
Which the five watchful senses represent,  
She forms imaginations, aery shapes, 105  
Which reason joining or disjoining, frames  
All what we' affirm or what deny, and call  
Our knowledge or opinion ; then retires  
Into her private cell when nature rests.  
Oft in her absence mimic fancy wakes 110  
To imitate her ; but misjoining shapes,  
Wild works produces oft, and most in dreams,  
Ill matching words and deeds long past or late.  
Some such resemblances methinks I find  
Of our last evening's talk, in this thy dream, 115  
But with addition strange ; yet be not sad.  
Evil into the mind of God or Man

93. —*Thus Eve her night  
Related,*  
Thus Eve repeated her dream.  
*Night* for the visions and dreams  
frequent in it. So Sil. Ital. iii.  
216.

*Promissa evolvit somni, noctemque  
retractat.*

*Hume.*

94. —*and thus Adam*] Adam  
conformable to his superior  
character for wisdom instructs  
and comforts Eve upon this  
occasion. *Addison.*

117. *Evil into the mind of God  
or Man*] God here must signify  
angel, as it frequently does in  
this poem. For God cannot be

May come and go, so unapprov'd, and leave  
 No spot or blame behind: Which gives me hope  
 That what in sleep thou didst abhor to dream, 120  
 Waking thou never wilt consent to do.  
 Be not dishearten'd then, nor cloud those looks,  
 That wont to be more cheerful and serene,  
 Than when fair morning first smiles on the world;  
 And let us to our fresh employments rise 125  
 Among the groves, the fountains, and the flowers  
 That open now their choicest bosom'd smells,  
 Reserv'd from night, and kept for thee in store.

So cheer'd he his fair spouse, and she was cheer'd,  
 But silently a gentle tear let fall 130  
 From either eye, and wip'd them with her hair;  
 Two other precious drops that ready stood,  
 Each in their crystal sluice, he ere they fell  
 Kiss'd, as the gracious signs of sweet remorse  
 And pious awe, that fear'd to have offended. 135

So all was clear'd, and to the field they haste.  
 But first, from under shady arbo'rous roof

*tempted with evil*, as St. James says (i. 13.) of the Supreme Being. And Milton had just before (as Mr. Thyer also observes) used the term *God* in the same meaning, ver. 59.

Deigns none to ease thy load and  
 taste thy sweet,  
 Nor God nor Man?  
 again ver. 70.

—yet able to make Gods of Men.

127. —*their choicest bosom'd smells.*] Hoarded, locked up as in a treasury of choice things.

So in the *Ode on the Passion*, 53.  
 —*in bosom* all their echoes mild,

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Compare *Comus*, 368.

—the sweet peace that goodness bosoms ever.

T. Warton.

129. *So cheer'd he his fair spouse, and she was cheer'd.*] A manner of speaking that occurs sometimes in Scripture, as in Jerem. xx. 7. *thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived.*

137. *But first, from under shady arbo'rous roof*

*Soon as they forth were come &c.]*

As the comma now stands after *roof*, the morning hymn of Adam

X

Soon as they forth were come to open sight  
 Of day-spring, and the sun, who scarce up risen,  
 With wheels yet hovering o'er the ocean brim, 140  
 Shot parallel to the earth his dewy ray,  
 Discovering in wide landscape all the east  
 Of Paradise and Eden's happy plains,  
 Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began  
 Their orisons, each morning duly paid 145  
 In various style ; for neither various style  
 Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise  
 Their Maker, in fit strains pronounc'd or sung  
 Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence  
 Flow'd from their lips, in prose or numerous verse, 150  
 More tuneable than needed lute or harp  
 To add more sweetness ; and they thus began.

These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,

and Eve is represented as said by them (at one and the same time) *from under the roof, and in the open sight of the sun* : which is a contradiction. The sense plainly requires that the comma should be as we have placed it ; and the construction is, *But first they lowly bowed adoring*, ver. 144. *as soon as they were come forth from under the roof of the arbour*. Pearce.

145. —each morning duly paid  
*In various style ;*]

As it is very well known that our author was no friend to set forms of prayer, it is no wonder that he ascribes extemporary effusions to our first parents ; but even while he attributes strains *unmeditated* to them, he himself imitates the Psalmist.

153. *These are thy glorious works, &c.*] The morning hymn is written in imitation of one of those Psalms, where in the overflowings of gratitude and praise the Psalmist calls not only upon the angels, but upon the most conspicuous parts of the inanimate creation, to join with him in extolling their common Maker. Invocations of this nature fill the mind with glorious ideas of God's works, and awaken that divine enthusiasm, which is so natural to devotion. But if this calling upon the dead parts of nature is at all times a proper kind of worship, it was in a particular manner suitable to our first parents, who had the creation fresh upon their minds, and had not seen the various



Almighty, thine this universal frame,  
 Thus wondrous fair ; thyself how wondrous then ! 155  
 Unspeakable, who sitt'st above these heavens  
 To us invisible, or dimly seen  
 In these thy lowest works ; yet these declare  
 Thy goodness beyond thought, and pow'r divine.  
 Speak ye who best can tell, ye sons of light, 160  
 Angels ; for ye behold him, and with songs  
 And choral symphonies, day without night,

dispensations of Providence, nor consequently could be acquainted with those many topics of praise, which might afford matter to the devotions of their posterity. I need not remark the beautiful spirit of poetry, which runs through this whole hymn, nor the holiness of that resolution with which it concludes. *Addison.*

The author has raised our expectation by commending the various style, and holy rapture, and prompt eloquence of our first parents ; and indeed the hymn is truly divine, and will fully answer all that we expected. It is an imitation, or rather a sort of paraphrase of the hundred and forty-eighth Psalm, and (of what is a paraphrase upon that) the Canticle placed after *Te Deum* in the Liturgy, *O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord, &c.* which is the Song of the Three Children in the Apocrypha.

155. —*thyself how wondrous then !*] *Wisd. xiii. 3, 4, 5. With whose beauty, if they being delighted, took them to be gods ; let them know how much better the*

*Lord of them is : for the first Author of beauty hath created them. But if they were astonished at their power and virtue, let them understand by them how much mightier he is that made them. For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures, proportionably the Maker of them is seen.*

160. *Speak ye who best can tell, &c.*] He is unspeakable, ver. 156. no creature can speak worthily of him as he is ; but speak ye who are best able, ye angels, ye in heaven ; on earth join all ye creatures, &c.

162. —*day without night,*] According to Milton there was grateful vicissitude like day and night in heaven, vi. 8. and we presume that he took the notion from Scripture, Rev. vii. 15. *They are before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple.* But still it was day without night, that is, without such night as ours, for the darkness there is no more than grateful twilight. Night comes not there in darker veil. See ver. 645. of this book.

Circle his throne rejoicing ; ye in heaven,  
 On earth join all ye creatures to extol  
 Him first, him last, him midst, and without end. 165  
 Fairest of stars, last in the train of night,  
 If better thou belong not to the dawn,  
 Sure pledge of day, that crown'st the smiling morn  
 With thy bright circlet, praise him in thy sphere,  
 While day arises, that sweet hour of prime. 170  
 Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,  
 Acknowledge him thy greater, sound his praise

163. *Circle his throne rejoicing ;*] See note on the poem *Ad Salsillum*, v. 4. E.

165. *Him first, him last, him midst,*] Theocrit. Idyl. xvii. 3.

—τι πρῶτον· λογισθε,  
 Καὶ ὕμνον· καὶ μεσση·—

And then how has Milton improved it by adding *and without end*! as he is celebrating God, and Theocritus only a man.

166. *Fairest of stars,*] So Homer calls it, *Iliad*. xxii. 318.

Ἑσπερος, ὁ καλλίστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴστανται  
 ἀστὲρ.

*last in the train of night*; and Ovid speaks much in the same manner, *Met.* ii. 114.

—Diffugiunt stellæ, quarum agmina  
 cogit

Lucifer, et cæli statione novissimus  
 exit.

The stars were fled, for Lucifer had  
 chas'd

The stars away, and fled himself at  
 last. Addison.

I do not know whether it is worth remarking that our author seems to have committed a mistake. The planet Venus, when she rises before the sun, is called Phosphorus, Lucifer, and

the Morning Star; when she sets after the sun is called Hesperus, Vesper, and the Evening Star, but she cannot rise before him, and set after him at the same time: and yet it may be objected that our author makes her do so; for describing the last evening, he particularly mentions *Hesperus that led the starry host*, iv. 605. and the very next morning she is addressed as *last in the train of night*. If this objection should be admitted, all we can say to it is, that a poet is not obliged to speak with the strictness and accuracy of a philosopher.

172. *Acknowledge him thy greater,*] It is not an improbable reading which Dr. Bentley proposes *Acknowledge him Creator*, or as Mr. Thyer *Acknowledge thy Creator*: but I suppose the author made use of *greater* answering to *great*.

Thou Sun, of this great world both  
 eye and soul,

Acknowledge him thy greater.

So Ovid calls the sun *the eye of the world*, *Mundi oculus*, *Met.* iv. 228. And Pliny *the soul*, *Nat.*

In thy eternal course, both when thou climb'st,  
And when high noon hast gain'd, and when thou fall'st.  
Moon, that now meet'st the orient Sun, now fly'st, 175

Hist. lib. i. c. 6. Hunc mundi esse totius animum. And the expression *thy greater* may be fitly paralleled with *thy fiercest*, iv. 927. and his *greater* in Paradise Regained, i. 279.

172. Mr. Thyer in a note on P. R. i. 279. acknowledges that Dr. Bentley's emendation and his own "ought absolutely to be rejected." E.

173. *In thy eternal course,*] In thy continual course. Thus Virgil calls the sun, moon, and stars *eternal fires*, *Æn.* ii. 154. Vos, *ætérni ignes*; and the sacred fire that was constantly kept burning *eternal fire*, *Æn.* ii. 297.

*Æternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem:*

and uses the adverb *æternum* in the same manner for continually. *Georg.* ii. 400.

—glebaque versis

*Æternum frangenda bidentibus.*

175. *Moon, that now meet'st the orient sun, now fly'st, &c.*] The construction is, *Thou Moon, that now meetest and now fliest the orient sun, together with the fixed stars, and ye five other wandering fires &c.* He had before called upon the sun who governs the day, and now he invokes the moon and the fixed stars, and the planets who govern the night, to praise their Maker. The moon sometimes meets and sometimes flies the sun, approaches to and recedes from him in her monthly course. *With the fixed stars,*

*fixed in their orb that flies*; they are fixed in their orb, but their orb flies, that is moves round with the utmost rapidity; for Adam is made to speak according to appearances, and he mentions in another place, viii. 19. and 21. their *rolling spaces incomprehensible*, and their *swift return diurnal*. And ye five other *wandering fires*. Dr. Bentley reads *four*, Venus and the Sun and Moon being mentioned before, and only four more remaining, Mercury and Mars and Jupiter and Saturn. And we must either suppose that Milton did not consider the morning star as the planet Venus; or he must be supposed to include the earth, to make up the *other five* besides those he had mentioned; and he calls it elsewhere viii. 129. *The planet earth*; though this be not agreeable to the system, according to which he is speaking at present. *Wandering fires* in opposition to *fixed stars*. *That move in mystic dance not without song*, alluding to the doctrine of the ancients, and particularly to Pythagoras's notion of the music of the spheres, by which no doubt he understood the proportion, regularity, and harmony of their motions. Shakespeare speaks of it more fully in his Merchant of Venice, act v.

—Look how the floor of heaven  
Is thick inlaid with patterns of  
bright gold:

With the fix'd stars, fix'd in their orb that flies,  
 And ye five other wand'ring fires that move  
 In mystic dance not without song, resound  
 His praise, who out of darkness call'd up light.  
 Air, and ye Elements, the eldest birth 180  
 Of Nature's womb, that in quaternion run  
 Perpetual circle, multiform; and mix  
 And nourish all things; let your ceaseless change  
 Vary to our great Maker still new praise.  
 Ye Mists and Exhalations that now rise 185  
 From hill or steaming lake, dusky or gray,  
 Till the sun paint your fleecy skirts with gold,  
 In honour to the world's great Author rise,  
 Whether to deck with clouds th' uncolour'd sky,  
 Or wet the thirsty earth with falling showers, 190  
 Rising or falling still advance his praise.  
 His praise ye Winds, that from four quarters blow  
 Breathe soft or loud; and wave your tops, ye Pines,  
 With every plant, in sign of worship wave.  
 Fountains and ye, that warble, as ye flow, 195

There's not the smallest orb that  
 thou behold'st,  
 But in his motion like an angel sings,  
 Still quiring to the young-ey'd Cherubim,  
 Such harmony is in immortal souls!  
 But whilst this muddy vesture of  
 decay  
 Doth grossly close us in, we cannot  
 hear it.

181. —*that in quaternion run*  
 &c.] That in a fourfold mixture  
 and combination run a perpetual  
 circle, one element continually  
 changing into another, accord-  
 ing to the doctrine of Heraclitus,

borrowed from Orpheus. Et  
 cum quattuor sint genera corpo-  
 rum, vicissitudine eorum mundi  
 continuata natura est. Nam ex  
 terra, aqua: ex aqua, oritur  
 aer: ex aere, æther: deinde  
 retrorsum vicissim ex æthere,  
 aer: inde aqua: ex aqua, terra  
 infima. Sic naturis his, ex qui-  
 bus omnia constant, sursus,  
 deorsus, ultro, citro commeanti-  
 bus, mundi partium conjunctio  
 continetur. Cicero de Nat.  
 Deor. ii. 33.

Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.  
 Join voices all ye living Souls: ye Birds,  
 That singing up to heaven gate ascend,  
 Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise.  
 Ye that in waters glide, and ye that walk 200  
 The earth, and stately tread, or lowly creep;  
 Witness if I be silent, morn or even,

197. —*ye living Souls*;] *Soul* is used here as it sometimes is in Scripture for other creatures besides man. So Gen. i. 20. *the moving creature that hath life*, that is *soul* in the Hebrew, and in the margin of the Bible; and ver. 30. *every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life*, that is, a *living soul*.

198. *That singing up to heaven gate ascend*,] We meet with the like hyperbole in Shakespeare, Cymbeline, act ii.

Hark, hark! the lark at heav'n's gate sings;

and again in his twenty-ninth sonnet,

Like as the lark at break of day  
 arising  
 From sullen earth sings hymns at  
 heaven's gate:

and not unlike is that in Homer, Od. xii. 73. of a very high rock,

—*οὐρανὸν ὑπερβαίνει*  
*Ὀὐρανὸν ὑπερβαίνει.*

And with its pointed top to heav'n ascends.

202. *Witness if I be silent*,] Dr. Bentley thinks that Milton had forgot that both Adam and Eve shared in this hymn, and therefore he reads *if we be silent*, and in the next verse but one *by our song*: but Milton rather

imitates here the ancient chorus, where sometimes the plural, and sometimes the singular number is used. The same is practised by our poet in the speeches of the chorus in *Samson Agonistes*, where the reader will see in every page almost that the number is thus varied. Dr. Bentley observes, that the whole hymn naturally divides itself into parts interlocutory, and that he has presumed to put it so, though not warranted by any edition. But this is not Dr. Bentley's invention; for this hymn was set to music some years ago, and in that composition the several parts of it were assigned distinctly to Adam and Eve. I think that such interlocutory parts are by no means fit for an heroic poem: but if the author should be supposed to have designed them, I should choose to divide this hymn very different from the Doctor's division. [The Doctor assigns the first seven lines to Adam, those of the Angels to Eve, those of the Morning Star to Adam, those of the Sun to Eve, those of the Moon to Adam, of the Air and Elements to Eve, of the Mists and Exhalations to Adam, of the Winds and Pines to Eve, of the Fountains and Rills to Adam, of

To hill or valley, fountain, or fresh shade  
Made vocal by my song, and taught his praise.

Hail universal Lord, be bounteous still

203

To give us only good; and if the night  
Have gather'd ought of evil or conceal'd,  
Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark.

So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts

the Creatures and Birds to Eve, of the Fishes and Beasts to Adam, and the four last lines to Eve. But on the contrary Dr. Pearce says] The first seven and the four last verses of this hymn I would suppose spoken by Adam and Eve together: and as to the other verses, I would have Adam speak all that the Doctor assigns to Eve, and Eve all that is now assigned to Adam. In this method the mention of the fair Morning Star, the Moon, and Fountains and Rills, will come to Eve's share, and they are circumstances which seem fitter for her to mention than her husband. *Pearce.*

205. —*be bounteous still*

*To give us only good;*]

He had his thought, as Dr. Bentley remarks, on that celebrated prayer in Plato,

Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, σὺ μὲν ὁσθλὰ καὶ εὐχραιστὸν  
καὶ ἀπισκῆς  
Ἀμμι δίδου· σὺ δὲ λυγρὰ καὶ εὐχραιστὸν  
ἀπισκῆς.

Great Jove! what'er is for our good,  
Ask'd or unask'd, supply:  
All ill, by man not understood,  
Ev'n to our prayers deny! *Howes.*

And we learn from the first book of Xenophon's memoirs of his master Socrates, that Socrates was wont to pray to the gods

only to give good things, as they knew best what things were so. *Εὐχιστο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπλῶς τ' ἀγαθὰ δίδουσι, ὥς τοὺς θεοὺς καλλίστα ὑδοῖας ἵκανα ἀγαθὰ ἵσσι.* And to the same purpose there is an excellent collect in our Liturgy, for the eighth Sunday after Trinity. *We humbly beseech thee to put away from us all hurtful things, and to give us those things which be profitable for us.*

209. *So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts*

*Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm.*

*On to their morning's rural work they haste &c.]*

These verses are thus pointed in the best, that is in Milton's own editions: but the latter sentence begins very abruptly, *On to their morning's work &c.* Dr. Bentley therefore continuing the sentence reads thus,

So pray'd they innocent; and to their thoughts

Firm peace recover'ing soon and wonted calm,

On to their morning's rural work they haste &c.

Dr. Pearce thinks the sentence sufficiently continued in the common reading, if *recovered* be a participle of the ablative case; and conceives this to be the

Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm. 210  
 On to their morning's rural work they haste  
 Among sweet dewes and flow'rs ; where any row  
 Of fruit-trees over-woody reach'd too far  
 Their pamper'd boughs, and needed hands to check  
 Fruitless embraces : or they led the vine 215  
 To wed her elm ; she spous'd about him twines

construction, *Peace and calm*  
 being *recovered to their thoughts,*  
*they haste* &c. and accordingly  
 points it thus,

—and to their thoughts  
 Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm,  
 On to their morning's rural work  
 they haste.

But perhaps the abruptness of  
 the line

On to their morning's rural work  
 they haste

was designed the better to express  
 the haste they were in, as  
 they were later to day than  
 usual : or perhaps with an easy  
 alteration it may be read thus,

Then to their morning's rural work  
 they haste.

214. *Their pamper'd boughs,*]  
 The propriety of this expression  
 will best be seen by what Junius  
 says of the etymology of the  
 word *pamper*. The French word  
*pampre* of the Latin *pampinus*  
 is a vine-branch full of leaves :  
 and a vineyard, he observes, is  
 said by them *pamprer*, when it  
 is overgrown with superfluous  
 leaves and fruitless branches.  
*Gallis pampre est pampinus :*  
*unde iis pamprer dicitur vinea*  
*supervacuò pampinorum ger-*  
*mine exuberans, ac nimia cre-*

scendi luxuria quodammodo  
 sylvenscens.

216. *To wed her elm ;]* Hor.  
 Epod. ii. 9.

—Aut adulta vitium propagine  
 Altas maritali populos :  
 Inutilesque falce ramos amputans,  
 Feliciores inserit.

Ovid, Met. xiv. 661.

Ulmus erat contra spatiosa tumentibus  
 uvis,  
 Quam socia postquam pariter cum  
 vite probavit ;  
 At si staret, ait, coelebs sine palmitis  
 truncus,  
 Nil præter frondes, quare peteretur,  
 haberet.  
 Hæc quoque quæ juncta vitis re-  
 quiescit in ulmo,  
 Si non nupta foret, terræ acclinata  
 jaceret.

An elm was near, to whose embraces  
 led,  
 The curling vine her swelling clusters  
 spread :  
 He view'd their twining branches  
 with delight,  
 And prais'd the beauty of the pleasing  
 sight.  
 Yet this tall elm, but for his vine  
 (he said)  
 Had stood neglected, and a barren  
 shade ;  
 And this fair vine, but that her arms  
 surround  
 Her married elm, and crept along  
 the ground. Pope.

And Virgil likewise has the metaphor  
 of the vine embracing  
 the elm, Georg. ii. 367.

Her marriageable arms, and with her brings  
 Her dow'r th' adopted clusters, to adorn  
 His barren leaves. Them thus employ'd beheld  
 With pity heav'n's high King, and to him call'd 220  
 Raphael, the sociable spi'rit, that deign'd  
 To travel with Tobias, and secur'd  
 His marriage with the sev'ntimes-wedded maid.

Raphael, said he, thou hear'st what stir on earth  
 Satan from hell scap'd through the darksome gulf 225  
 Hath rais'd in Paradise, and how disturb'd  
 This night the human pair, how he designs  
 In them at once to ruin all mankind.  
 Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend  
 Converse with Adam, in what bow'r or shade 230  
 Thou find'st him from the heat of noon retir'd,  
 To respite his day-labour with repast,  
 Or with repose; and such discourse bring on,  
 As may advise him of his happy state,

Inde ubi jam validis amplexæ stir-  
 pibus ulmos  
 Exierint :

and not only the poets, but Columella and the writers of rustic affairs frequently use the phrases of *nupta vitis*, and *marita ulmus*.

222. *To travel with Tobias.* In the book of Tobit the angel Raphael travels with Tobias into Media and back again, and instructs him how to marry Sarah the daughter of Raguel, and how to drive away the wicked spirit who had destroyed her former seven husbands. So sociable a spirit as this is very

properly sent to converse with Adam upon this occasion.

224. *Raphael, said he, thou hear'st what stir on earth &c.* Milton in the following scene seems to have had his eye in a particular manner upon the ninth canto of Tasso's Jerusalem, where God sends Michael to assist the Christians. What God says here to Raphael is expressed much after the same manner with the beginning of God's speech to Michael, st. 58.

—Non vedl hor come s'armi  
 Contra la mia fedel diletta greggia  
 L'empia schiera d'Averno—

Thyer.



Happiness in his pow'r left free to will, 235  
 Left to his own free will, his will though free,  
 Yet mutable ; whence warn him to beware  
 He swerve not too secure : tell him withal  
 His danger, and from whom ; what enemy,  
 Late fall'n himself from heav'n, is plotting now 240  
 The fall of others from like state of bliss ;  
 By violence ? no, for that shall be withstood  
 But by deceit and lies ; this let him know,  
 Lest wilfully transgressing he pretend  
 Surprisal, unadmonish'd, unforewarn'd. 245  
 So spake th' eternal Father, and fulfill'd  
 All justice : nor delay'd the winged saint

235. *Happiness in his pow'r left free to will,*] That is, in the power of him left free to will.

247. —*nor delay'd the winged saint, &c.*] Raphael's departure from before the throne, and his flight through the quires of angels, is finely imaged. As Milton every where fills his poem with circumstances that are marvellous and astonishing, he describes the gate of heaven as framed after such a manner, that it opened of itself upon the approach of the angel who was to pass through it. The poet here seems to have regarded two or three passages in the eighteenth Iliad, as that in particular, where speaking of Vulcan, Homer says, that he had made twenty tripodes running on golden wheels ; which upon occasion might go of themselves to the assembly of the gods, and when there was no more use for them, returned again after the same manner.

Scaliger has rallied Homer very severely upon this point, as M. Dacier has endeavoured to defend it. I will not pretend to determine, whether in this particular of Homer, the marvellous does not lose sight of the probable. As the miraculous workmanship of Milton's gates is not so extraordinary as this of the tripodes, so I am persuaded he would not have mentioned it, had not he been supported in it by a passage in the Scripture, which speaks of wheels in heaven that had life in them, and moved of themselves, or stood still, in conformity with the cherubims, whom they accompanied. There is no question but Milton had this circumstance in his thoughts, because in the following book he describes the chariot of the Messiah with living wheels, according to the plan of Ezekiel's vision. I question not but Bossuet and the two Daciers,

After his charge receiv'd ; but from among  
 Thousand celestial ardours, where he stood  
 Veil'd with his gorgeous wings, up springing light 250  
 Flew through the midst of heav'n ; th' angelic quires,  
 On each hand parting, to his speed gave way  
 Through all th' empyreal road ; till at the gate  
 Of heav'n arriv'd, the gate self-open'd wide  
 On golden hinges turning, as by work 255

who are for vindicating every thing that is censured in Homer, by something parallel in holy writ, would have been very well pleased had they thought of confronting Vulcan's tripodes with Ezekiel's wheels. *Addison.*

It perhaps would be an entertainment to the curious reader to compare this circumstantial description of Raphael's descent from heaven with that of Michael in Tasso's *Gier. Lib. cant. ix. st. 60, 61, 62.* They seem both to have been much laboured by their respective authors, and have each their particular beauties and defects. Milton does not in this place seem to endeavour to imitate, as he does in many others, the Italian poet, but rather to strive to rival and outdo him, and to have chosen for that purpose circumstances of a different sort to embellish his description. Which has succeeded best, every reader must determine for himself. *Thyer.*

249. *Thousand celestial ardours,*] *Ardor* in Latin implies fervency, exceeding love, eager desire, fiery nature ; all included in the idea of an angel. *Richardson.*

By the word *ardours* here Milton only means seraphim, which signifies just the same in Hebrew (being derived from *zaraph* to burn) as *ardours* does in English. The poet, I suppose, only made use of this term to diversify his language a little, as he is forced to mention the word *seraph* and *seraphim* in so many places. *Thyer.*

254. —*the gate self-open'd wide*] This circumstance is not borrowed, as Mr. Addison conceived, from Vulcan's tripodes in Homer, but from Homer's making the gates of heaven open of their own accord to the Deities who passed through them, *Iliad. v. 749.*

Λευγαται δὲ πύλαι μακρὸν ὄρανον, αἷ  
 ἔχει Πύλαι.

Heav'n gates spontaneous open to  
 the Powers,

Heav'n's golden gates, kept by the  
 winged Hours. *Pope.*

Where Mr. Pope observes, that the expression of *the gates of heaven* is in the eastern manner, where they said the *gates* of heaven or earth for the entrance or extremities of heaven or earth ; a phrase usual in the Scriptures, as is observed by Dacier.

Divine the sovran Architect had fram'd.  
 From hence no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,  
 Star interpos'd, however small he sees,  
 Not unconform to other shining globes,  
 Earth and the gard'n of God, with cedars crown'd 260  
 Above all hills. As when by night the glass  
 Of Galileo, less assur'd, observes  
 Imagin'd lands and regions in the moon :  
 Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades  
 Delos or Samos first appearing, kens 265  
 A cloudy spot. Down thither prone in flight  
 He speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky

257. *From hence no cloud, &c.]* The comma after *interposed*, shews that it is here a participle in the ablative case put absolutely; and the construction is, *From hence, no cloud or star being interposed to obstruct his sight, he sees, however small it is, appearing very small at that distance, the earth not unlike to other shining globes, and in it Paradise, the garden of God, that was crowned with cedars which were higher than the highest hills.*

261. — *As when by night the glass &c.]* The angel from heaven gate viewing the earth is compared to an astronomer observing the moon through a telescope, or to a pilot at sea discovering an island at a distance. *As when by night the glass of Galileo, the telescope first used in celestial observations by Galileo a native of Florence, less assured than the angel, as was likewise the pilot, observes, a poetical expression,*

the instrument put for the person who makes use of it, *imagined lands and regions in the moon*, it is not only imagined that there are lands and regions in the moon, but astronomers give names to them: *Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades*, a parcel of islands in the Archipelago, *Delos or Samos first appearing*, two of the largest of these islands, and therefore first appearing, *kens a cloudy spot*, for islands seem to be such at their first appearance. But the angel sees with greater clearness and certainty than these; the glass is *less assured*, and the pilot *kens only a cloudy spot*, when the angel sees not the whole globe only, but distinctly the mount of Paradise.

266. — *Down thither prone in flight &c.]* Virg. *Æn.* iv. 253.

—hinc toto præceps æ corpore ad undas

Misit, avi similis.

Sails between worlds and worlds, with steady wing  
 Now on the polar winds, then with quick fan  
 Winnows the buxom air; till within soar 270  
 Of tow'ring eagles, to' all the fowls he seems  
 A phœnix, gaz'd by all, as that sole bird,  
 When to inshrine his reliques in the sun's  
 Bright temple, to Egyptian Thebes he flies.  
 At once on th' eastern cliff of Paradise 275  
 He lights, and to his proper shape returns

272. *A phœnix,*] Dr. Bentley objects to Raphael's taking the shape of a phœnix, and the objection would be very just if Milton had said any such thing: but he only says, that to all the fowls he seems a phœnix; he was not really a phœnix, the birds only fancied him one. This bird was famous among the ancients, but generally looked upon by the moderns as fabulous. The naturalists speak of it as single, or the only one of its kind, and therefore it is called here *that sole bird*, as it had been before by Tasso *unico augello*. They describe it as of a most beautiful plumage. They hold that it lives five or six hundred years; that when thus advanced in age, it builds itself a funeral pile of wood and aromatic gums, which being kindled by the sun, it is there consumed by the fire, and another phœnix arises out of the ashes, ancestor and successor to himself, who taking up the reliques of his funeral pile, flies with them to Egyptian Thebes to inshrine them there in the temple of the sun, the other birds attending and gazing upon

him in his flight. *Egyptian Thebes*, to distinguish it from the other Thebes in Bœotia. See Plin. Nat. Hist. l. x. c. 2. Ovid. Met. xv. and Claudian de Phœnice. Armida in Tasso is in like manner compared to a phœnix, cant. xvii. st. 35.

Come all' hor, che'l rinato unico augello, &c.

As when the new-born phœnix doth begin

To fly to Ethiopæ-ward, at the fair bent

Of her rich wings, strange plumes, and feathers thin,

Her crowns and chains, with native gold besprent,

The world amazed stands; and with her fly

An host of wond'ring birds that sing and cry:

So pass'd Armida, look'd on, gaz'd on so. *Fairfax.*

275. —on th' eastern cliff] For there was the only gate of Paradise, iv. 178. The good angel enters by the gate, and not like Satan.

276. —and to his proper shape returns] The word *shape* here (I suppose) occasioned Dr. Bentley in his note on the former passage to say that Milton makes Raphael take the shape of a

A Seraph wing'd ; six wings he wore, to shade  
 His lineaments divine ; the pair that clad  
 Each shoulder broad, came mantling o'er his breast  
 With regal ornament ; the middle pair 280  
 Girt like a starry zone his waist, and round  
 Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold  
 And colours dipt in heav'n ; the third his feet  
 Shadow'd from either heel with feather'd mail,  
 Sky-tinctur'd grain. Like Maia's son he stood, 285

*phœnix.* But by returning to his proper shape Milton means only that he stood on his feet, and gathered up his six wings into their proper place and situation. *Pearce.*

Or as another ingenious person expresses it, He seemed again what he really was, a Seraph winged ; whereas in his flight he appeared what he was not, a phœnix.

277. —*six wings he wore, &c.*] The Seraphim seen by Isaiah, vi. 2. had the same number of wings, *Above it stood the Seraphims, each one had six wings :* but there the wings are disposed differently.

284. —*with feather'd mail, Sky-tinctur'd grain.*] Feathers lie one short of another resembling the plates of metal of which coats of mail are composed. Sky-coloured, dyed in grain, to express beauty and durability. *Richardson.*

285. —*like Maia's son he stood, &c.*] Raphael's descent to the earth, with the figure of his person, is represented in very lively colours. Several of the French, Italian, and English poets have

given a loose to their imaginations in the description of angels : but I do not remember to have met with any so finely drawn and so conformable to the notions which are given of them in Scripture, as this in Milton. After having set him forth in all his heavenly plumage, and represented him as alighting upon the earth, the poet concludes his description with a circumstance, which is altogether new, and imagined with the greatest strength of fancy.

—Like Maia's son he stood,  
 And shook his plumes, that heav'nly  
 fragrance fill'd  
 The circuit wide.

*Addison.*

The comparing of the angel to *Maia's son*, to Mercury, shews evidently that the poet had particularly in view those sublime passages of Homer and Virgil, which describe the flight and descent of Mercury to the earth. That of Homer is in the *Iliad*. xxiv. 339.

ὧς ἔφατ'· οὐδ' ἀνέβησι διακροῖται Ἀργυροφάνει·  
 Ἀντία' ἐνὶ οὐρῇ ποσσὶν ἰδέναιτο καλὰ  
 σιδήλα,

And shook his plumes, that heav'nly fragrance fill'd  
The circuit wide. Straight knew him all the bands

Ἀμφοτέρω, χρυσία, τα μὴ φέροι μὴν ἐφ'  
ὄψεσιν,  
Ἡδ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖσιν ὕψισιν, ἅμα στήθεσιν ἀνι-  
μῶν  
Εἰλκεν δὲ ῥαδίον, τῇ δ' αἰθέρι ἐμμάται  
διέχευε,  
'Ὡς ἰθὺς, τοῖς δ' αὖτις καὶ ὑπνωτοῖς  
ἐγχευε.

The god obeys, his golden pinions  
binds,  
And mounts incumbent on the wings  
of winds,  
That high thro' fields of air his  
flight sustain,  
O'er the wide earth, and o'er the  
boundless main:  
Then grasps the wand that causes  
sleep to fly,  
Or in soft slumbers seals the wake-  
ful eye. *Pope.*

Virgil has translated it almost  
literally, but with some addi-  
tions, *Æn.* iv. 238.

Dixerat: ille patris magni parere  
parabat  
Imperio, et primum pedibus talaria  
nectit  
Aurea: quæ sublimem alis, sive  
æquora supra,  
Seu terram, rapido pariter cum fla-  
mine portant.  
Tum virgam capit: hæc animas ille  
evocat Orco  
Pallentes, alias sub tristia Tartara  
mittit;  
Dat somnos admiſitque et lumina  
morte resignat.

Hermes obeys; with golden pinions  
binds  
His flying feet, and mounts the west-  
ern winds:  
And whether o'er the seas or earth  
he flies,  
With rapid force, they bear him down  
the skies.  
But first he grasps within his awful  
hand,  
The mark of sov'reign pow'r, his  
magic wand:

With this, he draws the ghosts from  
hollow graves,  
With this, he drives them down the  
Stygian waves;  
With this, he seals in sleep the wake-  
ful sight;  
And eyes, though clos'd in death,  
restores to light. *Dryden.*

If it is hard to determine (as  
Mr. Pope says) which is more  
excellent, the copy or the origi-  
nal, yet I believe every reader  
will easily determine that Mil-  
ton's description is better than  
both. The reader may likewise,  
if he pleases, compare this de-  
scent of Raphael with that of  
Gabriel in Tasso, cant. i. st. 13,  
14, 15. But (as Dr. Pearce ob-  
serves) it is the graceful posture  
in standing after alighting that  
is particularly compared to Mer-  
cury;

Hic paribus primum nitens Cyllenius  
alis  
*Constitit.* *Æn.* iv. 258.

It is probable that the idea was  
first taken from the graceful at-  
titudes of the antique statues  
of Mercury: but our author  
might have it more immediately  
from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, act  
iii.

A station, like the herald Mercury  
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill:

as the image of the angel's shak-  
ing his fragrant plumes is bor-  
rowed particularly from Fair-  
fax's Tasso,

On Lebanon at first his foot he set,  
And shook his wings with rosy  
May-dews wet.

Of angels under watch ; and to his state,  
 And to his message high in honour rise ;  
 For on some message high they guess'd him bound. 290  
 Their glittering tents he pass'd, and now is come  
 Into the blissful field, through groves of myrrh,  
 And flow'ring odours, cassia, nard, and balm ;  
 A wilderness of sweets ; for Nature here  
 Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd at will 295  
 Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more sweet,  
 Wild above rule or art, enormous bliss.  
 Him through the spicy forest onward come  
 Adam discern'd, as in the door he sat  
 Of his cool bow'r, while now the mounted sun 300  
 Shot down direct his fervid rays to warm  
 Earth's inmost womb, more warmth than Adam needs :  
 And Eve within, due at her hour prepar'd  
 For dinner savoury fruits, of taste to please

288. —and to his state,  
 And to his message high in honour rise ;]

With the same respect as the Muses pay to Gallus in Virgil, Ecl. vi. 66.

Utque viro Phœbi chorus assurrexerit omnis.

296. —pouring forth more sweet,  
 Wild above rule or art ; enormous bliss.]

So the two first editions point this passage: the sense is, pouring forth what was the more sweet for being wild and above rule or art. *Pearce.*

Or should there not be a comma only after *art*? and is not *enormous bliss* the accusative case after *pouring forth*? which

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bliss was the more sweet, as it was wild above rule or art.

297. Dr. Newton's suggestion appearing evidently just, I have pointed the passage accordingly. *E.*

298. *Him through the spicy forest*] Raphael's reception by the guardian angels ; his passing through the wilderness of sweets ; his distant appearance to Adam ; have all the graces that poetry is capable of bestowing. *Addison.*

299. —as in the door he sat] So Abraham, Gen. xviii. 1. sat in the tent-door in the heat of the day when he was visited by three angels. From that passage our poet formed this incident. *Bentley.*

Y

In India East or West, or middle shore  
 In Pontus or the Punic coast, or where 340  
 Alcinous reign'd, fruit of all kinds, in coat  
 Rough or smooth rind, or bearded husk, or shell,  
 She gathers, tribute large, and on the board  
 Heaps with unsparing hand ; for drink the grape  
 She crushes, inoffensive must, and meaths 345  
 From many a berry', and from sweet kernels press'd  
 She tempers dulcet creams, nor these to hold  
 Wants her fit vessels pure, then strows the ground  
 With rose and odours from the shrub unfum'd.  
 Mean while our primitive great sire, to meet 350  
 His God-like guest, walks forth, without more train

She gathered all manner of fruits which the Earth at that time afforded, or has since produced in the noblest and best cultivated gardens.

339. —or middle shore, &c.] Or on the borders of the Mediterranean; in *Pontus*, part of Asia, or the *Punic coast*, part of Africa, or where *Alcinous* reigned, in a Grecian island in the Ionian sea (now the gulf of Venice) anciently called *Phæacia*, then *Corcyra*, now *Corfu*, under the dominion of the Venetians. The soil is fruitful in oil, wine, and most excellent fruits, and its owner is made famous for his gardens celebrated by *Homer*. *Hume*.

344. —for drink the grape  
*She crushes, inoffensive must,*] By the word *inoffensive* Milton intends to hint at the later invention of fermenting the juice of the grape, and thereby giving it an intoxicating quality. This

he would say was not the wine of Paradise. *Thyer*.

*Must*, or new wine, so we spell it after the Latin *mustum*, and not *moust* as it is in our author's own editions.

345. —and meaths] Sweet drinks like meads. A word used by Chaucer, and perhaps derived from *meu*.

348. —her fit vessels pure,] We may suppose the shells of nuts and rinds of fruits, as was hinted before, iv. 335.

—and in the rind  
 Still as they thirsted scoop the brimming stream.

349. —from the shrub unfum'd,] That is, not burnt and exhaling smoke as in fumigations, but with its natural scent. *Heylin*.

351. —without more train  
*Accompanied then with his own* &c.] *Without more than with* is a solecism. It should be *without more train than his own complete perfections*, with being ex-



Accompanied than with his own complete  
 Perfections ; in himself was all his state,  
 More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits  
 On princes, when their rich retinue long 355  
 Of horses led, and grooms besmear'd with gold,  
 Dazzles the crowd, and sets them all agape.  
 Nearer his presence Adam though not aw'd,  
 Yet with submiss approach and reverence meek,  
 As to' a superior nature, bowing low, 360  
 Thus said. Native of heav'n, for other place  
 None can than heav'n such glorious shape contain ;  
 Since by descending from the thrones above,  
 Those happy places thou hast deign'd a while  
 To want, and honour these, vouchsafe with us 365  
 Two' only, who yet by sovran gift possess  
 This spacious ground, in yonder shady bower  
 To rest, and what the garden choicest bears

punged. But he gave it *with no more train than with &c.* Bentley.

356. —*besmear'd with gold.*] Horace's *aurum vestibis illitum*, Od. iv. ix. 14. comes nearest to it. Hume.

Virgil has used a like expression, *Æn.* x. 314.

*Per tunicam squallentem auro.*

Richardson.

357. *Dazzles the crowd, and sets them all agape.*] Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 463.

*Nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postes.*

Jortin.

*Æn.* vii. 812.

*Illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa juvenus*

*Turbaque miratur matrum, et prospectat euntem, Attonitis inhians animis.*

361. —*Native of heav'n, for other place*

*None can than heav'n such glorious shape contain ;]*

Milton in the turn of these words very plainly alludes to what *Æneas* says to *Venus* in the first *Æneid*, ver. 327.

*O, quam te memorem, Virgo ? namque haud tibi vultus Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat ; O Dea certe.*

Thyer.

368. —*what the garden choicest bears*

*To sit and taste,]*

That is, to taste as he is sitting : see my note on ii. 917. *Pearee.*

Y 3

To sit and taste, till this meridian heat  
Be over, and the sun more cool decline. 370

Whom thus th' angelic Virtue answer'd mild.  
Adam, I therefore came, nor art thou such  
Created, or such place hast here to dwell,  
As may not oft invite, though spi'rits of heaven  
To visit thee; lead on then where thy bower 375  
O'ershades; for these mid-hours, till evening rise,  
I have at will. So to the sylvan lodge  
They came, that like Pomona's arbour smil'd  
With flow'rets deck'd and fragrant smells; but Eve  
Undeck'd save with herself, more lovely fair 380  
Than wood-nymph, or the fairest goddess feign'd  
Of three that in mount Ida naked strove,

371. —*th' angelic Virtue*] The angel: thus Homer uses *Πειριπλοία* for the strength of Priam for Priam himself, *Iliad*. iii. 105. and *Ἐκτορος μῆκος* for Hector, *Iliad*. xiv. 418.

*Ἀλκίος ἰσχυρὸς ἄναξ ἰσχυρὸς Ἀλκίνοος.* Odys. vii. 167.

After the sacred strength of Alcinoos heard that.

Imitated twice by the cautious Virgil, *Odora canum vis* for dogs, *Æn.* iv. 132. *Vinque Deūm infernam* the infernal Deities, *Æn.* xii. 149. Hume.

371. But see Mr. Thyer's note on ver. 772. E.

378. —*Pomona's arbour*] The Goddess of fruit-trees might well be supposed to have a delightful arbour, but that could not be more delightful in imagination, than this was in reality. See Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 623, &c.

380. *Undeck'd save with herself,*] This is *simplex munditiis* indeed, beyond Horace's, and makes an excellent contrast to Ovid's description of the fine lady full dressed,

—*pars minima est ipsa puella sui.*

It calls to mind that memorable saying, *Induitur, formosa est; exuitur, ipsa forma est.* Dressed, she is beautiful; undressed, she is beauty itself. With the same elegance of expression, describing Adam, he has said,

—in himself was all his state.

382. *Of three that in mount Ida naked strove,*] The judgment of Paris is very well known in preferring Venus to Juno and Minerva, that is beauty to power and wisdom; a different choice from that of young Solomon, who desired wisdom rather than riches and honour.

Stood to' entertain her guest from heav'n ; no veil  
 She needed, virtue-proof ; no thought infirm  
 Alter'd her cheek. On whom the angel Hail 385  
 Bestow'd, the holy salutation us'd  
 Long after to blest Mary, second Eve.

Hail Mother of mankind, whose fruitful womb  
 Shall fill the world more numerous with thy sons,  
 Than with these various fruits the trees of God 390  
 Have heap'd this table. Rais'd of grassy turf  
 Their table was, and mossy seats had round,  
 And on her ample square from side to side  
 All autumn pil'd, though spring and autumn here  
 Danc'd hand in hand. A while discourse they hold ;

384. —*virtue proof:*] *Proof* is used in the old poets for armour, Shakespeare, Rom. and Jul. act i.

And in strong *proof* of chastity well arm'd,  
 From love's weak childish bow she lives unharm'd.

385. —*On whom the angel Hail &c.*] The natural majesty of Adam, and at the same time his submissive behaviour to the superior being, who had vouchsafed to be his guest ; the solemn *Hail*, which the angel bestows upon the mother of mankind, with the figure of Eve ministering at the table, are circumstances which deserve to be admired. Addison.

387. —*to Mary, second Eve.*] See Luke i. 28. She is called *second Eve*, as Christ is sometimes called *second Adam*.

394. *All autumn pil'd,*] The table had mossy seats round it, and all autumn piled upon it ;

that is, the fruits of autumn. So in Virg. Georg. ii. 5.

—*pampineo gravidus autumno*  
*Floret ager.*

It may be observed here, (as Dr. Greenwood adds,) that when Milton introduces any thing that might give occasion to a captious critic to enquire how Adam could be furnished with such utensils in his first state ; he hath always the caution so to explain himself as to prevent any mistake. Thus when he hath mentioned the *table*, he tells us it was *raised of grassy turf*. A little above, ver. 348. where he says *Eve wanted not fit vessels*, he takes no farther notice of them there, because the reader was prepared to understand it by a passage in iv. 335.

—and in the rind  
 Still as they thirsted scoop the brim-  
 ming stream.

No fear lest dinner cool ; when thus began 396  
 Our author. Heav'nly stranger, please to taste  
 These bounties, which our Nourisher, from whom  
 All perfect good, unmeasur'd out, descends,  
 To us for food and for delight hath caus'd 400  
 The earth to yield ; unsavoury food perhaps  
 To spiritual natures ; only this I know,  
 That one celestial Father gives to all.  
 To whom the angel. Therefore what he gives  
 (Whose praise be ever sung) to Man in part 405  
 Spiritual, may of purest spi'rits be found  
 No' ingrateful food : and food alike those pure  
 Intelligential substances require,  
 As doth your rational ; and both contain  
 Within them every lower faculty 410  
 Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,  
 Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,  
 And corporeal to incorporeal turn.  
 For know, whatever was created, needs  
 To be sustain'd and fed ; of elements 415

399. —*perfect*] Milton writes it *perfet* after the French *parfait* or the Italian *perfetto* ; our usual way of spelling it is after the Latin *perfectus* ; and very rightly, especially as we make use likewise of the word *perfection*. And in the general it is better surely to derive our language from the original Latin, than to make it only the copy of a copy.

407. *No' ingrateful food :*] There being mention made in Scripture of *angels' food*, Psal. lxxviii. 25. that is foundation enough for a poet to build upon,

and advance these notions of the angels eating.

415. —*of elements &c.*] Dr. Bentley is for omitting here eleven lines together, but we cannot agree with him in thinking them the editor's, though we entirely agree with him in wishing, that the author had taken more care what notions of philosophy he had put into the mouth of an archangel. It is certainly a great mistake to attribute the *spots* in the moon, (which are owing to the inequalities of her surface, and to

The grosser feeds the purer, earth the sea,  
 Earth and the sea feed air, the air those fires  
 Ethereal, and as lowest first the moon;  
 Whence in her visage round those spots, unpurg'd  
 Vapours not yet into her substance turn'd. 420  
 Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale  
 From her moist continent to higher orbs.  
 The sun, that light imparts to all, receives  
 From all his alimential recompense  
 In humid exhalations, and at even 425  
 Sups with the ocean. Though in heav'n the trees

the different nature of her constituent parts, land and water,) to attribute them, I say, to vapours not yet turned into her substance. It is certainly very unphilosophical to say that the sun *sups with the ocean*, but it is not unpoetical. And whatever other faults are found in these lines, they are not so properly the faults of Milton, as of his times, and of those systems of philosophy which he had learned in his younger years. If he had written after the late discoveries and improvements in science, he would have written in another manner. It is allowed by all philosophers, that the sun and fixed stars receive their supplies of nourishment; but in what manner they are fed and supplied is a great question: and surely a greater latitude and liberty may be indulged to a poet in speaking of these things, than to a philosopher. The same kind of thought runs through an ode of Anacreon, ode 19.

Ἡ γὰρ μέλαινα πῦρ,  
 Πῦρ δὲ διδρὶ' αὐτὴν  
 Πῦρ θαλάσσης ὕψους,  
 Ὁ ὕψους θαλάσσης,  
 Τὸν δ' ἕλκον σίληται.

And we may suppose the poet alluded to this, and more particularly to that passage in Pliny, where the same account is given of the spots in the moon. *Sidera vero haud dubie humore terreno pasci, quia orbe dimidio nonnunquam maculosa cernatur, scilicet nondum suppetente ad hauriendum ultra justa vi: maculas enim non aliud esse quam terræ raptas cum humore sordes.* Lib. ii. cap. 9.

421. *Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale*] A Latinism. So Virg. Georg. i. 83.

*Nec nulla interea est inaratæ gratia terræ.*

426. — *Though in heav'n the trees &c.*] See Rev. xxii. 2. In speaking afterwards of *mellifluous dews* and *pearly grain* he manifestly alludes to *manna*, which is called *the bread of heaven*, Psal. cv. 40. *And when the dew*

Of life ambrosial fruitage bear, and vines  
 Yield nectar ; though from off the boughs each morn  
 We brush mellifluous dew, and find the ground  
 Cover'd with pearly grain : yet God hath here 430  
 Varied his bounty so with new delights,  
 As may compare with heav'n ; and to taste  
 Think not I shall be nice. So down they sat,  
 And to their viands fell ; nor seemingly  
 The angel, nor in mist, the common gloss 435  
 Of theologians ; but with keen dispatch  
 Of real hunger, and concoctive heat  
 To transubstantiate : what redounds, transpires  
 Through spi'rits with ease ; nor wonder ; if by fire

*that lay was gone up, behold upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small round thing, as small as the hoar frost on the ground. Exod. xvi. 14. and it was like coriander-seed, white ; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey. ver. 31.*

435. —*the common gloss Of theologians ;*

The usual comment and exposition of divines. For several of the Fathers and ancient Doctors were of opinion, that the angels did not really eat, but only seemed to do so ; and they ground that opinion principally upon what the angel Raphael says in the book of Tobit, xii. 19. *All these days did I appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did see a vision.* But our author was of the contrary opinion, that the angel did not eat in appearance only, but in reality, *with keen dispatch of real hunger. Of theologians ;*

this same word he uses in his *Tetrachordon*, p. 223. vol. i. edit. 1738.

438. —*what redounds, transpires &c.*] This gives a delicacy to these spirits, which finely distinguishes them from us in one of the most humbling circumstances relating to our bodies. *Richardson.*

439. —*nor wonder ; if by fire &c.*] Nor is it a wonder, that the angels have *concoctive heat* in their stomachs sufficient to *transubstantiate*, to turn their food and nourishment into their own substance, to *assimilate* as it was said before, and turn *corporeal* into *incorporeal* ; if by fire the alchemist can turn or thinks to turn all metals to gold. The *empiric alchemist*, is one who makes bold trials and experiments (*πειραγεις* in Greek from *πειρα* a trial or experiment) without much skill and knowledge in the art, like a quack in

Of sooty coal th' empiric alchemist 440  
 Can turn, or holds it possible to turn,  
 Metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold  
 As from the mine. Mean while at table Eve  
 Minister'd naked, and their flowing cups  
 With pleasant liquors crown'd : O innocence 445  
 Deserving Paradise ! if ever, then,  
 Then had the sons of God excuse to' have been  
 Enamour'd at that sight ; but in those hearts  
 Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealousy  
 Was understood, the injur'd lover's hell. 450  
 Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd,

physic. And they must be strange empirics indeed, who can hope to find out the philosopher's stone, and turn metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold. But it is not strange that our author so frequently alludes to alchemy, (as he does in ii. 517. iii. 609. as well as here,) when Jonson has written a whole comedy upon it.

445. *With pleasant liquors crown'd :*] *To crown their cups* was a phrase among the Greeks and Romans for filling them above the brim, but yet not so as to run over. Thus it is used by Homer, *Iliad*. i. 470.

Κύπερι μὲν κρητάρησιν ὑπερσφύρατο ποταμοῖς.  
 and by Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 528.

—et socii cratera coronant,

447. *Then had the sons of God excuse &c.*] The doubling of the *then* adds great force and emphasis ; *if ever, then, then had the sons of God excuse, &c.* and this is said in allusion to that

text, *Gen.* vi. 2. *The sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair, and they took them wives of all that they chose, as if the sons of God there signified angels.* See note on iii. 463.

451. *Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd, Not burden'd nature,]*  
 Homer, *Iliad*. i. 469.

Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα ποταμοῖς καὶ ἰδμεύουσιν ἔξ ἡσπέρ ποτα.  
 Virg. *Æn.* l. 216.

Postquam exempta fames epulis,  
 mensæque remotæ.

*Æn.* viii. 184.

Postquam exempta fames et amor  
 compressus edendi.

Our author says the same thing, but at the same time insinuates a fine moral of the true end of eating and drinking, which is to satisfy but not to burden nature ; and this sort of temperance he not only recommends, as in the beginning of this book and xi. 530. &c. but remarkably practised himself.

Not burden'd nature, sudden mind arose  
 In Adam, not to let th' occasion pass  
 Giv'n him by this great conference to know  
 Of things above his world, and of their being 455  
 Who dwell in heav'n, whose excellence he saw  
 Transcend his own so far, whose radiant forms  
 Divine effulgence, whose high pow'r so far  
 Exceeded human, and his wary speech  
 Thus to th' empyreal minister he fram'd. 460

Inhabitant with God, now know I well  
 Thy favour, in this honour done to Man,  
 Under whose lowly roof thou hast vouchsaf'd  
 To enter, and these earthly fruits to taste,  
 Food not of angels, yet accepted so, 465  
 As that more willingly thou could'st not seem  
 At heav'n's high feasts to' have fed : yet what compare?  
 To whom the winged Hierarch replied.

455. —*above his world,*] This is the reading in Milton's own editions, and not *above this world*, as Mr Fenton and Dr. Bentley have caused it to be printed.

456. *whose excellence &c.*] *Excellence* is a general word; and he branches the *excellence* of angels into two particulars, their *radiant forms* (which were the effulgence of the Deity) and their *high power*. Pearce.

467. —*yet what compare?*] *His speech was wary*; and he was afraid to ask the angel directly of the different conditions of men and angels; but yet intimates his desire to know by questioning whether there was any comparison between them.

468. *To whom the winged Hierarch replied.*] Raphael's behaviour is every way suitable to the dignity of his nature, and to that character of a sociable spirit, with which the author has so judiciously introduced him. He had received instructions to converse with Adam, as one friend converses with another, and to warn him of the enemy who was contriving his destruction: accordingly he is represented as sitting down at table with Adam, and eating of the fruits of Paradise. The occasion naturally leads him to his discourse on the food of angels. After having thus entered into conversation with Man upon more indifferent



O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom  
 All things proceed, and up to him return, 470  
 If not deprav'd from good, created all  
 Such to perfection, one first matter all,  
 Indued with various forms, various degrees  
 Of substance, and in things that live, of life ;  
 But more refin'd, more spiritous, and pure, 475  
 As nearer to him plac'd or nearer tending  
 Each in their several active spheres assign'd,  
 Till body up to spirit work, in bounds

subjects, he warns him of his obedience, and makes a natural transition to the history of that fallen angel, who was employed in the circumvention of our first parents. *Addison.*

I would have it observed in what a beautiful manner Milton brings on the execution of those orders, which Raphael had received from God. To avoid all appearance of harshness or abruptness, which might have seemed, if the angel had immediately entered upon his errand, the poet makes use of Adam's curiosity to introduce the subject, and puts such wary and modest questions into his mouth, as naturally led to those high matters, upon which the other was commissioned to discourse to him. *Greenwood.*

471 ——— *created all*

*Such to perfection, one first matter all, &c.]*

That is, created all good, good to perfection, not absolutely so, but perfect in their different kinds and degrees; and all consisting of one first matter, which first

matter is *indued*, (*indutus*) clothed upon, *with various forms, &c.*

475. *But more refin'd, more spiritous, and pure,*

*As nearer to him plac'd or nearer tending &c.]*

So Spenser in his Hymn of heavenly Beauty, speaking of the earth, the air, and above that the pure crystalline,

By view whereof it plainly may appear,

That still as every thing doth upward tend,

And farther is from earth, so still more clear

And fair it grows &c.

*Thyer.*

476. *Till body up to spirit work, &c.]* Our author should have considered things better, for by attributing his own false notions in philosophy to an archangel he has really lessened the character, which he intended to raise. He is as much mistaken here in his metaphysics, as he was before in his physics. This notion of matter refining into spirit is by no means observing the bounds proportioned to each

Proportion'd to each kind. So from the root  
 Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves  
 More aery, last the bright consummate flower 481  
 Spirits odorous breathes : flow'rs and their fruit,  
 Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd,  
 To vital spi'rits aspire, to animal,  
 To intellectual ; give both life and sense, 485  
 Fancy and understanding ; whence the soul  
 Reason receives, and reason is her being,  
 Discursive, or intuitive ; discourse  
 Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours,  
 Differing but in degree, of kind the same. 490  
 Wonder not then, what God for you saw good  
 If I refuse not, but convert, as you,  
 To proper substance : time may come, when men  
 With angels may participate, and find  
 No inconvenient di'et, nor too light fare ; 495  
 And from these corporal nutriments perhaps  
 Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,  
 Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend

*kind.* I suppose, he meant it as a comment on the doctrine of a natural body changed into a spiritual body, as in 1 Cor. xv. and perhaps borrowed it from some of his systems of divinity. For Milton, as he was too much of a materialist in his philosophy, so was too much of a systematist in his divinity.

482. *Spirits od'rous*] We must take notice in reading this verse, that *spirits* is here a word of two syllables, though it is often contracted into *one* or pronounced as two short ones, and

particularly in the second line after this,

*To vital spi'rits aspire ;*

and the second syllable in *od'rous* is to be pronounced long, though the poet makes it short in other places, iv. 166.

So entertain'd those odorous sweets  
 the Fiend :

but these are not the only instances, where Milton makes use of this same poetical licence.

498. —and wing'd ascend  
*Ethereal, as we,]*

It is the doctrine of the ablest

Ethereal, as we, or may at choice  
 Here or in heav'nly Paradises dwell ; 500  
 If ye be found obedient, and retain  
 Unalterably firm his love entire,  
 Whose progeny you are. Mean while enjoy  
 Your fill what happiness this happy state  
 Can comprehend, incapable of more. 505

To whom the patriarch of mankind replied.  
 O favourable spi'rit, propitious guest,  
 Well hast thou taught the way that might direct  
 Our knowledge, and the scale of nature set  
 From centre to circumference, whereon 510  
 In contemplation of created things  
 By steps we may ascend to God. But say,

divines and primitive Fathers of the Catholic Church, that if Adam had not sinned, he would never have died, but would have been translated from earth to heaven; and this doctrine the reader may see illustrated in the learned Bishop Bull's discourse *of the state of man before the fall*. Our author no doubt was very well acquainted with the sense of antiquity in this particular; and admitting the notion, what he says is poetical at least, if you will not allow it to be probable and rational.

503. *Whose progeny you are.*] From St. Paul, Acts xvii. 28. *For we are also his offspring; who took it from Aratus, Τὸν γὰρ καὶ γὰρ ἑμῶν.*

504. *Your fill what happiness]* Your fill of what happiness, or to your fill what happiness.

509. —and the scale of nature set

*From centre to circumference,]* The scale or ladder of nature ascends by steps from a point, a centre, to the whole circumference of what mankind can see or comprehend. The metaphor is bold, and vastly expressive. *Matter, one first matter* is this centre; nature infinitely diversified is the scale which reaches to the utmost of our conceptions, all round. We are thus led to God; whose circumference *who can tell?* *Uncircumscribed he fills infinitude*, vii. 170. Richardson.

512. *By steps we may ascend to God.]* There is a real visible ladder, (besides that visionary one of Jacob,) whose foot, though placed on the earth among the lowest of the creation, yet leads us by steps in contemplation of

What meant that caution join'd, If ye be found  
 Obedient? can we want obedience then  
 To him, or possibly his love desert, 515  
 Who form'd us from the dust, and plac'd us here  
 Full to the utmost measure of what bliss  
 Human desires can seek or apprehend?

To whom the angel. Son of heav'n and earth,  
 Attend: That thou art happy, owe to God; 520  
 That thou continuest such, owe to thyself,  
 That is, to thy obedience; therein stand.  
 This was that caution giv'n thee; be advis'd.  
 God made thee perfect, not immutable;  
 And good he made thee, but to persevere 525  
 He left it in thy pow'r; ordain'd thy will  
 By nature free, not over-rul'd by fate  
 Inextricable, or strict necessity:  
 Our voluntary service he requires,  
 Not our necessitated; such with him 530  
 Finds no acceptance, nor can find; for how  
 Can hearts, not free, be tried whether they serve  
 Willing or no, who will but what they must  
 By destiny, and can no other chloose?  
 Myself and all th' angelic host, that stand 535

*created things* up to God the invisible Creator of all things.  
*Hume.*

Milton here very clearly alludes to the Platonic philosophy of rising gradually from the consideration of particular created beauty to that which is universal and uncreated. *Thyer.*

520. *Attend: &c.*] The sentences here are very short, as every thing ought to be in the

preceptive way. *Quicquid precipies, esto brevis*, is the rule of Horace, *De Arte Poet.* 335. And this brevity in the preceptive, as it is agreeable to Horace's rule, so likewise to his practice, as particularly in that string of precepts, *Epist. i. ii. 55. Sperne voluptates, &c.*

535. *Myself, and all th' angelic host, that stand  
 In sight of God, enthron'd,*]

In sight of God enthron'd, our happy state  
 Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds ;  
 On other surety none ; freely we serve,  
 Because we freely love, as in our will  
 To love or not ; in this we stand or fall : 540  
 And some are fall'n, to disobedience fall'n,  
 And so from heav'n to deepest hell ; O fall  
 From what high state of bliss into what woe !

To whom our great progenitor. Thy words  
 Attentive, and with more delighted ear, 545  
 Divine instructor, I have heard, than when  
 Cherubic songs by night from neighb'ring hills  
 Aereal music send : nor knew I not  
 To be both will and deed created free ;  
 Yet that we never shall forget to love. 550  
 Our Maker, and obey him whose command

So I point the passage. Compare b. i. 128. "O chief of many throned powers." Milton, when speaking of the inhabitants of heaven, exclusively of any allusion to the class of angels styled *thrōni*, seems to have annexed an idea of a dignity peculiar, and his own to the word *enthroned*. This poem affords many proofs. *T. Warton*.

There is however an awkwardness in adopting Warton's idea in this passage on account of the word *stand*. Milton probably intends only to describe the powers that stand before the throne of God. *E*.

546. —*than when*

*Cherubic songs &c.]*

Adam had mentioned these nightly songs of the angels with pleasure in iv. 680, &c. But still

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he prefers the conversation of the angel, and thinks discourse more sweet,

For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense.

548. —*nor knew I not*

*To be both will and deed created free ;]*

Nor was it unknown to me that my will and actions are free. I knew I was free. Two negatives make an affirmative. *Richardson*.

551. —*whose command*

*Single is yet so just,]*

That is, the command not to eat of the forbidden tree, the only command given to Man ; and it is spoken of much in the same manner in iv. 419.

—He who requires

From us no other service than to keep

This one, this easy charge.

Z

Single is yet so just, my constant thoughts  
 Assur'd me', and still assure : though what thou tell'st  
 Hath pass'd in heav'n, some doubt within me move,  
 But more desire to hear, if thou consent, 555  
 The full relation, which must needs be strange,  
 Worthy of sacred silence to be heard ;  
 And we have yet large day, for scarce the sun  
 Hath finish'd half his journey', and scarce begins  
 His other half in the great zone of heav'n. 560

Thus Adam made request ; and Raphaël  
 After short pause assenting, thus began.

High matter thou injoin'st me', O prime of men,  
 Sad task and hard ; for how shall I relate  
 To human sense th' invisible exploits 565  
 Of warring spirits ? how without remorse

And again, ver. 432.

—Then let us not think hard  
 One easy prohibition, who enjoy  
 Free leave so large to all things else.  
 And this command though *single*,  
 and therefore on that account to  
 be obeyed, is yet so just, that it  
 lays a farther obligation upon  
 our obedience.

552. —*my constant thoughts*]  
 So Comus, 370.

—The constant mood of her calm  
 thoughts.

T. Warton.

557. *Worthy of sacred silence  
 to be heard ;*] Worthy of religious  
 silence, such as was required at  
 the sacrifices and other religious  
 ceremonies of the ancients ; al-  
 luding to that of Horace, Od. ii.  
 xiii. 29, 30.

Utrumque sacro digna silentio  
 Mirantur umbræ dicere.

Richardson.

563. *High matter thou injoin'st  
 me', O prime of men,  
 Sad task and hard ; &c.]*

It is customary with the epic  
 poets to introduce by way of  
 episode and narration the princi-  
 pal events, which happened be-  
 fore the action of the poem com-  
 mences : and as Homer's Ulysses  
 relates his adventures to Al-  
 cinous, and as Virgil's Æneas  
 recounts the history of the siege  
 of Troy and of his own travels to  
 Dido ; so the angel relates to  
 Adam the fall of angels and the  
 creation of the world : and be-  
 gins his narration of the fall of  
 angels, much in the same man-  
 ner as Æneas does his account of  
 the destruction of Troy, Virg.  
 Æn. ii. 3.

Infandum, regina, jubes renovare  
 dolorem.

The ruin of so many glorious once  
 And perfect while they stood? how last unfold  
 The secrets of another world, perhaps  
 Not lawful to reveal? yet for thy good 570  
 This is dispens'd; and what surmounts the reach  
 Of human sense, I shall delineate so,  
 By likening spiritual to corporal forms,  
 As may express them best; though what if earth  
 Be but the shadow' of heav'n, and things therein 575  
 Each to' other like, more than on earth is thought?  
 As yet this world was not, and Chaos wild

574. —*though what if earth &c.*] In order to make Adam comprehend these things, the angel tells him that he must *liken spiritual to corporal forms*, and questions whether there is not a greater similitude and resemblance between things in heaven and things in earth than is generally imagined, which is suggested very artfully, as it is indeed the best apology that could be made for those bold figures, which Milton has employed, and especially in his description of the battles of the angels. To the same purpose says Mr. Mede, Discourse x. "If the visible things of God may be learned, as St. Paul says, from the creation of the world, why may not the invisible and intelligible world be learned from the fabric of the visible? the one (it may be) being the pattern of the other."

577. *As yet this world was not, &c.*] Had I followed Monsieur Bossuet's method, I should have dated the action of Paradise

Lost from the beginning of Raphael's speech in this book, as he supposes the action of the *Æneid* to begin in the second book of that poem. I could allege many reasons for my drawing the action of the *Æneid* rather from its immediate beginning in the first book, than from its remote beginning in the second; and shew why I have considered the sacking of Troy as an *episode*, according to the common acceptance of that word. But as this would be a dry unentertaining piece of criticism, I shall not enlarge upon it. Which ever of the notions be true, the unity of Milton's action is preserved according to either of them; whether we consider the fall of Man in its immediate beginning, as proceeding from the resolutions taken in the infernal council, or in its more remote beginning, as proceeding from the first revolt of the angels in heaven. The occasion which Milton assigns for this revolt, as it is founded on hints in holy

Reign'd where these heav'ns now roll, where earth  
now rests

Upon her centre pois'd; when on a day  
(For time, though in eternity, applied 580  
To motion, measures all things durable  
By present, past, and future) on such day  
As heav'n's great year brings forth, th' empyreal host  
Of angels by imperial summons call'd,  
Innumerable before th' Almighty's throne 585  
Forthwith from all the ends of heav'n appear'd  
Under their hierarchs in orders bright:  
Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanc'd,  
Standards and gonfalons 'twixt van and rear

writ, and on the opinion of some great writers, so it was the most proper that the poet could have made use of. The revolt in heaven is described with great force of imagination, and a fine variety of circumstances. *Addison.*

579. *Upon her centre pois'd;*] *Ponderibus librata suis*, as Ovid says, *Met. i. 13.* or as Milton elsewhere expresses it, *vii. 242.*

And earth self-balance'd on her centre hung.

583. *As heav'n's great year]* Our poet seems to have had Plato's great year in his thoughts.

*Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo.* *Virg. Ecl. iv. 5.*

—*Et incipient magni procedere menses.* *Ecl. iv. 12.*

*Hume.*

Plato's great year of the heavens is the revolution of all the spheres. Every thing returns to where it set out when their motion first began. See *Auson. Idyl. xviii. 15.* A proper time

for the declaration of the viceroyency of the Son of God. Milton has the same thought for the birth of the angels, (*ver. 861.*) imagining such kind of revolutions long before the angels or the worlds were in being. So far back into eternity did the vast mind of this poet carry him! *Richardson.*

583. —*th' empyreal host]* We read of such a divine assembly in *Job i. 6.* *Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord.* And again, *1 Kings xxii. 19.* *I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left,* which was enough to furnish the hint to Milton.

589. *Standards and gonfalons]* A gonfalon is some kind of streamer or banner, but of what particular sort authors do not seem to be at all agreed, and neither is it very material to know.



Stream in the air, and for distinction serve 590  
 Of hierarchies, of orders, and degrees ;  
 Or in their glittering tissues bear emblaz'd  
 Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love  
 Recorded eminent. Thus when in orbs  
 Of circuit inexpressible they stood, 595  
 Orb within orb, the Father infinite,  
 By whom in bliss imbosom'd sat the Son,  
 Amidst as from a flaming mount, whose top  
 Brightness had made invisible, thus spake.

Hear all ye angels, progeny of light, 600  
 Thrones, dominations, principedoms, virtues, powers,  
 Hear my decree, which unrevok'd shall stand.  
 This day I have begot whom I declare  
 My only Son, and on this holy hill  
 Him have anointed, whom ye now behold 605  
 At my right hand ; your head I him appoint ;

598. *Amidst as from a flaming mount, &c.*] This idea seems to be taken from the divine presence in the mount, Exod. xix. when God gave his commandments to the children of Israel, as here he is giving his great command concerning the Messiah in heaven.

598. — *whose top Brightness had made invisible,*] The same just and yet bold thought with that in iii. 380.

Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear.

See the note on that verse. *Thyer.*

602. *Hear my decree, &c.*] We observed before, that Milton was very cautious what sentiments and language he

ascribed to the Almighty, and generally confined himself to the phrases and expressions of Scripture ; and in this particular speech the reader will easily remark how much of it is copied from holy writ by comparing it with the following texts. *I have set my Anointed upon my holy hill of Sion ; I will declare the decree, The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* Psalm ii. 6, 7. *By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord.* Gen. xxii. 16. *At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven—and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.* Phil. ii. 10, 11.

And by myself have sworn to him shall bow  
 All knees in heav'n, and shall confess him Lord :  
 Under his great vicegerent reign abide  
 United as one individual soul 610  
 For ever happy : him who disobeys,  
 Me disobeys, breaks union, and that day  
 Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls  
 Into' utter darkness, deep ingulf'd, his place  
 Ordain'd without redemption, without end. 615  
 So spake th' Omnipotent, and with his words  
 All seem'd well pleas'd ; all seem'd, but were not all.  
 That day, as other solemn days, they spent  
 In song and dance about the sacred hill ;  
 Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere 620  
 Of planets and of fix'd in all her wheels  
 Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,

620. *Mystical dance, &c.*] Strange mysterious motions, which the shining sphere of the planets and fixed stars in their various revolutions imitates nearest ; windings and turnings entangled and obscure, involving and surrounding one another, although not moving on the same centre, yet then most regular and orderly, when to our weak and distant understanding they seem most irregular and disturbed.

And those untruly errant call'd, I  
 throw,

Since he errs not, who doth them  
 guide and move.

*Fairfax's Tasso*, cant. ix. st. 6.

*Astra tum ea quæ sunt infixæ  
 certis locis, tum illa non re sed  
 vocabulo errantia, &c. Cicero*

*Tusc. Disp. i. 25.* And in their motions such divine perfection appears, and their harmonious proportion so tunes her charming notes, that God himself, pleased and delighted, pronounced them good, *Gen. i. 18.* There is a text in *Job xxxviii. 37.* that seems to favour the opinion of the Pythagoreans, concerning the musical motion of the spheres, though our translation differs therein from other versions. *Concentum cæli quis dormire faciet ?* Who shall lay asleep, or still the consort of the heaven ? But this is to be understood metaphorically, of the wonderful proportions observed by the heavenly bodies in their various motions. *Hume.*

Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular  
 Then most, when most irregular they seem ;  
 And in their motions harmony divine 625  
 So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear  
 Listens delighted. Evening now approach'd  
 (For we have also' our evening and our morn,  
 We ours for change delectable, not need)  
 Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn 630  
 Desirous ; all in circles as they stood,  
 Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd  
 With angels' food, and rubied nectar flows  
 In pearl, in diamond, and massy gold,  
 Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of heaven. 635  
 On flow'rs repos'd, and with fresh flow'rets crown'd,  
 They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet

625. *And in their motions harmony divine, &c.*] The diapason of the music of the spheres, to which, in Plato's system, God himself listens. Plato thus describes it, *Εκ πασαις δι' αὐτῶν μίαν ἁρμονίαν συμφωνεῖν. De Repub. l. x. p. 520. Lugd. 1590. Compare Arcades, 61. and the lines At a solemn music, 6. T. War-*

ton.  
 633. *rubied nectar*] Nectar of the colour of rubies ; a translation of Homer's *νικταρ ἑρυθρον*. *Iliad. xix. 38.*

—*ἀμύρῃσιν καὶ νικταρ ἑρυθρον.*

and *Odyss. v. 93.*

—*παρθένης τρασιζαν*

*Ἀμύρῃσιν ἀλησεα, κίρασαι δι' νικταρ ἑρυθρον.*

637. *They eat, they drink, &c.*] In the first edition it was thus,

They eat, they drink, and with refection sweet  
 Are fill'd, before th' all-bounteous King,

In the second edition the author altered it, and added as follows,

They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet  
 Quaff immortality and joy, secure  
 Of surfeit where full measure only bounds  
 Excess, before th' all-bounteous King,

Dr. Bentley is for restoring the former reading, but we think that in *communion sweet* gives a much better idea than *with refection sweet*. To *quaff immortality and joy*, to drink largely and plentifully of immortal joy, is a very poetical expression, and plainly alluding to Psalm xxxvi. 8, 9. *Thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy*

Quaff immortality and joy, secure  
 Of surfeit where full measure only bounds  
 Excess, before th' all-bounteous King, who show'r'd  
 With copious hand, rejoicing in their joy. 641  
 Now when ambrosial night with clouds exhal'd  
 From that high mount of God, whence light and shade  
 Spring both, the face of brightest heav'n had chang'd  
 To grateful twilight (for night comes not there 645  
 In darker veil) and roseate dews dispos'd  
 All but th' unsleeping eyes of God to rest ;

*pleasures, for with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light shall we see light.* If these verses were left out, then (as Dr. Pearce rightly observes) the words in ver. 641. which represent God as *rejoicing in their joy*, would refer to something that is no where to be found ; and therefore Milton (he supposes) inserted these verses in the second edition, that the *joy* of the angels might be expressed. *Secure of surfeit*, are in no danger of it, are not liable to it, as men are. *Where full measure only bounds excess*, full measure is the only thing that stints and limits them ; the utmost they are capable of containing is the only bound set to them ; they have full measure, but they cannot be too full, they cannot overflow ; *without o'erflowing full*.

638. — *secure*

*Of surfeit*]

Compare *Comus*, 479. \*

—A perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets  
 Where no crude surfeit reigns.

T. Warton.

641. — *rejoicing in their joy.*]

What an idea of the divine goodness, whose perfect happiness seems to receive an addition from that of his creatures !  
*Richardson.*

642. — *ambrosial night*] So Homer calls the night *ambrosial*, *Ἀμβροσίη δὴ νύκτα*, *Iliad*. ii. 57. and sleep for the same reason *ambrosial*, ver. 19. because it refreshes and strengthens as much as food, as much as ambrosia.

643. *From that high mount of God, &c.*] See the thought in these lines further opened and enlarged, book vi. 4. *Greenwood.*

646. *In darker veil*] Milton spells this word differently, sometimes *vail*, sometimes *veil* ; but *veil* is right, from the Latin *velum*.

647. *All but th' unsleeping eyes of God to rest ;*] So the Psalmist, *Psaln cxxi. 4. He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep.* The author had likewise Homer in mind, *Iliad*. ii. 1.

Ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ θεοὶ —  
 Ἐὐδὴν ὠκυπέτῃσι Διὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστι νύκτας  
 ἰέναι.

Wide over all the plain, and wider far  
 Than all this globous earth in plain outspread,  
 (Such are the courts of God,) th' angelic throng, 650  
 Dispers'd in bands and files, their camp extend  
 By living streams among the trees of life,  
 Pavilions numberless, and sudden rear'd,  
 Celestial tabernacles, where they slept 654  
 Fann'd with cool winds ; save those who in their course  
 Melodious hymns about the sovran throne  
 Alternate all night long : but not so wak'd  
 Satan ; so call him now, his former name  
 Is heard no more in heav'n ; he of the first,  
 If not the first archangel, great in power, 660  
 In favour and preeminence, yet fraught  
 With envy' against the Son of God, that day  
 Honour'd by his great Father, and proclaim'd  
 Messiah King anointed, could not bear 664  
 Through pride that sight, and thought himself impair'd.  
 Deep malice thence conceiving and disdain,  
 Soon as midnight brought on the dusky hour  
 Friendliest to sleep and silence, he resolv'd  
 With all his legions to dislodge, and leave  
 Unworshipp'd, unobey'd the throne supreme 670  
 Contemptuous, and his next subordinate

Th' Immortals slumber'd on their  
 thrones above,

All, but the ever-wakeful eyes of  
 Jove.

*Popc.*

Virg. Georg. iii. 220. of two  
 bulls fighting.

*Hæc alternanti potior sententia visa  
 est.*

657. *Alternate all night long :*  
*Alternate* is a verb here ; *alter-*  
*nate hymns*, sing by turns, and  
 answer one another.

*Illi alternantes multa vi prælia mis-*  
*cent.*

*Æn. iv. 287. of Æneas deli-*  
*berating* whether he should  
 stay or go.

671. — *his next subordinate*  
 Beelzebub, who is always re-  
 presented second to Satan.

Awak'ning, thus to him in secret spake.

Sleep'st thou, companion dear, what sleep can close  
Thy eye-lids? and remember'st what decree  
Of yesterday, so late hath pass'd the lips 675  
Of heav'n's Almighty. Thou to me thy thoughts  
Wast wont, I mine to thee was wont to' impart;  
Both waking we were one; how then can now  
Thy sleep dissent? New laws thou seest impos'd;  
New laws from him who reigns, new minds may raise  
In us who serve, new counsels, to debate 681  
What doubtful may ensue: more in this place  
To utter is not safe. Assemble thou  
Of all those myriads which we lead the chief;  
Tell them that by command, ere yet dim night 685

Satan addresses him first here, as he does likewise upon the burning lake, book i.

673. *Sleep'st thou, companion dear, what sleep can close Thy eye-lids? and remember'st what decree &c.]*

We have printed the passage with Milton's own punctuation. *Sleep'st thou, companion dear, Eûdus, Arctus vis; Iliad. ii. 23. What sleep can close thy eye-lids? and remember'st &c. that is when thou remember'st &c.*

—potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos? *Virg. Æn. iv. 560.*

It is just the same manner of speaking as in ii. 730.

—what fury, O Son,  
Possesses thee to bend that mortal  
dart

Against thy Father's head? and  
know'st for whom?

at the same time that thou knowest for whom.

682. —*more in this place To utter is not safe.]*

This is a verse, but I believe the reader will agree, that it could not have had so good an effect, had it been an entire verse by itself, as it has now it is broken and made part of two verses.

684. *Of all those myriads which we lead the chief;]* Dr. Bentley reads *the chiefs*: but Milton speaks after the same manner as here, in ii. 469. *Others among the chief &c.* And in both places *the chief* signifies the same as *the chiefs*, only this is a substantive, and that is an adjective, agreeing with the word *angels* understood in the construction. *Pearce.*

685. *Tell them that by command, &c.]* He begins his revolt with a lie. So well doth Milton preserve the character given of him in Scripture. John viii. 44.

Her shadowy cloud withdraws, I am to haste,  
 And all who under me their banners wave,  
 Homeward with flying march where we possess  
 The quarters of the north ; there to prepare

*The devil is a liar, and the father of lies.*

689. *The quarters of the north ;*]  
 See Sannazarius *De partu Virginis*, iii. 40.

Vos, quum omne arderet cœlum ser-  
 vilibus armis,  
 Arctonque furor pertenderet impius  
 axem  
 Scandere, et in gelidos regnum trans-  
 ferre Triones,  
 Fida manus mecum mansistia.

There are other passages in the same poem of which Milton has made use. *Jortin*.

Some have thought that Milton intended, but I dare say he was above intending here, a reflection upon Scotland, though being himself an Independent, he had no great affection for the Scotch Presbyterians. He had the authority, we see, of Sannazarius for fixing Satan's rebellion in *the quarters of the north*, and he had much better authority, the same that Sannazarius had, that of the Prophet, whose words though applied to the king of Babylon, yet allude to this rebellion of Satan, *Isaiah* xiv. 12, 13. *How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!—For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God. I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation in the sides of the north.* The north conveys the idea of a disagreeable cold inclement sky; and in Scripture

we read, *Out of the north an evil shall break forth*, *Jer.* i. 14. *I will bring evil from the north and a great destruction*, *Jer.* iv. 6. *Evil appeareth out of the north*, *Jer.* vi. 1. St. Austin says, that the devil and his angels, being averse from the light and fervour of charity, grew torpid as it were with an icy hardness; and are therefore by a figure placed in the north. *Diabolus igitur et Angeli ejus a luce atque fervore caritatis aversi, et nimis in superbiam invidiamque progressi, velut glaciali durtia torpuerunt. Et ideo per figuram tanquam in aquilone ponuntur*, *Epist.* 140. *Sect.* 55. And Shakespeare in like manner calls Satan *the monarch of the north*, *1 Henry VI.* act v.

And ye choice spirits, that admonish  
 me,  
 And give me signs of future accidents,  
 You speedy helpers, that are substitu-  
 tutes

Under the lordly monarch of the north.

I have seen too a Latin poem by Odoricus Valmarana, printed at Vienna in 1627, and entitled *Dæmonomachia sive De Bello Intelligentiarum super Divini Verbi incarnatione*. This poem is longer than the *Iliad*, for it consists of five and twenty books; but it equals the *Iliad* in nothing but in length, for the poetry is very indifferent. However in some particulars the plan of this poem is very like *Paradise Lost*. It opens with the exaltation of the

Fit entertainment to receive our King 690  
 The great Messiah, and his new commands,  
 Who speedily through all the hierarchies  
 Intends to pass triumphant, and give laws.

So spake the false archangel, and infus'd  
 Bad influence into th' unwary breast 695  
 Of his associate: he together calls,  
 Or several one by one, the regent powers,  
 Under him regent; tells, as he was taught,  
 That the Most High commanding, now ere night,  
 Now ere dim night had disincumber'd heaven, 700  
 The great hierarchal standard was to move;  
 Tells the suggested cause, and casts between  
 Ambiguous words and jealousies, to sound  
 Or taint integrity: but all obey'd  
 The wonted signal, and superior voice 705  
 Of their great potentate; for great indeed  
 His name, and high was his degree in heaven;  
 His count'nance, as the morning star that guides

Son of God, and thereupon  
 Lucifer revolts, and draws a  
 third part of the angels after him  
 into *the quarters of the north*.

—pars tertiam lævam  
 Hoc duce persequitur, gelidoque  
 aquilone locatur.

It is more probable, that Milton  
 had seen this poem than some  
 others, from which he is charged  
 with borrowing largely. He  
 was indeed an universal scholar,  
 and read all sorts of authors,  
 and took hints from the mo-  
 derns as well as the ancients.  
 He was a great genius, but a  
 great genius formed by reading;  
 and as it was said of Virgil, he

collected gold out of the dung  
 of other authors.

702. *Tells the suggested cause,*  
 The cause that Satan had sug-  
 gested, namely, to prepare enter-  
 tainment for their new King, and  
 receive his laws; *and casts be-*  
*tween ambiguous words*, imitated  
 from Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 98.

—hinc spargere voces  
 In vulgum ambiguas.

708. *His count'nance as the*  
*morning star that guides &c.]*  
 This similitude is not so new as  
 poetical. Virgil in like manner  
 compares the beautiful young  
 Pallas to the morning star, *Æn.*  
 viii. 589.



The starry flock, allur'd them, and with lies  
 Drew after him the third part of heav'n's host. 710  
 Mean while th' eternal eye, whose sight discerns

Qualis, ubi oceanus perfusus Lucifer  
 unda,  
 Quem Venus ante alios astrorum  
 diligit ignes,  
 Extulit os sacrum cœlo, tenebrasque  
 resolvit.

So from the seas exerts his radiant  
 head

The star, by whom the lights of  
 heav'n are led;

Shakes from his rosy locks the pearly  
 dews,

Dispels the darkness, and the day re-  
 newa. Dryden.

But there is a much greater propriety in Milton's comparing Satan to the morning star, as he is often spoken of under the name of Lucifer, as well as denominated in Scripture, *Lucifer son of the morning*. Isaiah xiv. 12.

709. —and with lies &c.] Dr. Bentley says, that the author gave it *and his lies* &c. but by the expression *his countenance* is meant he himself, a part being put for the whole, as in ii. 683. we have *front* put for the whole person: it is very frequent in Scripture to use the word *face* or *countenance* in this sense: as in Luke ix. 53. we read of our Saviour, that the *Samaritans did not receive him, because his face was as though he* (Greek, it) *would go to Jerusalem*. See also Levit. xix. 32. But if this will not be allowed to be Milton's meaning, yet it may be said that Satan's *countenance*, seducing his followers by disguising the foul intentions of his heart, may be very properly said to *seduce with lies*. We

read in Cicero's Epistles to his brother, *frons, oculi, vultus per sepe mentiuatur*. Lib. i. Ep. i. c. 5. Pearce.

709. But see Dr. Newton's note on ver. 711, where this and similar difficulties are better solved. E.

710. *Drew after him the third part of heav'n's host.*] Behold a great red dragon—and his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth. Rev. xii. 3, 4. Dr. Bentley finds fault with this verse as very bad measure: but, as a person of much better taste observes, there is a great beauty in the fall of the numbers in this line after the majesty of those before and after it, occasioned principally by the change of the fourth foot from an iambic into a trochaic; an artifice often made use of by Milton to vary his numbers by those discords.

Drew after him the third part of  
 heav'n's host.

711. *Mean while the eternal eye, whose sight discerns* &c.] Dr. Bentley seems very sure that Milton's text is wrong here, because in the course of the construction it is said of *this eternal eye* that it *smiling said*, ver. 718. He would therefore persuade us that Milton gave it,

Mean while th' Eternal, He whose  
 sight discerns &c.

But would not *He* in this place thus following *th' Eternal* be a

Abstrusest thoughts, from forth his holy mount  
 And from within the golden lamps that burn  
 Nightly before him, saw without their light  
 Rebellion rising, saw in whom, how spread  
 Among the sons of morn, what multitudes

715

botch in poetry? Milton frequently takes a liberty, allowable in a poet, of expressing only some part or quality of a person, when he means the person himself, and goes on to say things which (properly speaking) are applicable only to the person himself. And Milton had good authority for doing so: in Psalm liv. 7. *the eye is made a person, mine eye shall see his desire upon mine enemies*: so in Matt. xx. 15. *the eye is put for the whole man, Is thine eye evil, because I am good?* See also Prov. xxx. 17. *Pearce.*

*His countenance allured, and with lies drew after him &c. The eternal eye saw &c. and smiling said*—give great offence to Dr. Bentley, and Dr. Pearce says, *his countenance and the eternal eye are the part for the whole or the person.* But a very learned and ingenious friend questions, whether they are not here used equivocally, and to be construed either as one or the other according as the sense requires. It is Satan's countenance that allures them like the morning star, but it is Satan himself that draws them after him with lies; so the eternal eye sees, but the *smiling said* must relate to the Eternal himself. Spenser has a stronger instance of the impropriety here taken notice of by the critics, and it is repeated as

here in Milton. Spenser's Epithalamion.

Her long loose yellow locks like  
 golden wire,  
 Sprinkled with pearl, and perling  
 flow'rs atween,  
 Do like a golden mantle her attire:  
 And being crowned with a garland  
 green,  
 Seem like some maiden queen.  
*Her modest eyes* abashed to behold  
 So many gazers, as on her do stare,  
 Upon the lowly ground affixed are;  
 Ne dare lift up her countenance too  
 bold,  
 But blush to hear her praises sung so  
 loud,  
 So far from being proud.

713. *And from within the golden lamps]* Alluding to the lamps before the throne of God, which St. John saw in his vision, Rev. iv. 5. *And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne.*

716. *Among the sons of morn,]* The angels are here called *sons of the morning*, as Lucifer is in Isa. xiv. 12. probably upon account of their early creation; or to express the angelic beauty and gladness, the morning being the most delightful season of the day. Job xi. 17. *Thine age shall be clearer than the noon-day; thou shalt shine forth, thou shalt be as the morning.* xxxviii. 7. *When the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy.* See also Cant. vi. 10. Isa. lviii. 8. *Richardson.*

Were banded to oppose his high decree ;  
And smiling to his only Son thus said.

Son, thou in whom my glory I behold  
In full resplendence, Heir of all my might, 720  
Nearly it now concerns us to be sure  
Of our omnipotence, and with what arms  
We mean to hold what anciently we claim  
Of deity or empire ; such a foe  
Is rising, who intends to' erect his throne 725  
Equal to ours, throughout the spacious north ;  
Nor so content, hath in his thought to try  
In battle, what our pow'r is, or our right.  
Let us advise, and to this hazard draw  
With speed what force is left, and all employ 730  
In our defence, lest unawares we lose  
This our high place, our sanctuary, our hill.

To whom the Son with calm aspect and clear,  
Lightning divine, ineffable, serene,

718. *And smiling*] Let not the pious reader be offended, because the supreme Being is represented as *smiling* and speaking ironically of his foes ; for such figures of speech are not unusual in the Scripture itself. Immediately after the fall of Man we read, Gen. iii. 22. *And the Lord God said, Behold the Man is become as one of us, to know good and evil.* There are several instances of the like manner of speaking in the prophets. But this is particularly grounded upon Psalm ii. 1. &c. *Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing ? —against the Lord and against his*

*Anointed—He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision.* It appears that our Author had this passage in view, by his making the Son allude so plainly to it in his answer.

—Mighty Father, thou thy foes  
Justly hast in derision, and secure  
Laugh'st at their vain designs and  
tumults vain.

719. —in whom my glory I  
behold  
In full resplendence, Heir-of  
all my might,]

For he is the brightness of his  
Father's glory, and appointed heir  
of all things, Heb. i. 2, 3.

734. *Lightning divine,*] If

Made answer. Mighty Father, thou thy foes 735  
 Justly hast in derision, and secure  
 Laugh'st at their vain designs and tumults vain,  
 Matter to me of glory, whom their hate  
 Illustrates, when they see all regal power  
 Giv'n me to quell their pride, and in event 740  
 Know whether I be dextrous to subdue  
 Thy rebels, or be found the worst in heaven.  
 So spake the Son ; but Satan with his powers  
 Far was advanc'd on winged speed, an host  
 Innumerable as the stars of night, 745  
 Or stars of morning, dew-drops, which the sun  
 Impearls on every leaf and every flower.  
 Regions they pass'd, the mighty regencies  
 Of seraphim and potentates and thrones  
 In their triple degrees ; regions to which 750  
 All thy dominion, Adam, is no more

*lightning* is a participle, the adjective *divine* is to be taken adverbially, as if he had said *lightning divinely*: but it is rather a substantive, and in Scripture the angel's countenance is said to have been like *lightning*, Dan. x. 6. Matt. xxviii. 3.

746. *Or stars of morning, dew-drops,*] Innumerable as the stars is an old simile, but this of the stars of morning, dew drops, seems as new as it is beautiful: and the sun *impearls* them, turns them by his reflected beams to seeming pearls; as the morn was said before to sow the earth with *orient pearl*, ver. 2.

750. *In their triple degrees;*] This notion of *triples* in all the

œconomy of angels is started by Tasso, cant. xviii. st. 96.

In battle round of squadrons *three*  
 they stood,  
 And all by *three* those squadrons  
 ranged were:

and by Spenser, Faery Queen, b. i. cant. 12. st. 39.

Like as it had been many an angel's  
 voice  
 Singing before th' eternal Majesty,  
 In their *trinal triplicities* on high.

The fancy was borrowed from the Schoolmen. Bentley.

Spenser has again the same notion, and uses the same expression in his Hymn of heavenly love,

There they in their *trinal triplicities*  
 About him wait, and on his will  
 depend.

Than what this garden is to all the earth,  
 And all the sea, from one entire globose  
 Stretch'd into longitude ; which having pass'd  
 At length into the limits of the north 755  
 They came, and Satan to his royal seat  
 High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount  
 Rais'd on a mount, with pyramids and towers  
 From diamond quarries hewn, and rocks of gold ;  
 The palace of great Lucifer, (so call 760  
 That structure in the dialect of men  
 Interpreted,) which not long after, he  
 Affecting all equality with God,  
 In imitation of that mount whereon  
 Messiah was declar'd in sight of heaven, 765  
 The Mountain of the Congregation call'd ;  
 For thither he assembled all his train,

761. —*in the dialect of men*] The learned reader cannot but be pleased with the poet's imitation of Homer in this line. Homer mentions persons and things, which he tells us in the language of the gods are called by different names from those they go by in the language of men. Milton has imitated him with his usual judgment in this particular place, wherein he has likewise the authority of Scripture to justify him. *Addison.*

The scholiasts and commentators upon Homer endeavour to account for this manner of speaking several ways ; but the most probable is, that he attributes those names which are in use only among the learned to the gods, and those which are in vulgar use to men. However

that be, this manner of speaking certainly gives a dignity to the poem, and looks as if the poets had conversed with the gods themselves.

766. *The Mountain of the Congregation call'd ;*] Alluding to what we quoted before from Isa. xiv. 13. *I will exalt my throne above the stars of God ; I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north.*

767. Here is a mixture of Ariosto and Isaiah. Because Lucifer is simply said by the prophet "to sit upon the mount, &c." Milton builds him a palace on this mountain, equal in magnificence and brilliancy to the most superb romantic castle. *T. Warton.*

Pretending so commanded to consult  
 About the great reception of their king,  
 Thither to come, and with calumnious art 770  
 Of counterfeited truth thus held their ears.

Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,  
 If these magnific titles yet remain  
 Not merely titular, since by decree  
 Another now hath to himself ingross'd 775  
 All pow'r, and us eclips'd under the name  
 Of King anointed, for whom all this haste  
 Of midnight march, and hurried meeting here,  
 This only to consult how we may best  
 With what may be devis'd of honours new 780  
 Receive him coming to receive from us  
 Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile,  
 Too much to one, but double how indur'd  
 To one and to his image now proclaim'd?  
 But what if better counsels might erect 785  
 Our minds, and teach us to cast off this yoke?  
 Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend  
 The supple knee? ye will not, if I trust  
 To know ye right, or if ye know yourselves  
 Natives and sons of heav'n possess'd before 790

772. *Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,*] The use of the word *Virtues* in this line clearly explains what Milton meant by *th' angelic Virtue* in ver. 371.

Whom thus th' angelic Virtue answer'd mild.

It was an order of angels distinguished by that name. This is the more evidently his meaning by these lines after, ver. 837.

—and all the spirits of heaven  
 By him created in their bright  
 degrees,  
 Crown'd them with glory, and to  
 their glory nam'd  
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms,  
 Virtues, Powers.

*Thyer.*

790. *Natives and sons of heav'n possess'd before*

*By none,]*

Dr. Bentley's false pointing of this passage has led others to

By none, and if not equal all, yet free,  
 Equally free; for orders and degrees  
 Jar not with liberty, but well consist.  
 Who can in reason then or right assume  
 Monarchy over such as live by right  
 His equals, if in pow'r and splendor less,  
 In freedom equal? or can introduce  
 Law and edict on us, who without law  
 Err not? much less for this to be our Lord,

795

mistake the sense of it, as well as himself. He refers the word *possessed* to *natives and sons*, but should it not rather be referred to *heaven* the word immediately preceding, there being no comma between them in Milton's own editions, as there is in Dr. Bentley's? And is not the passage to be understood thus, that *No one possessed heaven before them*, they were a sort of Aborigines? which notion Satan explains more at large in his following speech, ver. 859.

We know no time when we were  
 not as now;  
 Know none before us, self-begot,  
 self-rais'd  
 By our own quick'ning pow'r, when  
 fatal course  
 Had circled his full orb, the birth  
 mature  
 Of this our native heav'n, ethereal  
 sons.

792. —for orders and degrees  
*Jar not with liberty, but well  
 consist.*]  
*Jar*, a metaphor taken from  
 music, to which both the philo-  
 sophers and poets have always  
 loved to compare government.  
 So Shakespeare, Henry V. act 1.

For government, though high, and  
 low, and lower,  
 Put into parts, doth keep in one  
 consent;  
 Congreering in a full and natural  
 close,

Like music:

and in *Troilus and Cressida*,  
 act i.

Take but degree away, untune that  
 string,  
 And hark what discord follows.

799. —*much less for this to be  
 our Lord,*] This passage seems  
 to me as inexplicable almost as  
 any in Milton. Dr. Bentley  
 thinks it hard to find what *for  
 this* relates to; and therefore  
 reads *forethink*, or if we have no  
 regard to the likeness of the  
 letters, *aspire*, *presume*, or other  
 such word. Then the series (he  
 says) will be this, *Who can intro-  
 duce law and edict on us? much  
 less can he forethink, take it in  
 his scheme or view, to become our  
 Lord and master.* Dr. Pearce  
 says, that the sentence is ellipti-  
 cal, and may be supplied thus,  
*much less can he for this* (viz. for  
 our being less in power and splen-  
 dour, ver. 796.) in right assume  
 to be our Lord. Mr. Richardson  
 understands it to be spoken

And look for adoration to th' abuse 800  
Of those imperial titles, which assert  
Our being ordain'd to govern, not to serve.

Thus far his bold discourse without control  
Had audience, when among the Seraphim  
Abdiel, than whom none with more zeal ador'd 805  
The Deity', and divine commands obey'd,  
Stood up, and in a flame of zeal severe  
The current of his fury thus oppos'd.

O argument blasphemous, false and proud !

blasphemously and with contempt of the Messiah, *This another*, ver. 775. *This King anointed*, ver. 777. *This*, *αὐτός*, hic: possibly (as Dr. Greenwood imagines) in allusion to that passage, Luke xix. 14. *Οὐ θέλωμεν αὐτὸν βασιλεῦσαι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς*, *nolumus hunc regnare super nos*, *We will not have this (man) to reign over us*. And then the sense will run after this manner, *Who can then in justice assume monarchy over equals? or can introduce a law and edict upon us, who without law are infallible? much less can he introduce a law and edict for This* (I do not say what) *to be our Lord and receive adoration from us*. But then we must write *This* with a great letter, and we must not continue the note of interrogation at the end of the speech. If we should, I imagine we should be obliged to read *much more* instead of *much less*. Mr. Warburton still understands it otherwise. Who can in reason assume monarchy over those who are his equals? and introduce law and edict upon them, when they can conduct their

actions rightly without law? much less for this introduction of law and edict claim the right of dominion. For he thought the giving of civil laws did not introduce dominion. His head was full of the ancient legislators, who gave laws to equals and strangers, and did not pretend to the right of dispensing them, which is dominion. So he says before,

—for orders and decrees

Jar not with liberty &c.

This is good sense, but still the grammatical construction is not easy. I suppose it must be thus, *much less for this* (can he assume ver. 794.) *to be our Lord*.

809. *O argument blasphemous*,] And so likewise in vi. 360.

Refrain'd his tongue blasphemous; but anon, &c.

which are the only two places where he uses the word, he pronounces the second syllable long according to the Greek. And so Spenser too uses the word, *Faery Queen*, b. vi. cant. 12. st. 34.

And therein shut up his blasphemous tongue.



Words which no ear ever to hear in heav'n 810  
 Expected, least of all from thee, Ingrate,  
 In place thyself so high above thy peers.  
 Canst thou with impious obloquy condemn  
 The just decree of God, pronounc'd and sworn,  
 That to his only Son by right indued 815  
 With regal sceptre, every soul in heaven  
 Shall bend the knee, and in that honour due  
 Confess him rightful King? unjust, thou say'st,  
 Flatly unjust, to bind with laws the free,  
 And equal over equals to let reign, 820  
 One over all with unsuccèded power.  
 Shalt thou give law to God, shalt thou dispute  
 With him the points of liberty, who made  
 Thee what thou art, and form'd the pow'rs of heaven  
 Such as he pleas'd, and circumscrib'd their being? 825  
 Yet by experience taught we know how good,  
 And of our good and of our dignity  
 How provident he is, how far from thought  
 To make us less, bent rather to exalt  
 Our happy state under one head more near 830  
 United. But to grant it the unjust,  
 That equal over equals monarch reign :  
 Thyself though great and glorious dost thou count,  
 Or all angelic nature join'd in one,  
 Equal to him begotten Son? by whom 835

And st. 25.

And altars fouled, and blasphem'ous  
 spoke.

835. —by whom &c.] Col. i.  
 16, 17. For by him were all things  
 created that are in heaven, and

that are in earth, visible and in-  
 visible, whether they be thrones, or  
 dominions, or principalities, or  
 powers; all things were created  
 by him and for him, and he is be-  
 fore all things, and by him all  
 things consist; and the conclusion

As by his Word the mighty Father made  
 All things, ev'n thee ; and all the spi'rits of heaven  
 By him created in their bright degrees, .  
 Crown'd them with glory', and to their glory nam'd  
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,  
 Essential Pow'rs ; nor by his reign obscur'd, 841  
 But more illustrious made ; since he the head  
 One of our number thus reduc'd becomes ;  
 His laws our laws ; all honour to him done  
 Returns our own. Cease then this impious rage, 845  
 And tempt not these ; but hasten to appease  
 Th' incensed Father, and th' incensed Son,  
 While pardon may be found in time besought.

So spake the fervent angel ; but his zeal  
 None seconded, as out of season judg'd, 850  
 Or singular and rash, whereat rejoic'd  
 Th' Apostate, and more haughty thus replied.  
 That we were form'd then say'st thou ? and the work  
 Of secondary hands, by task transferr'd  
 From Father to his Son ? strange point and new ! 855  
 Doctrine which we would know whence learn'd : who saw  
 When this creation was ? remember'st thou  
 Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being ?  
 We know no time when we were not as now ;  
 Know none before us, self-begot, self-rai's'd 860  
 By our own quick'ning pow'r, when fatal course

of this speech is taken from the conclusion of Psalm ii.

861. —*when fatal course &c.*] We may observe that our author makes Satan a sort of fatalist. We angels (says he) were self-

*begot, self-raised by our own quickening power, when the course of fate had completed its full round and period, then we were the birth mature, the production in due season, of this our native heaven.*

Had circled his full orb, the birth mature  
 Of this our native heav'n, ethereal sons.  
 Our puissance is our own ; our own right hand  
 Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try 865  
 Who is our equal : then thou shalt behold  
 Whether by supplication we intend  
 Address, and to begirt th' almighty throne  
 Beseeching or besieging. This report,  
 These tidings carry to th' anointed King ; 870  
 And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.

He said, and as the sound of waters deep  
 Hoarse murmur echo'd to his words applause

No compliment to fatalism to  
 put it into the mouth of the  
 devil.

864. *Our puissance is our own ;*]  
 It has been wondered that Mil-  
 ton should constantly pronounce  
 this word and *puissant* the ad-  
 jective with two syllables, when  
 they would be more sonorous  
 with three. But in this he con-  
 forms to the practice and exam-  
 ple of the best writers. So Fair-  
 fax in his Tasso, cant. xviii. st. 55.

And 'gainst the northern gate my  
*puissance* bend.  
 and cant. xix. st. 72.

Of this your terrible and *puissant*  
 knight.

Though Spenser I find makes  
 them sometimes three, as well  
 as sometimes two syllables. As  
 Shakespeare does likewise, 2  
 Hen. IV. act i.

Upon the power and *puissance* of the  
 king ;  
 and a little afterwards,

And come against us in full *puissance*.  
 In the former line *puissance* is  
 used as two syllables, and in the

latter as three. It was certainly  
 better in Milton to make it all  
 the one or all the other.

864. —our own right hand  
*Shall teach us highest deeds,]*  
 From Psalm xlv. 4. *Thine own*  
*right hand shall teach thee terrible*  
*things.*

*Deus mihl Deus, ei telum quod*  
*missile libro. Virg. Æn. x. 773.*  
*Bentley.*

869. *Beseeching or besieging.]*  
 Those which are thought the  
 faults of Milton may be justified  
 by the authority of the best  
 writers. This sort of jingle is  
 like that in Terence, *Andria*, act i.  
 sc. iii. 13.

—*Inceptio est anentium, haud anen-*  
*tium ;*

and that in Shakespeare, *Ham-*  
*let*, act i.

A little more than *kin*, and less than  
*kind.*

872. —and as the sound of  
*waters deep]* The voice of a great  
*multitude* applauding is in like  
 manner compared, Rev. xix. 6.  
*to the voice of many waters.*

A a 4

Through the infinite host ; nor less for that  
 The flaming Seraph fearless, though alone 875  
 Incompass'd round with foes, thus answer'd bold.

O alienate from God, O Spi'rit accurs'd,  
 Forsaken of all good ; I see thy fall  
 Determin'd, and thy hapless crew involv'd  
 In this perfidious fraud, contagion spread 880  
 Both of thy crime and punishment : henceforth  
 No more be troubled how to quit the yoke  
 Of God's Messiah ; those indulgent laws  
 Will not be now vouchsaf'd ; other decrees  
 Against thee are gone forth without recall ; 885  
 That golden sceptre, which thou didst reject,  
 Is now an iron rod to bruise and break  
 Thy disobedience. Well thou didst advise,  
 Yet not for thy advice or threats I fly  
 These wicked tents devoted, lest the wrath 890

887. *Is now an iron rod to bruise and break*] Alluding to Psalm ii. 9. *Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron*: or rather to the old translation, *Thou shalt bruise them with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel*.

890. *These wicked tents devoted, lest the wrath &c.*] In allusion probably to the rebellion of Korah &c. Numb. xvi. where Moses exhorts the congregation, saying, *Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, lest ye be consumed in all their sins*, ver. 26. But the construction without doubt is deficient. It may be supplied (as Dr. Pearce says) by understanding *but I fly* before the word *lest*. See the

same elliptical way of speaking in ii. 483. But it would be plainer and easier with Dr. Bentley's alteration, if there was any authority for it ;

*These wicked tents devote, but lest the wrath &c.*

890.—*lest the wrath  
 Impendent, raging into sudden  
 flame,  
 Distinguish not :*] Compare Horace, b. iii. ode 2. l. 26.

—*velibo, qui Cereris sacrum  
 Vulgârit arcana, sub isdem  
 Sit trahibus, fragilemque mecum  
 Solvat phaselum : saepe Diespiter  
 Neglectus incesto addidit integrum :*  
*Raro antecedentem scelestum  
 Deservit pede pœna claudo,* E.

Impendent, raging into sudden flame,  
Distinguish not : for soon expect to feel  
His thunder on thy head, devouring fire.  
Then who created thee lamenting learn,  
When who can uncreate thee thou shalt know. 895

So spake the seraph Abdiel faithful found  
Among the faithless, faithful only he ;  
Among innumerable false, unmov'd,  
Unshaken, uneduc'd, unterrified  
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal ; 900  
Nor number, nor example with him wrought  
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind  
Though single. From amidst them forth he pass'd,  
Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustain'd  
Superior, nor of violence fear'd ought ; 905  
And with retorted scorn his back he turn'd  
On those proud tow'rs to swift destruction doom'd.

896. *So spake the seraph Abdiel faithful found &c.*] The part of Abdiel, who was the only spirit that in this infinite host of angels preserved his allegiance to his Maker, exhibits to us a noble moral of religious singularity. The zeal of the seraphim breaks forth in a becoming warmth of sentiments and ex-

pressions, as the character which is given us of him denotes that generous scorn and intrepidity which attends heroic virtue. The author doubtless designed it as a pattern to those, who live among mankind in their present state of degeneracy and corruption. *Addison.*



# **PARADISE LOST.**

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## **BOOK VI.**

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## THE ARGUMENT.

**RAPHAEL** continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel were sent forth to battle against Satan and his angels. The first fight described: Satan and his powers retire under night: He calls a council, invents devilish engines, which in the second day's fight put Michael and his angels to some disorder: but they at length pulling up mountains overwhelmed both the force and machines of Satan: Yet the tumult not so ending, God on the third day sends **MESSIAH** his Son, for whom he had reserved the glory of that victory: He in the power of his Father coming to the place, and causing all his legions to stand still on either side, with his chariot and thunder driving into the midst of his enemies, pursues them unable to resist towards the wall of heaven; which opening, they leap down with horror and confusion into the place of punishment prepared for them in the deep: **MESSIAH** returns with triumph to his Father.



# PARADISE LOST.

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## BOOK VI.

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ALL night the dreadless angel unpursued  
Through heav'n's wide campaign held his way ; till  
morn,

We are now entering upon the sixth book of *Paradise Lost*, in which the poet describes the battle of angels ; having raised his reader's expectation, and prepared him for it by several passages in the preceding books. I omitted quoting these passages in my observations upon the former books, having purposely reserved them for the opening of this, the subject of which gave occasion to them. The author's imagination was so inflamed with this great scene of action, that wherever he speaks of it, he rises, if possible, above himself. Thus where he mentions Satan in the beginning of his poem, i. 44. &c.

—Him the almighty Power  
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th'  
ethereal sky,  
With hideous ruin and combustion,  
down  
To bottomless perdition, there to  
dwell  
In adamant chain and penal fire,  
Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to  
arms.

We have likewise several noble hints of it in the infernal conference, i. 128. &c.

O Prince ! O Chief of many throned  
powers,  
That led th' imbattled Seraphim to  
war,  
Too well I see and rue the dire event,  
That with sad overthrow and foul  
defeat  
Hath lost us heav'n, and all this  
mighty host  
In horrible destruction laid thus low.  
But see ! the angry victor hath re-  
call'd  
His ministers of vengeance and pur-  
suit  
Back to the gates of heav'n : the  
sulphurous hail  
Shot after us in storm, o'erblown  
hath laid  
The fiery surge, that from the pre-  
cipice  
Of heav'n receiv'd us falling ; and  
the thunder,  
Wing'd with red lightning and im-  
petuous rage,  
Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and  
ceases now  
To bellow through the vast and  
boundless deep.

There are several other very sublime images on the same

Wak'd by the circling hours, with rosy hand  
Unbarr'd the gates of light. There is a cave

subject in the first book, as also in the second, ii. 165. &c.

What when we fled annain, pursued  
and struck

With heav'n's afflicting thunder, and  
besought

The deep to shelter us? this hell  
then seem'd

A refuge from those wounds.

In short, the poet never mentions any thing of this battle but in such images of greatness and terror as are suitable to the subject. Among several others I cannot forbear quoting that passage, where the Power, who is described as presiding over the Chaos, speaks in the second book, ii. 988. &c.

Thus Satan; and him thus the  
Anarch old,

With falt'ring speech and visage  
incompos'd,

Answer'd. I know thee, stranger,  
who thou art,

That mighty leading angel, who of late

Made head against heav'n's King,  
though overthrown.

I saw and heard, for such a numerous  
host

Fled not in silence through the  
frighted deep

With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,  
Confusion worse confounded; and

heav'n-gate  
Pour'd out by millions her victorious  
bands

Pursuing.

It required great pregnancy of invention and strength of imagination, to fill this battle with such circumstances as should raise and astonish the mind of the reader; and at the same time an exactness of judgment, to avoid every thing that might appear light or trivial. Those

who look into Homer, are surprised to find his battles still rising one above another, and improving in horror, to the conclusion of the Iliad. Milton's fight of angels is wrought up with the same beauty. It is ushered in with such signs of wrath as are suitable to Omnipotence incensed. The first engagement is carried on under a cope of fire, occasioned by the flights of innumerable burning darts and arrows which are discharged from either host. The second onset is still more terrible, as it is filled with those artificial thunders, which seem to make the victory doubtful, and produce a kind of consternation even in the good angels. This is followed by the tearing up of mountains and promontories; till, in the last place, the Messiah comes forth in the fulness of majesty and terror. The pomp of his appearance amidst the roarings of his thunders, the flashes of his lightnings, and the noise of his chariot-wheels, is described with the utinost flights of human imagination. Addison.

2. —till morn,

Wak'd by the circling hours,  
with rosy hand

Unbarr'd the gates of light.]

This is copied from Homer's Iliad, v. 749. where the hours are feigned in like manner to guard the gates of heaven.

—πύλαι—εὐφροσύνη, ἃς ἔχει Ὀδυσσεὺς  
τῆς ἐντυττωμένης μεγάλῃς εὐφροσύνης, Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ἡμῶν ἀπαλλοτρίως ποικίλοντες ἑαυτοὺς, πᾶσι  
δύναται.

Within the mount of God, fast by his throne, 5  
 Where light and darkness in perpetual round  
 Lodge and dislodge by turns, which makes through  
 heaven

Grateful vicissitude, like day and night ;  
 Light issues forth, and at the other door  
 Obsequious darkness enters, till her hour 10  
 To veil the heav'n, though darkness there might well  
 Seem twilight here : and now went forth the morn  
 Such as in highest heav'n, array'd in gold  
 Empyreal ; from before her vanish'd night,  
 Shot through with orient beams ; when all the plain 15

Heav'n's golden gate, kept by the  
 winged hours :

Commission'd in alternate watch they  
 stand,

The sun's bright portals and the skies  
 command,

Involve in clouds th' eternal gates of  
 day,

Or the dark barrier roll with ease  
 away. Pope.

6. *Where light and darkness*  
 &c.] The making darkness a  
 positive thing is poetical. But  
 besides that, as he thought fit to  
 bring it into heaven, it could  
 not be otherwise represented, for  
 obvious reasons. Warburton.

And the thought of light and  
 darkness lodging and dislodging  
 by turns, the one issuing forth  
 and the other entering, is plainly  
 borrowed from a fine passage in  
 Hesiod, Theog. 748.

— ἴδι τῷ τι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀσσοῖς ἵσταται  
 Ἀλλήλας περισσώσιν, ἀμφοτέρωσι μέγας  
 ἰσθός

Καλῶν δ' ἡ μὴ ἰσθὸν καταβῆσθαι, ἡ δὲ  
 θυγαῖς

Ερχεται, ὅδ' αὖτ' ἀμφοτέρωσι δῖμος  
 ἵστος ἵερ' ἔχει.

14. — *vanish'd night,*] It is

very absurdly printed in some  
 editions, *vanquished night*.

15. *Shot through with orient  
 beams ;*] This quaint conceit of  
*night's being shot through* &c. is  
 much below the usual dignity  
 of Milton's descriptions. The  
 Italian poets, even the very best  
 of them, are fond of such boyish  
 fancies, and there is no doubt  
 but we are obliged to them for  
 this. So Marino speaking of  
 Night, Adon. cant. v. st. 120.

E di tenebre armata uccise il giorno.  
 Both, in my opinion, very puerile.  
 Thyer.

A very ingenious man (Mr.  
 Seward) is still for justifying  
 the expression, and says that  
 nothing can be better suited to  
 the nature of the thing ; the  
 rays of light do literally shoot  
 through the darkness.

15. Prudentius, *Hymn* ii. 6.

Caligo terræ scinditur  
 Solis percussa spiculo.

See also Buchanan, *Silv.* iv. p.  
 58. *Opp.* edit. 1715.

Cover'd with thick imbattled squadrons bright,  
 Chariots and flaming arms, and fiery steeds  
 Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view :  
 War he perceiv'd, war in procinct, and found  
 Already known what he for news had thought 20  
 To have reported : gladly then he mix'd  
 Among those friendly pow'rs, who him receiv'd  
 With joy and acclamations loud, that one,  
 That of so many myriads fall'n, yet one  
 Return'd not lost : On to the sacred hill 25  
 They led him high applauded, and present  
 Before the seat supreme ; from whence a voice  
 From midst a golden cloud thus mild was heard.

Servant of God, well done, well hast thou fought  
 The better fight, who single hast maintain'd 30  
 Against revolted multitudes the cause  
 Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms ;  
 And for the testimony of truth hast borne  
 Universal reproach, far worse to bear

CUSPIDE jucundæ lucis PERCUSSA  
 resident

ARGV.—

And De *Sphæra*, lib. i. p. 123.

Cum [sit] FERIT Æthiops radiorum  
 CUSPID.

See also, *ibid.* p. 116, 119, 130,  
 132. And in other places. And  
 Fletcher of the sun, *Purpl. Isl.*  
 xii. 25.

And with his arrowes th' idle fogge  
 doth chase,

See note P. R. iv. 244. *T. War-*  
*ton.*

19. —war in procinct,] The  
 Roman soldiers were said to  
 stand in *procinctu*, when ready to  
 give the onset. *Hume.*

As if you should say ready  
 girded, in allusion to the an-  
 cients, who just before the battle  
 used to gird their garments close  
 to them, which on other occa-  
 sions they wore very loose. See  
*Festus. Richardson.*

29. *Servant of God,*] So the  
 name of *Abdiel* signifies in He-  
 brew.

34. *Universal reproach, far*  
*worse to bear*

*Than violence;*]

This sentiment is very just, and  
 not unlike what *Florus* says in  
 his character of *Tarquin the*  
*Proud*—in omnes superbia, quæ  
 crudelitate gravior est bonis,

Than violence ; for this was all thy care 35  
 To stand approv'd in sight of God, though worlds  
 Judg'd thee perverse : the easier conquest now  
 Remains thee, aided by this host of friends,  
 Back on thy foes more glorious to return  
 Than scorn'd thou didst depart, and to subdue 40  
 By force, who reason for their law refuse,  
 Right reason for their law, and for their King  
 Messiah, who by right of merit reigns.  
 Go Michael of celestial armies prince,  
 And thou in military prowess next 45  
 Gabriel, lead forth to battle these my sons  
 Invincible, lead forth my armed saints

*grassatus*, Flor. lib. i. c. 7. So  
 also Spenser, Faery Queen, b. iv.  
 cant. iv. st. 4.

For evil deeds may better than bad  
 words be bore.

*Thyer.*

Beaumont and Fletcher express  
 the same sentiment very well.  
 Beggars' Bush, act ii.

A good man bears a contumely  
 worse

Than he would do an injury.

*Universal reproach*, here are two  
 Trochees, and not an Iambic till  
 the third foot; and so likewise  
 in v. 874.

Through thē infinite host—

This measure is not very com-  
 mon: but, as Mr. Jortin ob-  
 serves, Milton often inserts harsh  
 verses, when he could easily  
 have altered them, judging, I  
 suppose, that they had the same  
 effect in poetry, which discords  
 have in music.

VOL. I.

41. —*reason for their law*] Al-  
 luding to the word *Aoyos*.

44. *Go Michael of celestial  
 armies prince,*] As this battle of  
 the angels is founded principally  
 on Rev. xii. 7, 8. *There was war  
 in heaven; Michael and his angels  
 fought against the Dragon, and  
 the Dragon fought and his angels,  
 and prevailed not, neither was  
 their place found any more in  
 heaven;* Michael is rightly made  
 by Milton the leader of the  
 heavenly armies, and the name in  
 Hebrew signifies the *power of  
 God*. But it may be censured  
 perhaps as a piece of wrong  
 conduct in the poem, that the  
 commission here given is not  
 executed; they are ordered to  
 drive the rebel angels out from  
 God and bliss, but this is effected  
 at last by the Messiah alone.  
 Some reasons for it are assigned  
 in the speech of God, ver. 680.  
 and in that of the Messiah, ver.  
 801. in this book.

B b

By thousands and by millions rang'd for fight,  
 Equal in number to that godless crew  
 Rebellious ; them with fire and hostile arms 50  
 Fearless assault, and to the brow of heaven  
 Pursuing drive them out from God and bliss  
 Into their place of punishment, the gulf  
 Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide  
 His fiery chaos to receive their fall. 55

So spake the sovran voice, and clouds began  
 To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll  
 In dusky wreaths, reluctant flames, the sign  
 Of wrath awak'd ; nor with less dread the loud  
 Ethereal trumpet from on high 'gan blow : 60  
 At which command the powers militant,  
 That stood for heav'n, in mighty quadrate join'd  
 Of union irresistible, mov'd on

49. *Equal in number*] As Satan was said to draw after him the third part of heav'n's host, v. 710. so God here sends another third part, *equal in number*, to pursue him ; and the remaining third was probably reserved to attend upon duty about the sovran throne. See v. 655. *Greenwood*.

55. *His fiery chaos*] *Chaos* may mean any place of confusion ; but if we take it strictly, Tartarus or Hell was built in Chaos (ii. 1002.) and therefore that part of it, being stored with fire, may not improperly be called a *fiery chaos*. Dr. Bentley's change of *his* into *its*, because *which* (not *who*) went before, proceeds upon a supposition that *which* is not to be re-

ferred to a person ; though it is well known that formerly *which* was as often applied to a person as *who* : as Dr. Pearce observes.

56. —and clouds began  
*To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll &c.]*

In this description the author manifestly alludes to that of God descending upon mount Sinai, Exod. xix. 16, &c. *And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount—and mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire.*

58. —*reluctant flames,*] As slow and unwilling to break forth,

*Stupa vomens tardum fumum.*  
*Virg. Æn. v. 682.*

In silence their bright legions, to the sound  
 Of instrumental harmony, that breath'd 65  
 Heroic ardour to advent'rous deeds  
 Under their God-like leaders, in the cause  
 Of God and his Messiah. On they move  
 Indissolubly firm ; nor obvious hill,  
 Nor strait'ning vale, nor wood, nor stream divides 70  
 Their perfect ranks ; for high above the ground  
 Their march was, and the passive air upbore  
 Their nimble tread ; as when the total kind  
 Of birds, in orderly array on wing,  
 Came summon'd over Eden to receive 75

64. *In silence*] So Homer observes, Iliad. iii. 8. to the honour of his countrymen the Grecians, that they marched on in silence, while the Trojans advanced with noise and clamour.

71. —*for high above the ground &c.*] Our author attributes the same kind of motion to the angels, as the ancients did to their gods ; which was gliding through the air without ever touching the ground with their feet, or, as Milton elsewhere elegantly expresses it, (b. viii. 302.) *smooth sliding without step*. And Homer, Iliad. v. 778. compares the motion of two goddesses to the flight of doves, as Milton here compares the march of the angels to the birds coming on the wing to Adam to receive their names,

Αἱ δὲ θάλασσαν ὡς περὶ πτερόεντες ἀμφὶ  
 ἴσαντο.

Smooth as the sailing doves they  
 glide along. Pope.

73. —*as when the total kind &c.*] Homer has used the simile of a flight of fowls twice in his Iliad, to express the number and the motions, the order and the clamours of an army. See Iliad. ii. 459. iii. 2. As Virgil has done the same number of times in his Æneid, vii. 699. x. 264. But this simile exceeds any of those ; first, as it rises so naturally out of the subject, and was a comparison so familiar to Adam. Secondly, the angels were marching through the air, and not on the ground, which gives it another propriety ; and here I believe the poet intended the chief likeness. Thirdly, the *total kind* of birds much more properly expresses a prodigious number than any particular species, or a collection in any particular place. Thus Milton has raised the image in proportion to his subject. See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 9.

Their names of thee ; so over many a tract  
 Of heav'n they march'd, and many a province wide  
 Tenfold the length of this terrene : at last  
 Far in th' horizon to the north appear'd  
 From skirt to skirt a fiery region, stretch'd 80  
 In battailous aspect, and nearer view  
 Bristled with upright beams innumerable  
 Of rigid spears, and helmets throng'd, and shields  
 Various, with boastful argument portray'd,  
 The banded pow'rs of Satan hasting on 85  
 With furious expedition ; for they ween'd  
 That self-same day by fight, or by surprise,  
 To win the mount of God, and on his throne  
 To set the envier of his state, the proud  
 Aspirer, but their thoughts prov'd fond and vain 90  
 In the mid way : though strange to us it seem'd  
 At first, that angel should with angel war,  
 And in fierce hosting meet, who wont to meet

81. —and nearer view &c.] To the north appeared a fiery region, and nearer to the view appeared the banded powers of Satan. It appeared a fiery region indistinctly at first, but upon nearer view it proved to be Satan's rebel army.

82. *Bristled with upright beams* &c.] The Latins express this by the word *horreæ*, taken from the *bristling* on a wild boar's or other animal's back. Virg. *Æn.* xi. 601.

—tum late ferreus hastis  
*Horret ager.*

Milton has before, in ii. 513, the expression of *horrent arms*.

84. *Various, with boastful argument portray'd,* Shields va-

rious are varied with diverse sculptures and paintings ; an elegant Latinism. And the thought of attributing *shields various, with boastful argument portrayed*, to the evil angels seems to be taken from the Phœnissæ of Euripides, where the heroes who besiege Thebes are described with the like boastful shields, only the prophet Amphiaraus hath no such boastful argument on his shield, but a shield without argument as became a modest man, ver. 1117.

Ο μανεις Αμφιαραος, ου σαρμ' εχων  
 'Τερριμι', αλλα ευφρονης ηγαμ' οντα.

93. *And in fierce hosting meet,*] This word *hosting* seems to have been first coined by our author.



So oft in festivals of joy and love  
 Unanimous, as sons of one great sire 95  
 Hymning th' eternal Father : but the shout  
 Of battle now began, and rushing sound  
 Of onset ended soon each milder thought.  
 High in the midst exalted as a god  
 Th' Apostate in his sun-bright chariot sat, 100  
 Idol of majesty divine, inclos'd  
 With flaming cherubim and golden shields ;  
 Then lighted from his gorgeous throne, for now  
 'Twixt host and host but narrow space was left,  
 A dreadful interval, and front to front 105  
 Presented stood in terrible array  
 Of hideous length : before the cloudy van,  
 On the rough edge of battle ere it join'd,  
 Satan with vast and haughty strides advanc'd  
 Came tow'ring, arm'd in adamant and gold ; 110  
 Abdiel that sight indur'd not, where he stood

It is a very expressive word, and plainly formed from the substantive *host* : and if ever it is right to make new words, it is when the occasion is so new and extraordinary.

101. *Idol of majesty divine,*] This is the very same with what Abdiel afterwards at ver. 114. calls *resemblance of the Highest*, but how judiciously has Milton culled out the word *idol*, which though it be in its original signification the same as *resemblance*, yet by its common application always in a bad sense served much better to express the present character of Satan !  
*Thyer.*

103. — *for now*

*'Twixt host and host but narrow space was left,*]

The same circumstance Tasso has in his description of the decisive battle before the walls of Jerusalem, *cant. xx. st. 31.*

*Decresce in mezzo il campo.*

*Thyer.*

108. *On the rough edge of battle]* So we have in i. 276. *on the perilous edge of battle.* See the note there.

111. *Abdiel that sight indur'd not,*] Virg. *Æn. ii. 407.*

*Non tulit hanc speciem furiatâ mente*  
*Choræbus,*

B b 3

Among the mightiest, bent on highest deeds,  
And thus his own undaunted heart explores.

O heav'n ! that such resemblance of the Highest  
Should yet remain, where faith and realtà 115  
Remain not : wherefore should not strength and might  
There fail where virtue fails, or weakest prove  
Where boldest, though to sight unconquerable ?  
His puissance, trusting in th' Almighty's aid,  
I mean to try, whose reason I have tried 120  
Unsound and false ; nor is it ought but just,  
That he who in debate of truth hath won  
Should win in arms, in both disputes alike  
Victor ; though brutish that contest and foul,

113. *And thus his own undaunted heart explores.*] Such soliloquies are not uncommon in the poets at the beginning and even in the midst of battles. Thus Hector, *Iliad*. xxii. 98. explores his own magnanimous heart, before he engages with Achilles,

Οχθηνος δ' ἀνὰ νῆπι πρὸς ἰὸν μεγαλήτορα  
θυμῶν.

He stood and question'd thus his  
mighty mind. Pope.

A soliloquy upon such an occasion is only making the person *think aloud*. And this use of soliloquies by the epic poets, who might so much more easily than the dramatic describe the workings of the mind in narrative, seems to be much in favour of the latter in their use of them, however the modern critics agree (as I think they generally do agree) in condemn-

ing them as unnatural, though not only frequent, but generally the most beautiful parts in the best plays ancient and modern ; and I believe very few, if any, have been wrote without them.

115. —*where faith and realtà*] The author (says Dr. Bentley) would not have said *realtà* but *reality*, and therefore the Doctor prefers *fealty*, which is undoubtedly a proper word, but not necessary here. For *realtà* seems not to mean in this place *reality* in opposition to *show* ; but *loyalty*, for the Italian dictionaries explain the adjective *reale* by *loyal*. Besides, where is the difference between *faith* and *fealty* or *fidelity* ? Pearce.

119. —*trusting in th' Almighty's aid,*] We may remark the piety of the good angel ; and indeed without the divine aid and assistance he would have been by no means a match for so superior an angel.

When reason hath to deal with force, yet so 125  
Most reason is that reason overcome.

So pondering, and from his armed peers  
Forth stepping opposite, half way he met  
His daring foe, at this prevention more  
Incens'd, and thus securely him defied. 130

Proud, art thou met? thy hope was to have reach'd  
The highth of thy aspiring unoppos'd,  
The throne of God unguarded, and his side  
Abandon'd at the terror of thy power  
Or potent tongue: fool not to think how vain 135  
Against th' Omnipotent to rise in arms;  
Who out of smallest things could without end  
Have rais'd incessant armies to defeat  
Thy folly; or with solitary hand  
Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow 140  
Unaided could have finish'd thee, and whelm'd

135. —fool, not to think how  
vain &c.] So Waller in his  
Verses on the taking of Salle,

Fools to provoke the sov'reign of the  
sea!

And Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 590.

*Demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile  
fulmen &c.*

And Homer frequently, from  
whence the rest seem to have  
borrowed it, though Mr. Pope  
has sometimes lessened the spirit  
of the expression by translating  
the word *Νηπιος*; sometimes

Fool that he was—

and sometimes making a whole  
line of it,

Fool that he was, and to the future  
blind.

But Milton has here particularly  
imitated Tasso, cant. iv. st. 2.

Come sia pur leggiera impresa (ahi  
stolto)

Il repugnare a la divina voglia &c.

O fool! as if it were a thing of  
nought

God to resist, or change his purpose  
great, &c. *Fairfax.*

137. *Who out of smallest things*  
For Milton did not favour the  
opinion, that the creation was  
out of nothing. *Could have  
raised incessant armies.* Matt.  
xxvi. 53. *Thinkest thou that I  
cannot now pray to my Father,  
and he shall presently give me  
more than twelve legions of angels?*

139. —solitary hand] His sin-  
gle hand.

B b 4

Thy legions under darkness : but thou seest  
 All are not of thy train ; there be who faith  
 Prefer, and piety to God, though then  
 To thee not visible, when I alone 145  
 Seem'd in thy world erroneous to dissent  
 From all : my sect thou seest ; now learn too late  
 How few sometimes may know, when thousands err.

Whom the grand foe with scornful eye askance  
 Thus answer'd. Ill for thee, but in wish'd hour 150  
 Of my revenge, first sought for thou return'st  
 From flight, seditious Angel, to receive  
 Thy merited reward, the first assay  
 Of this right hand provok'd, since first that tongue  
 Inspir'd with contradiction durst oppose 155  
 A third part of the gods, in synod met  
 Their deities to assert, who while they feel  
 Vigour divine within them, can allow  
 Omnipotence to none. But well thou com'st  
 Before thy fellows, ambitious to win 160  
 From me some plume, that thy success may show

147. —*my sect thou seest ; &c.*] The use of the word *sect* in this place seems a little forced and singular ; and I cannot help thinking but Milton brought it in in order to sneer the Loyalists of his time, who branded all dissenters, of whom he was one, with the opprobrious name of *Sectaries*. This also accounts for the word *few* in the next line, inasmuch as it suited Milton's particular view better to establish a general maxim than to apply it merely to the single case of Abdiel. *Thyer.*

161. —*that thy success may*

*shew*] Thy success, thy ill success ; the word *success* is used in the same sense, ii. 9. *Richardson.*

161. —*that thy success may show*

*Destruction to the rest :*] Bentley says, a detestable fault : it should be *instruction*. Mr. Pope says, *success ironically*. I do not know what this means. The text is right, and the meaning is, that thy success may shew thy fellows the road to destruction, or the way to destroy their enemies. *Warburton.*

Destruction to the rest : this pause between  
 (Unanswer'd lest thou boast) to let thee know ;  
 At first I thought that liberty and heaven  
 To heav'nly souls had been all one : but now 163  
 I see that most through sloth had rather serve,  
 Minist'ring spi'rits, train'd up in feast and song ;  
 Such hast thou arm'd, the minstrelsy of heaven,  
 Servility with freedom to contend,  
 As both their deeds compar'd this day shall prove. 170

To whom in brief thus Abdiel stern replied.  
 Apostate, still thou err'st, nor end wilt find  
 Of erring, from the path of truth remote :  
 Unjustly thou depriv'st it with the name  
 Of servitude to serve whom God ordains, 175  
 Or Nature : God and Nature bid the same,  
 When he who rules is worthiest, and excels  
 Them whom he governs. This is servitude,  
 To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebell'd  
 Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee, 180  
 Thyself not free, but to thyself inthrall'd ;

167. *Minist'ring spi'rits,*] So they are called Heb. i. 14. *Are they not all minist'ring spirits?* and Satan mentions it in derision. Compare this with that of Virgil, *Æn.* ix. 614.

Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis:

Desidæ cordi: juvat indulgere choreis:

Et tunicæ manicas et habent redimicula mitræ.

O vere Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges! ite per alta

Dindyma, ubi assuetis biforem dat tibia cantum.

Tympana vos buxusque vocal Bercynthia matris

Idææ: sinite arma viris, et cedite ferro.

172. *Apostate, still thou err'st, nor end wilt find*

*Of erring, from the path of truth remote:]*

Something like this is what Juno says to Jupiter, *Iliad.* xix. 107.

Ψιππηνους, οὐδ' αὖτις τίλος μὲν ἐπὶ θεῶν.

Thyer.

181. *Thyself not free, but to*

Yet lewdly dar'st our minist'ring upbraid.  
 Reign thou in hell thy kingdom ; let me serve  
 In heav'n God ever blest, and his divine  
 Behests obey, worthiest to be obey'd ; 185  
 Yet chains in hell, not realms expect : mean while  
 From me return'd, as erst thou saidst, from flight,  
 This greeting on thy impious crest receive.  
 So say'ing, a noble stroke he lifted high,  
 Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell 190  
 On the proud crest of Satan, that no sight,  
 Nor motion of swift thought, less could his shield  
 Such ruin intercept : ten paces huge  
 He back recoil'd ; the tenth on bended knee  
 His massy spear upstay'd ; as if on earth 195

*thyself inthrall'd ;*] So Horace,  
 sat. ii. vii. 81.

Tu mihi qui imperitas, aliis servis  
 miser—

Quisnam igitur liber? sapiens, sibi  
 qui imperiosus.

And as to what is here said of  
 servitude, see Aristotle's Politics,  
 b. i. c. 3, and 4.

183. —in *hell thy kingdom ;*]  
 Not that it was so at present.  
 This is said by way of anticipa-  
 tion. God had ordered him  
 to be cast out, ver. 52. and what  
 the Almighty had pronounced,  
 the good angel looks upon as  
 done. And this sentiment,

*Reign thou in hell thy kingdom ; let  
 me serve  
 In heav'n God ever blest,*

is designed as a contrast to Sa-  
 tan's vaunt in i. 263.

Better to reign in hell, than serve  
 in heaven.

187. *From me return'd, as erst  
 thou saidst, from flight,  
 This greeting &c.]*

So Ascanius in Virgil retorts his  
 adversary's term of reproach,  
 Æn. ix. 685.

*Bis capti Phryges hæc Rutulis re-  
 sponsa remittunt,*

alluding to ver. 599.

189. *So 'say'ing, &c.]* *Saying*  
 is here contracted into one syl-  
 lable, or is to be pronounced as  
 two short ones, which very well  
 expresses the eagerness of the  
 angel. He struck at his foe  
 before he had finished his speech,  
 while he was speaking, which is  
 much better than Dr. Bentley's  
 reading *So said*, as if he had not  
 aimed his blow, till after he had  
 spoken.

195. —*as if on earth  
 Winds under ground, &c.]*  
 Hesiod compares the fall of

Winds under ground, or waters forcing way  
 Sidelong had push'd a mountain from his seat  
 Half sunk with all his pines. Amazement seiz'd  
 The rebel Thrones, but greater rage to see  
 Thus foil'd their mightiest ; ours joy fill'd, and shout,  
 Presage of victory, and fierce desire 201  
 Of battle : whereat Michäel bid sound  
 Th' archangel trumpet ; through the vast of heaven  
 It sounded, and the faithful armies rung  
 Hosanna to the High'est : nor stood at gaze 205  
 The adverse legions, nor less hideous join'd  
 The horrid shock : now storming fury rose,  
 And clamour such as heard in heav'n till now  
 Was never ; arms on armour clashing bray'd  
 Horrible discord, and the madding wheels 210

Cygnus to an oak or a rock  
 falling, Scut. Herc. 421.

Ἡρώς δ', ὡς ἐπεὶ τις ἄνθρωπος ἠρώει, ἢ ἐπεὶ  
 πύργον  
 ἠλίσσεται, ἀλογιστὰ Διὸς ψάλλονται κέ-  
 ραινα.

And similes of this kind are very frequent amongst the ancient poets, but though our author might take the hint of his from thence, yet we must allow, that he has with great art and judgment heightened it in proportion to the superior dignity of his subject. But perhaps he might rather more probably allude to Spenser's description of the fall of the old dragon, under which allegory he intended to represent a Christian's victory over the devil. Faery Queen, b. i. cant. xi. st. 54.

So down he fell, as an huge rocky  
 clift,

Whose false foundation waves have  
 wash'd away,  
 With dreadful poise is from the main  
 land rift, &c.

*Thyer.*

210. — *and the madding wheels]*  
 What strong and daring figures  
 are here ! Every thing is alive  
 and animated. The very chariot  
*wheels are mad and raging.* And  
 how rough and jarring are the  
 verses, and how admirably do  
 they *bray the horrible discord* they  
 would describe ! The word *bray*  
 (probably from the Greek *βραχέω*  
*strepo*) signifies to make any  
 kind of noise. It is applied by  
 Spenser to the sound of a trum-  
 pet, Faery Queen, b. iii. cant.  
 xii. st. 6.

And when it ceas'd, shrill trumpets  
 loud did *bray*.

But it usually signifies any dis-  
 agreeable noise, as b. i. cant. vi.  
 st. 7.

Of brazen chariots rag'd ; dire was the noise  
 Of conflict ; over head the dismal hiss  
 Of fiery darts in flaming vollies flew,  
 And flying vaulted either host with fire.

Her shrill outcries and shrieks so  
 loud did *bray* :

and b. i. cant. viii. st. 11.

He loudly *bray'd* with beastly yelling  
 sound :

and sometimes it is used as a  
 verb active, as here in Milton ;  
 Faery Queen, b. v. cant. xi.  
 st. 20.

Even blasphemous words, which she  
 doth *bray* :

and in Shakespeare's Hamlet,  
 act i.

The kettle drum and trumpet thus  
*bray* out

The triumph of his pledge.

212. —over head the dismal  
*hiss*

[Of fiery darts]

Now the author is come to that  
 part of his poem, where he is  
 most to exert what faculty he  
 has of *ὀψος*, magniloquence of  
 style, and sublimity of thought,

Nunc, veneranda Pales, magno nunc  
 ore sonandum.

Virg. Georg. iii. 294.

He has executed it to admiration:  
 but the danger is, of being  
 hurried away by his unbridled  
 steed ; and of deserting propriety,  
 while he is hunting after  
 sound and tumor. And it is  
 hard to guess, what fault to  
 charge on the printer, since  
 poetic fury is commonly both  
 thought and allowed to be re-  
 gardless of syntax. But here  
 in this sentence, which is cer-  
 tainly vicious, *the hiss* flew in  
 vollies, and *the hiss* vaulted the

hosts with fire : the author may  
 be fairly thought to have given it

—over head with dismal hiss

The fiery darts in flaming vollies flew.

Bentley.

But if there be any place in this  
 poem, where the sublimity of  
 the thought will allow the accu-  
 racy of expression to give way  
 to the strength of it, it is here.  
 There is a peculiar force some-  
 times in ascribing that to a cir-  
 cumstance of the thing, which  
 more properly belongs to the  
 thing itself ; to the *hiss*, which  
 belongs to the darts. See my  
 note on ii. 654. Pearce.

As the learned Mr. Upton re-  
 marks in his Critical Observa-  
 tions on Shakespeare, the sub-  
 stantive is sometimes to be con-  
 strued adjectively when govern-  
 ing a genitive case. Aristophanes  
 in Plut. 268. *Ὁ χρυσεὶ σφύρι-  
 λας ἔχεις*, *O thou who tellest me a  
 gold of words*, that is, golden  
 words. Sir Philip Sidney's Ar-  
 cadia, p. 2. *opening the cherry of  
 her lips*, that is, cherry lips. So  
 here *the hiss of darts* is hissing  
 darts.

214. *And flying vaulted either  
 host with fire.*] Our author has  
 frequently had his eye upon He-  
 siod's giant-war as well as upon  
 Homer, and has imitated several  
 passages ; but commonly ex-  
 ceeds his original, as he has  
 done in this particular. Hesiod  
 says that the Titans were over-  
 shadowed with darts, Theog.  
 716.



So under fiery cope together rush'd 215  
 Both battles main, with ruinous assault  
 And inextinguishable rage ; all heaven  
 Resounded, and had earth been then, all earth  
 Had to her centre shook. What wonder ? when  
 Millions of fierce encount'ring angels fought 220  
 On either side, the least of whom could wield  
 These elements, and arm him with the force  
 Of all their regions : how much more of power  
 Army' against army numberless to raise  
 Dreadful combustion warring, and disturb, 225  
 Though not destroy, their happy native seat ;  
 Had not th' eternal King omnipotent  
 From his strong hold of heav'n high over-rul'd  
 And limited their might ; though number'd such  
 As each divided legion might have seem'd 230  
 A numerous host, in strength each armed hand  
 A legion, led in fight yet leader seem'd  
 Each warrior single as in chief, expert  
 When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway  
 Of battle, open when, and when to close 235  
 The ridges of grim war : no thought of flight,

—κατὰ τὴν ἰσχυροῦς βίαν  
 Τίταις,

but Milton has improved the horror of the description, and a *shade of darts* is not near so great and dreadful an image as a *fiery cope* or *vault of flaming darts*.

229. —*though number'd such &c.* Each legion was in number like an army, each single warrior was in strength like a legion, and though led in fight

was as expert as a commander in chief. So that the angels are celebrated first for their *number*, then for their *strength*, and lastly for their *expertness* in war.

236. *The ridges of grim war :*] A metaphor taken from a ploughed field ; the men answer to the ridges, between whom, the intervals of the ranks, the furrows are. *The ridges of grim*, fierce frightful looking, *war* ; that is, the ranks of the army,

None of retreat, no unbecoming deed  
That argued fear ; each on himself relied,  
As only in his arm the moment lay  
Of victory : deeds of eternal fame  
Were done, but infinite ; for wide was spread  
That war and various, sometimes on firm ground

240

the files are implied. The ranks are the rows of soldiers from flank to flank, from side to side, from the left to the right ; the files are from front to rear. *Richardson.*

236. —no thought of flight,]  
So Homer, *Iliad*. xi. 71.

οὐδ' ἵσταται μνηστὴρ' εὐλας φέλου.

None stoop'd a thought to base inglorious flight. *Pope.*

And *Iliad*. xxiv. 216.

—οὐτε φέλου μετακλίμενοι, οὐτ' ἀλίσταται.

239. *As only in his arm the moment lay*  
*Of victory :*]

As if upon his single arm had depended the whole weight of the victory. The *moment*, the weight that turns the balance, as the word signifies in Latin, *Ter. Andr.* i. v. 31. *Dum in dubio est animus, paulo momento huc vel illuc impellitur* : and as he has employed here the metaphor of the *weight*, so of the *scale* a little afterwards—*long time in even scale the battle hung*—using as a metaphor what Homer makes a simile of, *Iliad*. xii. 433.

ἀλλ' ἴχθη, ὅτετι πάλαντα γυνη—

ὅτε μοι τὸν ἐπὶ πρὸς μάχην τίταται πτε-  
λαμοί σι.

As when two scales are charg'd with doubtful loads—

So stood the war, till Hector's matchless might

With fates prevailing turn'd the scale of fight. *Pope.*

And in several particulars he has had his eye upon Homer, and commonly exceeds his master. Homer says that the Greeks and Trojans fought like burning fire :

ὅτε οἱ μοι μάχεσθοντο, ἥρως πυρὸς ἀδύμαντος. *Iliad*. xiii. 673.

But how much stronger is it in Milton, that the war

Tormented all the air ; all air seem'd then  
Conflicting fire !

It would be entering into too minute a detail of criticism to mention every little circumstance that is copied from Homer ; and where he does not directly copy from Homer, his style and colouring is still very much in Homer's manner ; and one may see plainly that he has read him, even where he does not imitate him. Wonderful as his genius was, he could hardly have drawn the battles of the angels so well without first reading those in the *Iliad* ; and Homer taught him to excel Homer.

242. *That war and various,*  
*sometimes on firm ground*  
*A standing fight, then soaring*  
*&c.]*

A standing fight, then soaring on main wing  
 Tormented all the air; all air seem'd then  
 Conflicting fire: long time in even scale 245  
 The battle hung; till Satan, who that day  
 Prodigious pow'r had shown, and met in arms  
 No equal, ranging through the dire attack  
 Of fighting seraphim confus'd, at length  
 Saw where the sword of Michael smote, and fell'd 250  
 Squadrons at once; with huge two-handed sway  
 Brandish'd aloft the horrid edge came down  
 Wide wasting; such destruction to withstand  
 He hasted, and oppos'd the rocky orb  
 Of tenfold adamant, his ample shield, 255

The syntax and sense is; The war was sometimes a standing fight on the ground, and sometimes the war soaring on main wing tormented all the air.  
*Pearce.*

244. *Tormented all the air;*] Here Milton takes the same liberty of applying the word *torment*, which the Latin poets did before him in using the term *terrare*. So Marino describing Neptune raising a storm, *Adon. cant. i. st. 123.*

—e d'Aquiloni  
*Col fulmine dentato (emulo a Giove)  
 Tormentando la terra, il mar com-  
 moue.*

*Thyer.*

So Spenser in the Morning Muse of Thestylis, speaking of Æolus,

Who letting loose the winds  
 Tost and tormented th' air.

247. —and met in arms  
*No equal,]*

The poet seems almost to have forgotten how Satan was foiled

by Abdiel in the beginning of the action: but I suppose the poet did not consider Abdiel as *equal* to Satan, though he gained that accidental advantage over him. Satan no doubt would have proved an overmatch for Abdiel, only for the general engagement which ensued, and broke off the combat between them.

251. —*with huge two-handed sway &c.*] It shows how entirely the ideas of chivalry and romance had possessed him, to make Michael fight with a *two-handed* sword. The same idea occasioned his expressing himself very obscurely in the following lines of his *Lycidas*, v. 130.

But that two-handed engine at the  
 door  
 Stands ready to smite once, and  
 smite no more.

*Warburton.*

255. *Of tenfold adamant,]* In other poets the angels are armed

A vast circumference : At his approach  
 The great archangel from his warlike toil  
 Surceas'd, and glad as hoping here to end  
 Intestine war in heav'n, th' arch-foe subdued  
 Or captive dragg'd in chains, with hostile frown 260  
 And visage all inflam'd first thus began.

Author of ev'il, unknown till thy revolt,  
 Unnam'd in heav'n, now plenteous, as thou seest  
 These acts of hateful strife, hateful to all,  
 Though heaviest by just measure on thyself 265  
 And thy adherents : how hast thou disturb'd  
 Heav'n's blessed peace, and into nature brought  
 Misery, uncreated till the crime  
 Of thy rebellion ? how hast thou instill'd  
 Thy malice into thousands, once upright 270  
 And faithful, now prov'd false ? But think not here  
 To trouble holy rest ; heav'n casts thee out  
 From all her confines. Heav'n the seat of bliss  
 Brooks not the works of violence and war.  
 Hence then, and evil go with thee along, 275

in adamant, and in Tasso there is particular mention of an adamantine shield, cant. vii. st. 82. *Scudo di lucidissimo diamante.*

262. *Author of evil, &c.*] These speeches give breath as it were to the reader after the hurry of the general battle ; and prepare his mind, and raise his expectation the more for the ensuing combat between Michael and Satan. It is the practice likewise of Homer and Virgil, to make their heroes discourse before they fight ; it renders the action more solemn,

and more engages the reader's attention.

275. *Hence then, and evil go with thee along,*

*Thy offspring, to the place of evil, hell,*

*Thou and thy wicked crew ; there mingle broils,]*

Imitated from Tasso, where Michael in like manner rebukes the infernal spirits who fought against the Christians, cant. ix. st. 64.

*Itene maledetti al vostro regno,  
 Regno di pene, e di perpetua morte :  
 E siano in quegli a voi donati chiostrì*

Thy offspring, to the place of evil, hell,  
 Thou and thy wicked crew ; there mingle broils,  
 Ere this avenging sword begin thy doom,  
 Or some more sudden vengeance wing'd from God  
 Precipitate thee with augmented pain. 280

So spake the prince of angels ; to whom thus  
 The Adversary. Nor think thou with wind  
 Of aery threats to awe whom yet with deeds  
 Thou canst not. Hast thou turn'd the least of these  
 To flight, or if to fall, but that they rise 285  
 Unvanquish'd, easier to transact with me  
 That thou should'st hope, imperious, and with threats  
 To chase me hence ? err not that so shall end  
 The strife which thou call'st evil, but we style  
 The strife of glory ; which we mean to win, 290  
 Or turn this heav'n itself into the hell  
 Thou fablest, here however to dwell free,  
 If not to reign : mean while thy utmost force,  
 And join him nam'd Almighty to thy aid,  
 I fly not, but have sought thee far and nigh. 295  
 They ended parle, and both address'd for fight

Le vostre guerre, et i trionsi vostri.  
 Go hence you curs'd to your appointed  
 lands,  
 The realms of death, of torments,  
 and of woes,  
 And in the deeps of that Infernal  
 lake  
 Your battles fight, and there your  
 triumphs make. *Fairfax.*

282. *The Adversary.*] Not as  
 any enemy in fight may be  
 called, but in a sense peculiar to  
 him, Satan being his name, and  
 Satan in Hebrew signifying the  
 adversary.

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282. —*Nor think thou &c.]*  
 Hom. Il. xx. 200.

Πηλιδῆ, μηδὲ μ' ἴσους γῆ, κακιστοῦ ὄντος,  
 ἔλπειο διελθεῖναι.

296. *They ended parle]* Thus  
 in Par. Reg. iv. 529. *By parle &c.*  
 And Shakespeare, Hamlet, a. i.  
 s. 1.

So frown'd he once, when in an  
 angry *parl*  
 He smote the sledded Polacks on  
 the ice.

*Dunster.*

C C

Unspeakable ; for who, though with the tongue  
 Of angels, can relate, or to what things  
 Liken on earth conspicuous, that may lift  
 Human imagination to such highth 300  
 Of Godlike pow'r ? for likest gods they seem'd,  
 Stood they or mov'd, in stature, motion, arms,  
 Fit to decide the empire of great heaven.  
 Now wav'd their fiery swords, and in the air  
 Made horrid circles ; two broad suns their shields 305  
 Blaz'd opposite, while expectation stood  
 In horror ; from each hand with speed retir'd,  
 Where erst was thickest fight, th' angelic throng,  
 And left large field, unsafe within the wind  
 Of such commotion ; such as, to set forth 310  
 Great things by small, if, nature's concord broke,  
 Among the constellations war were sprung,  
 Two planets rushing from aspect malign

298. —*can relate, &c.*] The accusative case after the verbs *relate* and *liken* is *fight* before mentioned, and here understood. *For who though with the tongue of angels can relate that fight, or to what conspicuous things on earth can liken it, so conspicuous as to lift human imagination &c.* A general battle is a scene of too much confusion, and therefore the poets relieve themselves and their readers by drawing now and then a single combat between some of their principal heroes, as between Paris and Menelaus, Hector and Ajax, Hector and Achilles in the *Iliad*, and between Turnus and Pallas, Æneas and Mezentius, Turnus and Æneas in the *Æneid*; and

very fine they are, but fall very short of the sublimity of this description.

306. —*while expectation stood In horror ;*]

Expectation is personified in the like sublime manner in Shakespeare, *Hen. V. act ii.*

*For now sits expectation in the air.*

313. *Two planets &c.*] Milton seems to have taken the hint of this simile from that of Virgil, but varied and applied to his subject with his usual judgment. *Æn. viii. 691.*

*—pelago credas innare revulsa  
 Cycladas, aut montes concurrere  
 montibus altos.*

But (as Mr. Thyer observes) he has lessened the grandeur and sublimity of this simile by tar-

Of fiercest opposition in mid sky  
 Should combat, and their jarring spheres confound. 315  
 Together both with next to' almighty arm  
 Up-lifted imminent, one stroke they aim'd  
 That might determine, and not need repeat,  
 As not of pow'r at once ; nor odds appear'd  
 In might or swift prevention : but the sword 320  
 Of Michael from the armoury of God

nishing it with the idle superstitious notion of the malignancy of planets in a particular aspect or opposition, as the judicial astrologers term it.

316. *Together both with next to' almighty arm Up-lifted imminent.*]

So I conceive the passage should be pointed with the comma after *imminent*, and not after *arm*, that the words *up-lifted imminent* may be joined in construction with *arm*, rather than with *stroke* or *they* following. The arm was quite lifted up, and hanging over just ready to fall. One thinks one sees it hanging almost like the stone in Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 602.

*Quos super atra silex jam jam lapsura cadentique  
 Imminet assimilis.*

321. —*from the armoury of God*] Milton, notwithstanding the sublime genius he was master of, has in this book drawn to his assistance all the helps he could meet with among the ancient poets. The sword of Michael, which makes so great a havoc among the bad angels, was given him, we are told, out of the *armoury of God*.

Was giv'n him temper'd so, that  
 neither keen  
 Nor solid might resist that edge: it  
 met  
 The sword of Satan with steep force  
 to smite  
 Descending, and in half cut sheer ;

This passage is a copy of that in Virgil, wherein the poet tells us, that the sword of Æneas, which was given him by a deity, broke into pieces the sword of Turnus, which came from a mortal forge. As the moral in this place is divine, so by the way we may observe, that the bestowing on a man who is favoured by heaven such an allegorical weapon, is very conformable to the old eastern way of thinking. Not only Homer has made use of it, but we find the Jewish hero in the book of Maccabees, 2 Maccab. xv. 15, 16. who had fought the battles of the chosen people with so much glory and success, receiving in his dream a sword from the hand of the prophet Jeremiah. *Addison.*

Tasso likewise mentions the armoury of God, cant. vii. st. 80. But this account of Michael's sword seems to be copied from Arthegal's in Spenser's Faery Queen, b. v. cant. i. st. 10.

Was given him temper'd so, that neither keen  
 Nor solid might resist that edge : it met  
 The sword of Satan with steep force to smite  
 Descending, and in half cut sheer ; nor stay'd,

325

For of most perfect metal it was  
 made,—  
 And was of no less virtue, than of  
 fame.  
 For there no substance was so firm  
 and hard,  
 But it would pierce or cleave, whereso  
 it came ;  
 Ne any armour could his dint out-  
 ward,  
 But wheresoever it did light it  
 throughly shar'd.

And this word *shared* is used in  
 the same manner by Milton.

325. —and in half cut sheer ;] We have here a fair opportunity to observe how finely great geniuses imitate one another. There is a most beautiful passage in Homer's *Iliad*. iii. 363. where the sword of Menelaus in a duel with Paris breaks in pieces in his hand ; and the line in the original is so contrived, that we do not only see the action, as Eustathius remarks, but almost fancy we hear the sound of the breaking sword in the sound of the words,

*Τετραχὰ τε καὶ τετραχὰ διατρυφίττα  
 ἔσπασεν χυρῆν.*

As this kind of beauty could hardly be equalled by Virgil, he has with great judgment substituted another of his own, and has artfully made a break in the verse to express the breaking short off the sword of Turnus against the divine armour of Æneas, *Æn.* xii. 731, &c.

—at perfidus ensis  
 Frangitur, [in medioque ardentem  
 deserit ictu.

But he did not think this sufficient, he was sensible that Homer had still the advantage, and therefore goes on after seeming to have done with it,

—postquam arma dei ad Vulcania  
 ventum est,  
 Mortalis mucro, glacies ceu futilis,  
 ictu  
 Disailuit : [fulvâ resplendent frag-  
 mina arenâ.

And this beauty being more imitable in our language than the *τετραχὰ τε καὶ τετραχὰ* of Homer, the excellent translator of Homer has here rather copied Virgil than translated Homer.

The brittle steel, unfaithful to his  
 hand,  
 Broke short : [the fragments glit-  
 ter'd on the sand.

The sword of Satan is broken as well as those of Paris and Turnus, but is broken in a different manner, and consequently a different kind of beauty is proper here. Their's broke short, and were shattered into various fragments ; but the sword of Michael was of that irresistible sharpness, that it cut the sword of Satan quite and clean in two, and the dividing of the sword in half is very well expressed by half a verse, as likewise the word *descending* is placed admirably to express the sense. The reader cannot read it over again without perceiving this beauty. Neither does Milton stop here, but carries on beauties of the same



But with swift wheel reverse, deep ent'ring shar'd  
 All his right side: then Satan first knew pain,  
 And writh'd him to and fro convolv'd; so sore  
 The griding sword with discontinuous wound.  
 Pass'd through him: but th' ethereal substance clos'd,  
 Not long divisible; and from the gash 331  
 A stream of nectarous humour issuing flow'd  
 Sanguine, such as celestial spi'rits may bleed,  
 And all his armour stain'd ere while so bright.  
 Forthwith on all sides to his aid was run 335

kind to the description of the wound, and the verses seem almost painful in describing Satan's pain,

—deep ent'ring shar'd  
 All his right side: then Satan first  
 knew pain,  
 And writh'd him to and fro convolv'd;  
 so sore  
 The griding sword with discontinu-  
 ous wound  
 Pass'd through him.

329. *The griding sword with discontinuous wound*] *Discontinuous wound* is said in allusion to the old definition of a wound, that it separates the continuity of the parts, *vulnus est solutio continui*: and *griding* is an old word for cutting, and used in Spenser, as in *Faery Queen*, b. ii. caot. viii. st. 36.

That through his thigh the mortal steel did gride.

332. *A stream of nectarous humour issuing flow'd Sanguine.*]

The passage wherein Satan is described as wounded by the sword of Michael is in imitation of Homer. Homer tells us, that upon Diomedes wounding the gods, there flowed from the

wound an *ichor*, or pure kind of blood, which was not bred from mortal viands; and that though the pain was exquisitely great, the wound soon closed up and healed in those beings who are vested with immortality. *Addison*.

The reader perhaps would be pleased to see the passage in Homer here quoted, *Iliad*. v. 339.

—ἦν δ' ἀμβροτὸν αἷμα τιόν,  
 ἰχὸς αἰσχροῖς τι ἦν μακροτέρῃ τιόν.  
 Οὐ γὰρ σπένει θάνατος, οὐ πίνουσ' ἀθανάτοισιν,  
 Τότ' αὖ ἀμάρτυς νεί, καὶ ἀθάνατον  
 καλίσταται.

From the clear vein a stream immortal flow'd,

Such stream as issues from a wounded God;

Pure emanation! uncorrupted flood;  
 Unlike our gross, diseas'd, terrestrial blood:

For not the bread of man their life sustains,

Nor wine's inflaming juice supplies their veins. *Pope*.

335. —to his aid was run] A Latinism; so we have *ventum est* in the lines just before quoted from Virgil,

—postquam arma dei ad Vulcania  
*ventum est*.

C C 3

By angels many and strong, who interpos'd  
 Defence, while others bore him on their shields  
 Back to his chariot, where it stood retir'd  
 From off the files of war ; there they him laid  
 Gnashing for anguish and despite and shame, 340  
 To find himself not matchless, and his pride  
 Humbled by such rebuke, so far beneath  
 His confidence to equal God in power.  
 Yet soon he heal'd ; for spi'rits that live throughout  
 Vital in every part, not as frail man 345  
 In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins,  
 Cannot but by annihilating die ;  
 Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound  
 Receive, no more than can the fluid air :

336. —*who interpos'd*] Thus Homer makes the chief of the Trojans interpose between their wounded hero when he was overborne by Ajax. Satan lighted out of his sun-bright chariot at ver. 103. and according to the Homeric manner, is now wounded, and borne (on the shields of Seraphim) back to it, where it was placed out of the range and array of battle, Iliad. xiv. 428.

—Το δ' αὖτε ἰατρὸν  
 Χειρὶ αὐρανὸς φέρει ἐν πνεύματι, φέ-  
 ρει δὲ ἰατροῦ  
 Παιὶς, οἷον ἐνὶ μάχῃ καὶ πνεύματι  
 ἔστασαν, ἡνέχοντο καὶ ἄρματα πικρὰ  
 ἔχοντες, &c.

much more loose and redundant than our expressive author. Hume.

344. —*for spi'rits that live throughout &c.*] Our author's reason for Satan's healing so soon is better than Homer's upon a like occasion, as we

quoted it just now. And we see here Milton's notions of angels. They are vital in every part, and can receive no mortal wound, and cannot die but by annihilation. They are all eye, all ear, all sense and understanding: and can assume what kind of bodies they please. And these notions, if not true in divinity, yet certainly are very fine in poetry; but most of them are not disagreeable to those hints which are left us of these spiritual beings in Scripture.

348. *Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound*

*Receive, no more than can the fluid air :]*

The same comparison in Shakespeare, Macbeth, act v.

As easy may'st thou the intrenchant  
 air  
 With thy keen sword impress, as  
 make me bleed.

All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear, 350  
 All intellect, all sense ; and as they please,  
 They limb themselves, and colour, shape, or size  
 Assume, as likes them best, condense or rare.

Mean while in other parts like deeds deserv'd  
 Memorial, where the might of Gabriel fought 355  
 And with fierce ensigns pierc'd the deep array  
 Of Moloch furious king ; who him defied,  
 And at his chariot wheels to drag him bound  
 Threaten'd, nor from the Holy One of heaven  
 Refrain'd his tongue blasphemous ; but anon 360  
 Down cloven to the waste, with shatter'd arms  
 And uncouth pain fled bellowing. On each wing

350. *All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear, All intellect, all sense ;*

This is expressed very much like Pliny's account of God. Nat. Hist. l. i. c. 7. Quisquis est Deus, si modo est alius, et quacunque in parte, totus est sensus, totus visus, totus auditus, totus animæ, totus animi, totus sui.

355. —*the might of Gabriel*] A manner of expression like the *Πρῆσις Αἰν* and *Ἐντρος πῆσις* of Homer, as quoted before in a note of Mr. Hume's upon v. 371. We have the like again in ver. 371. *the violence of Ramiel*.

362. *And uncouth pain fled bellowing.*] I question not but Milton in his description of his furious Moloch flying from the battle, and bellowing with the wound he had received, had his eye on Mars in the Iliad ; who upon his being wounded is re-

presented as retiring out of the fight, and making an outcry louder than that of a whole army when it begins the charge. Homer adds, that the Greeks and Trojans, who were engaged in a general battle, were terrified on each side with the bellowing of this wounded deity. The reader will easily observe, how Milton has kept all the horror of this image, without running into the ridicule of it. Addison.

*With uncouth pain fled bellowing.* *Uncouth* is a word very common with Spenser ; but Milton, no doubt, in this particular application of it, had in view the following lines, Faery Queen, b. i. cant. xi. st. 20.

The piercing steel there wrought a wound full wide,  
 That with the uncouth pain the monster loudly cried.

*Thyer.*

Uriel and Raphaël his vaunting foe,  
 Though huge, and in a rock of diamond arm'd,  
 Vanquish'd Adramelech, and Asmadai, 365  
 Two potent thrones, that to be less than gods  
 Disdain'd, but meaner thoughts learn'd in their flight,  
 Mangled with ghastly wounds through plate and mail.  
 Nor stood unmindful Abdiel to annoy  
 The atheist crew, but with redoubled blow 370  
 Ariel and Arioch, and the violence  
 Of Ramiel scorch'd and blasted overthrew.  
 I might relate of thousands, and their names

363. *Uriel and Raphaël*] The speaker here is *Raphael*; and it had been improper to mention himself as a third person, and tell his own exploits; but that Adam knew not his name. Had he known it, he must have said *Uriel and I*; which he cared not to do. *Bentley*.

363. *Uriel and Raphaël his vaunting foe,*] *Dr. Bentley* and *Mr. Thyer* are of opinion, that a word is left out in this line, and that the sense and the measure would be improved by reading it thus,

*Uriel and Rophcel, each his vaunting foe.*

365. *Adramelech,*] *Hebrew*, *Mighty magnificent king*, one of the idols of *Sepharvaim*, worshipped by them in *Samaria*, when transplanted thither by *Shalmaneser*. *And the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech*, 2 Kings xvii. 31. *Asmadai*, the lustful and destroying angel *Asmodeus*, mentioned *Tobit* iii. 8. of a He-

brew word signifying to destroy. *Hume*.

368. —*plate and mail.*] *Plate* is the broad solid armour. *Mail* is that composed of small pieces like shells, or scales of fish laid one over the other; or something resembling the feathers as they lie on the bodies of fowl, v. 284. *Richardson*.

371. *Ariel and Arioch,*] Two fierce spirits, as their names denote. *Ariel* *Hebrew*, *the lion of God*, or *a strong lion*. *Arioch* of the like signification, *a fierce and terrible lion*. *Ramiel* *Hebrew*, *one that exalts himself against God*. *Hume*.

373. *I might relate of thousands, &c.*] The poet here puts into the mouth of the angel an excellent reason for not relating more particulars of this first battle. It would have been improper on all accounts to have enlarged much more upon it, but it was proper that the angel should appear to know more than he chose to relate, or than the poet was able to make him relate.

Eternize here on earth ; but those elect  
 Angels, contented with their fame in heaven, 375  
 Seek not the praise of men : the other sort,  
 In might though wondrous and in acts of war,  
 Nor of renown less eager, yet by doom  
 Cancell'd from heav'n and sacred memory,  
 Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell. 380  
 For strength from truth divided and from just,  
 Illaudable, nought merits but dispraise  
 And ignominy, yet to glory' aspires  
 Vain-glorious, and through infamy seeks fame :  
 Therefore eternal silence be their doom. 385  
 And now their mightiest quell'd, the battle swerv'd,  
 With many an inroad gor'd ; deformed rout  
 Enter'd, and foul disorder ; all the ground  
 With shiver'd armour strown, and on a heap  
 Chariot and charioteer lay overturn'd, 390  
 And fiery foaming steeds ; what stood, recoil'd

382. *Illaudable*,] Is used here much in the same manner as *illaudatus* in Virgil,

—Quis aut Eurysthea durum,  
 Aut illaudati nescit Bustridis aras ?  
*Georg.* iii. 5.

And the learned reader may, if he pleases, see a dissertation upon that verse of Virgil in the second book of Aulus Gellius.

383. —*to glory aspires*  
*Vain-glorious, and through in-*  
*famy seeks fame :*]

Possibly this passage stood well in Milton's opinion. It is an instance of that *play upon words*, in which, as Dr. Johnson justly observes, he "delighted too often." He seems to have fancied that in

some places it had a particularly good effect. *Dunster.*

386. —*the battle swerv'd*,] Is not this the same with Hesiod's *αλωθη δε μαχη*. Theog. v. 711? *Thyer.*

*Swerv'd* from the Saxon *sweren*, to wander out of its place ; here by analogy to bend, to ply ; for in that case an army in battle properly swerves. *Richardson.*

The word is used in the same sense by Spenser, *Faery Queen*, b. v. cant. x. st. 35.

Who from his saddle *swered* nought aside.

391. —*what stood, recoil'd*, &c.] The construction has oc-

O'er-wearied, through the faint Satanic host  
 Defensive scarce, or with pale fear surpris'd,  
 Then first with fear surpris'd and sense of pain  
 Fled ignominious, to such evil brought 395  
 By sin of disobedience, till that hour  
 Not liable to fear or flight or pain.  
 Far otherwise th' inviolable saints  
 In cubic phalanx firm advanc'd entire,  
 Invulnerable, impenetrably arm'd ; 400  
 Such high advantages their innocence  
 Gave them above their foes ; not to have sinn'd,

casioned some difficulty here, but it may be thus explicated. *What stood* is the nominative case in the sentence, and the verbs are *recoiled* and *fled*. It would indeed be a contradiction to say that *what stood* their ground, *fled* ; but that is not the meaning of it, *what stood* is put in opposition to *what lay overturned* in the preceding line. Part of the Satanic host *lay overturned* ; and that part which was not overturned, but kept on their feet, *and stood*, either gave way and recoiled o'er-wearied, or with pale fear surprised *fled ignominious*.

396. —*till that hour &c.*] It seems a very extraordinary circumstance attending a battle, that not only none of the warriors on either side were capable of death by wound, but on one side none were capable of wound or even of pain. This was a very great advantage on the side of the good angels ; but we must suppose that the rebel angels did not know their own weakness *till this hour*.

399. *In cubic phalanx firm*] In strictness of speech, to have been *cubic*, it must have been as high, as it is broad, as Dr. Bentley justly observes. But why must a poet's mind, sublimed as Milton's was on this occasion, be expected to attend to every circumstance of an epithet made use of? He meant *four square* only, having that property of a cube to be equal in length on all sides. And so he expresses himself in his tract called *The reason of Church Government &c.* p. 215. Edit. Toland. *As those smaller squares in battle unite in one great cube, the main phalanx, an emblem of truth and steadfastness.* To be sure Milton's *cubic*, though not strictly proper, is better than the epithet *martial*, (which the Doctor would give us in the room of it,) because a *phalanx* in battle could not be otherwise than *martial* ; and so closely united an idea could not have any beauty or force here. *Pearce.*

Not to have disobey'd ; in fight they stood  
 Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pain'd  
 By wound, though from their place by violence mov'd.

Now night her course began, and over heaven 406  
 Inducing darkness, grateful truce impos'd,  
 And silence on the odious din of war :

Under her cloudy covert both retir'd,  
 Victor and vanquish'd : on the foughten field 410  
 Michaël and his angels prevalent

Incamping, plac'd in guard their watches round,  
 Cherubic waving fires : on th' other part  
 Satan with his rebellious disappear'd,

Far in the dark dislodg'd : and void of rest, 415  
 His potentates to council call'd by night ;  
 And in the midst thus undismay'd began.

O now in danger tried, now known in arms

405. —*though from their place by violence mov'd.*] This circumstance is judiciously added to prepare the reader for what happens in the next fight.

406. *Now night her course began, and over heaven Inducing darkness, grateful truce impos'd.*]

The same with Tasso on a like occasion, G. L. cant. xi. st. 18.

*Sin che fe nuova iregua à la falica  
 La cbeta notte, e del riposo amica.  
 Thyer.*

407. *Inducing darkness,*] Horace, sat. i. v. 9.

—*Jam nox inducere terras  
 Umbras, et cœlo diffundere signa  
 parabat.*

413. *Cherubic waving fires:*] Their watches were *cherubic waving fires*, that is, cherubim

like fires waving ; the cherubim being described by our author, agreeably to Scripture, as of a fiery substance and nature.

418. *O now in danger tried, &c.*] This speech of Satan is very artful. He flatters their pride and vanity, and avails himself of the only comfort that could be drawn from this day's engagement, (though it was a false comfort,) that God was neither so powerful nor wise as he was taken to be. He was forced to acknowledge that they had suffered some loss and pain, but endeavours to lessen it as much as he can, and attributes it not to the true cause, but to their want of better arms and armour, which he therefore proposes that they should provide themselves withal, to defend

Not to be overpow'r'd, companions dear,  
 Found worthy not of liberty alone, 420  
 Too mean pretence, but what we more affect,  
 Honour, dominion, glory, and renown ;  
 Who have sustain'd one day in doubtful fight  
 (And if one day, why not eternal days ?)  
 What heaven's Lord had pow'rfullest to send 425  
 Against us from about his throne, and judg'd  
 Sufficient to subdue us to his will,  
 But proves not so : then fallible, it seems,  
 Of future we may deem him, though till now  
 Omniscient thought. True is, less firmly arm'd, 430  
 Some disadvantage we indur'd and pain,  
 Till now not known, but known as soon contemn'd ;  
 Since now we find this our empyreal form  
 Incapable of mortal injury,  
 Imperishable, and though pierc'd with wound, 435  
 Soon closing, and by native vigour heal'd.  
 Of evil then so small as easy think  
 The remedy ; perhaps more valid arms,  
 Weapons more violent, when next we meet,  
 May serve to better us, and worse our foes, 440  
 Or equal what between us made the odds,  
 In nature none : if other hidden cause  
 Left them superior, while we can preserve  
 Unhurt our minds and understanding sound,

themselves and annoy their enemies.

431. —and pain,  
 Till now not known, but known  
 as soon contemn'd ;  
 Since now we find &c.]

So Prometheus in like manner  
 comforts and confirms himself  
 against Jupiter's threats. *Æschyl.*  
*Prom. Vinc.* 932.

Τὸ ὅτι οὐ φοβούμενος, ὃ δούλοισι οὐκ ἀπορρίπτει :  
 Thyer.



Due search and consultation will disclose.

445

He sat ; and in th' assembly next upstood

Nisroch, of Principalities the prime ;

As one he stood escap'd from cruel fight,

Sore toil, his riven arms to havoc hewn,

And cloudy in aspect thus answ'ring spake.

450

Deliverer from new lords, leader to free

Enjoyment of our right as gods ; yet hard

For gods, and too unequal work we find,

Against unequal arms to fight in pain,

Against unpain'd, impassive ; from which evil

455

Ruin must needs ensue ; for what avails

Valour or strength, though matchless, quell'd with pain

Which all subdues, and makes remiss the hands

Of mightiest ? Sense of pleasure we may well

Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine,

460

But live content, which is the calmest life :

But pain is perfect misery, the worst

Of evils, and excessive, overturns

All patience. He who therefore can invent

With what more forcible we may offend

465

447. *Nisroch*,] A god of the Assyrians, in whose temple at Nineveh, Sennacherib was killed by his two sons, 2 Kings xix. 37. and Isaiah xxxvii. 37. It is not known who this god *Nisroch* was. The Seventy call him *Meserach* in Kings, and *Nasarach* in Isaiah ; Josephus calls him *Arasches*. He must have been a principal idol, being worshipped by so great a prince, and at the capital city Nineveh ; which may justify Milton in calling him of

*Principalities the prime.*

462. —the worst

*Of evils*,]

*Nisroch* is made to talk agreeably to the sentiments of Hieronymus and those philosophers, who maintained that pain was the greatest of evils ; there might be a possibility of living without pleasure, but there was no living in pain. A notion suitable enough to a deity of the effeminate Assyrians.

Our yet unwounded enemies, or arm  
Ourselves with like defence, to me deserves  
No less than for deliverance what we owe.

Whereto with look compos'd Satan replied.  
Not uninvented that, which thou aright 470  
Believ'st so main to our success, I bring.  
Which of us who beholds the bright surface  
Of this ethereous mould whereon we stand,  
This continent of spacious heav'n, adorn'd  
With plant, fruit, flow'r ambrosial, gems and gold; 475  
Whose eye so superficially surveys  
These things, as not to mind from whence they grow  
Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,  
Of spirituous and fiery spume, till touch'd  
With heaven's ray, and temper'd they shoot forth 480  
So beauteous, opening to the ambient light ?

467. —to me deserves  
No less than for deliverance  
what we owe.]

Nisroch is speaking; he had complimented Satan (ver. 451.) with the title of *Deliverer*; here he ventures to say, that whoever could invent the new engine of war would be equal to him in his estimation. Milton has taken care that this deliverer should also have this merit, and be without a competitor; Satan is both the one and the other as it follows immediately. *Richardson.*

472. Which of us who beholds  
the bright surface

Of this ethereous mould &c.]

Dr. Bentley, for the sake of a better accent, reads *surface* bright; but *surface* is to be read

with the accent upon the last syllable, and not as it is commonly pronounced, for Milton would hardly use a trochaic foot at the end of the verse. Dr. Bentley reads likewise *this ethereal mould*; and it is true Milton commonly uses the word *ethereal*, but that is no reason why he may not say likewise *ethereous*, which is nearer the Latin *athereus*. The construction of this sentence is, *Which of us who beholds &c. so superficially surveys these things*: but as the nominative case *which of us* is mentioned so many lines before the verb *surveys*, he throws in another nominative case,

Whose eye so superficially surveys  
&c.

These in their dark nativity the deep  
 Shall yield us pregnant with infernal flame ;  
 Which into hollow engines long and round  
 Thick-ramm'd, at th' other bore with touch of fire 485  
 Dilated and infuriate, shall send forth  
 From far with thund'ring noise among our foes  
 Such implements of mischief, as shall dash  
 To pieces, and o'erwhelm whatever stands  
 Adverse, that they shall fear we have disarm'd 490

482. —*the deep*] It is commonly used for *hell*, but here is only opposed to *surface*, ver. 472. and is the same as *deep under ground*, ver. 478. which may likewise explain the word *infernal* in the next line. Not but *infernal flame* may mean flame like that of hell, hell having been frequently mentioned before by the angels, and the idea being very well known.

484. *Which into hollow &c.*] *Which*, that is, the *materials*, ver. 478. *These* ver. 482. the deep shall yield, which into hollow engines rammed, with touch of fire shall send forth &c. *Hollow engines*, great guns, the first invention whereof is very properly ascribed to the author of all evil. And Ariosto has described them in the same manner in his *Orlando Furioso*, cant. ix. st. 28, or 24 of Harrington's translation; and attributes the invention to the devil.

Un ferro bugio, &c.

A trunk of Iron hollow made within,  
 And there he puts powder and pellet  
 in.

25.

All closed save a little hole behind,  
 Whereat no sooner taken is the flame,

The bullet flies with such a furious  
 wind,  
 As though from clouds a bolt of  
 thunder came :  
 And whatever in the way it find  
 It burns, it breaks, it tears, and  
 spoils the same.  
 No doubt some fiend of hell or  
 devilish wight  
 Devised it to do mankind a spite.

And again, st. 84.

O curst devise found out by some  
 foul fiend,  
 And fram'd below by Belzebub in  
 hell &c.

And Spenser has the same  
 thought, *Faery Queen*, b. i. cant.  
 vii. st. 13.

As when that devilish iron engine  
 wrought  
 In deepest hell, and fram'd by furies'  
 skill,  
 With windy nitre and quick sulphur  
 fraught,  
 And ramm'd with bullet round, or-  
 dain'd to kill &c.

But though the poets have agreed to attribute the invention to the devil, from a notion of its being so destructive to mankind, yet many authors have observed, that since the use of artillery there has less slaughter been made in battles than was before, when the engagements were closer, and lasted longer.

The Thund'rer of his only dreaded bolt.  
 Nor long shall be our labour ; yet ere dawn,  
 Effect shall end our wish. Mean while revive ;  
 Abandon fear ; to strength and counsel join'd  
 Think nothing hard, much less to be despair'd. 495

He ended, and his words their drooping cheer  
 Inlighten'd, and their languish'd hope reviv'd.  
 Th' invention all admir'd, and each, how he  
 To be th' inventor miss'd ; so easy' it seem'd  
 Once found, which yet unfound most would have thought  
 Impossible : yet haply of thy race 501

In future days, if malice should abound,  
 Some one intent on mischief, or inspir'd  
 With devilish machination, might devise  
 Like instrument to plague the sons of men 505

For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent.  
 Forthwith from council to the work they flew ;  
 None arguing stood ; innumerable hands  
 Were ready ; in a moment up they turn'd  
 Wide the celestial soil, and saw beneath 510  
 Th' originals of nature in their crude  
 Conception ; sulphurous and nitrous foam  
 They found, they mingled, and with subtle art,

502. *In future days*—Some one intent &c.] This speaking in the spirit of prophecy adds great dignity to poetry. It is in the same spirit that Dido makes the imprecation, Virg. *Æn.* iv. 625.

*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex omnibus ultor &c.*

This here very properly comes

from the mouth of an angel.

507. *Forthwith from council to the work they flew ;*] This and the two following lines are admirably contrived to express the hurry of the angels ; and consist therefore of short periods, without any particles to connect them.

Concocted and adusted they reduc'd  
 To blackest grain, and into store convey'd ; 515  
 Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth  
 Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,  
 Whereof to found their engines and their balls  
 Of missive ruin ; part incentive reed  
 Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire. 520  
 So all ere day-spring, under conscious night,  
 Secret they finish'd, and in order set,  
 With silent circumspection unespied.  
 Now when fair morn orient in heav'n appear'd,  
 Up rose the victor angels, and to arms 525  
 The matin trumpet sung : in arms they stood  
 Of golden panoply, refulgent host,  
 Soon banded ; others from the dawning hills

516. *Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,*]

Dr. Bentley has carried on the mark of parenthesis to the end of the verse ; but it should be placed after *unlike* : and the *stone* may have been mentioned here as what they used for *balls*. That stone-bullets have been in use, see Chambers's Univ. Dict. in *Cannon*. Or Milton by the word *stone* here would express more distinctly that the metal, of which they made their *engines* and *balls*, was inclosed in and mixed with a stony substance in the mine. See Furetiere's French Dictionary upon the word *mineral*. Pearce.

520. —*pernicious with one touch to fire.*] The incentive reed is indeed *pernicious* as the engines

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and balls do no mischief till touched by that ; but probably *pernicious* is not to be understood here in the common acceptation, but in the sense of the Latin *pernix*, quick, speedy, &c.

521. —*under conscious night,*] Ovid. Met. xiii. 15.

—*quorum nox conscia sola est.*

Hume.

525. —*to arms*

*The matin trumpet sung :*]

So Tasso,

Quando à cantar la matutina tromba  
 Comincia à l'arme.

Gier. Lib. cant. xi. st. 19.

527. *Of golden panoply,*] With golden armour from head to foot completely arm'd. *Panoply*, Πανοπλία, Greek, armour at all points. Hume.

528. —*others from the dawning hills*] This epithet is usu-

D d

Look'd round, and scouts each coast light-armed scour,  
 Each quarter, to descry the distant foe, 530  
 Where lodg'd, or whither fled, or if for fight,  
 In motion or in halt: him soon they met  
 Under spread ensigns moving nigh, in slow  
 But firm battalion; back with speediest sail  
 Zophiel, of Cherubim the swiftest wing, 535  
 Came fly'ing, and in mid air aloud thus cried.

Arm, warriors, arm for fight; the foe at hand,  
 Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit  
 This day; fear not his flight; so thick a cloud  
 He comes, and settled in his face I see 540  
 Sad resolution and secure: let each

ally applied to the *light*, but here very poetically to the *hills*, the dawn first appearing over them, and they seeming to bring the rising day; as the evening star is said likewise first to appear on his hill-top, viii. 520.

532. —halt:] Milton spells it as the Italians do *alto*, but we commonly write it with an *h* like the French and Germans.

533. —in slow

But firm battalion;]

The reason of their being both a *slow* and *firm* battalion is suggested a little afterwards. They were *slow* in drawing their cannon, and *firm* in order to conceal it, ver. 551.

535. Zophiel,] In Hebrew, *the spy of God*. Hume.

539. —so thick a cloud

He comes,]

This metaphor is usual in all languages, and in almost all authors, to express a great multitude. We have it in Heb. xii.

1. *Seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses* &c. We have *νεφέλη* in Homer, *Iliad*. iv. 247: *nimbus peditum* in Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 793. and *clouds of foot* in *Paradise Regained*, iii. 327. We have *peditum equitumque nubes* in Livy, lib. v. and even *nubem belli* in Virgil, *Æn.* x. 809. and *armorum nubem* in Statius, *Theb.* iv. 839.

541. *Sad resolution and secure:*] By *sad* here is meant sour and sullen, as *tristis* in Latin and *tristo* in Italian signify. *Pearee*.

Or possibly it means no more than serious or in earnest, a sense frequent in all our old authors. And I remember a remarkable instance of the use of the word in Lord Bacon's Advice to Villiers Duke of Buckingham; "But if it were "an embassy of weight, concerning affairs of state, choice

His adamantine coat gird well, and each  
 Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orb'd shield,  
 Borne ev'n or high; for this day will pour down,  
 If I conjecture ought, no drizzling shower, 545  
 But rattling storm of arrows barb'd with fire.

So warn'd he them aware themselves, and soon  
 In order, quit of all impediment;  
 Instant without disturb they took alarm,  
 And onward mov'd imbattel'd: when behold 550  
 Not distant far with heavy pace the foe  
 Approaching gross and huge, in hollow cube  
 Training his devilish enginery, impal'd  
 On every side with shadowing squadrons deep,  
 To hide the fraud. At interview both stood 555  
 A while; but suddenly at head appear'd  
 Satan, and thus was heard commanding loud.

"was made of some *sad* person  
 "of known judgment, wisdom,  
 "and experience, and not of a  
 "young man, not weighed in  
 "state matters, &c." If *sad* there  
 be not false printed for *staid*  
 or *sage*. So it is used in Spenser  
 for sober, grave, sedate.  
 Faery Queen, b. ii. cant. ii. st.  
 14.

A sober *sad*, and comely courteous  
 dame,

and in other places.

541. —let each

His adamantine coat gird well,  
 and each

Fit well his helm, gripe fast his  
 orb'd shield,]

This is plainly copied from Agamemnon's  
 directions in Homer,  
 Iliad. ii. 382.

Εν μὲν τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ, τοὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν  
 ἑκάστη, &c.

His sharpen'd spear let every Gre-  
 cian wield,  
 And every Grecian fix his brazen  
 shield, &c. Pope.

546. —barb'd with fire.]  
 Bearded, headed, with fire. Of  
 the French *barbe*, and the Latin  
*barba* a beard. Hume.

548. —quit of all impediment;]  
 The carriages and baggage of an  
 army were called in Latin *im-  
 pedimenta*: and the good angels  
 are said to be *quit of all impedi-  
 ment*, in opposition to the others  
 encumbered with their heavy ar-  
 tillery.

552. —in hollow cube] Dr.  
 Bentley reads *square*, but see my  
 note on ver. 399. Pearce.

553. Training] Drawing in  
 train, from the term, train of ar-  
 tillery.

Vanguard, to right and left the front unfold ;  
 That all may see who hate us, how we seek  
 Peace and composure, and with open breast 560  
 Stand ready to receive them, if they like  
 Our overture, and turn not back perverse ;  
 But that I doubt ; however witness Heaven,  
 Heav'n witness thou anon, while we discharge  
 Freely our part ; ye who appointed stand, 565  
 Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch  
 What we propound, and loud that all may hear.

So scoffing in ambiguous words, he scarce

568. *So scoffing in ambiguous words, &c.*] We cannot pretend entirely to justify this *punning* scene: but we should consider that there is very little of this kind of wit any where in the poem but in this place, and in this we may suppose Milton to have sacrificed to the taste of his times, when *puns* were better relished than they are at present in the learned world; and I know not whether we are not grown too delicate and fastidious in this particular. It is certain the ancients practised them more both in their conversation and in their writings; and Aristotle recommends them in his book of Rhetoric, and likewise Cicero in his treatise of Oratory; and if we should condemn them absolutely, we must condemn half of the good sayings of the greatest wits of Greece and Rome. They are less proper indeed in serious works, and not at all becoming the majesty of an epic poem; but our author seems to have been betrayed into this excess in great measure by his love and

admiration of Homer. For this account of the angels jesting and insulting one another is not unlike some passages in the sixteenth book of the *Iliad*. *Æneas* throws a spear at *Meriones*; and he artfully avoiding it, *Æneas* jests upon his *dancing*, the *Cretans* (the countrymen of *Meriones*) being famous dancers. A little afterwards in the same book, *Patroclus* kills *Hector's* charioteer, who falls headlong from the chariot, upon which *Patroclus* insults him for several lines together upon his skill in *diving*, and says that if he was at sea, he might catch excellent oysters. Milton's jests cannot be lower and more trivial than these; but if he is like Homer in his faults, let it be remembered that he is like him in his beauties too. And Mr. Thyer farther observes, that Milton is the less to be blamed for this punning scene, when one considers the characters of the speakers, such kind of insulting wit being most peculiar to proud contemptuous spirits.



Had ended : when to right and left the front  
 Divided, and to either flank retir'd : 570  
 Which to our eyes discover'd, new and strange,  
 A triple mounted row of pillars laid  
 On wheels, (for like to pillars most they seem'd,  
 Or hollow'd bodies made of oak or fir,  
 With branches lopt, in wood or mountain fell'd,) 575  
 Brass, iron, stony mould, had not their mouths  
 With hideous orifice gap'd on us wide,  
 Portending hollow truce : at each behind  
 A seraph stood, and in his hand a reed  
 Stood waving tipp'd with fire ; while we suspense 580

574. *Or hollow'd bodies &c.*] We must carefully preserve the parenthesis here, as Milton himself has put it. The construction then will be, *Which to our eyes discovered a triple row of pillars laid on wheels, of brass, iron, stony mould, or substance, had not their mouths gaped wide, and shewed that they were not pillars ; the intermediate words containing a reason why he called them pillars (for like to pillars most they seemed or hollowed bodies &c.)* being included in a parenthesis.

576. *Brass, iron, stony mould,*] *Mould* here signifies substance, but Dr. Bentley by reading *cast in mould* changes the sense of it to one of a very different nature. By this emendation (he says) he has rid the poem of *stone cannon* : but such cannon have been heard of elsewhere, and are now to be seen (I think) at Delft in Holland. Whether they ever were, or could have been used in war, may be ques-

tioned : but it is probable that Milton, by seeing such *stone cannon* in foreign countries, was led to mention them here as part of Satan's artillery. *Pearce.*

We read before that these angels *digged up veins of mineral and stone*, ver. 517. and that may account for the *brass, iron, stony* substance here.

578. *Portending hollow truce :*] Here Raphael himself cannot help continuing the pun.

580. *Stood waving*] This must certainly be an error of the press, occasioned by *stood* in the line before or in the line following ; but then it is a wonder that Milton did not correct it in his second edition. Dr. Bentley reads,

—and in his hand a reed  
*Held* waving tipp'd with fire ;

and we should substitute some such word as this, as it makes better sense, as well as avoids the repetition of *stood* three times so near together.

Collected stood within our thoughts amus'd,  
 Not long, for sudden all at once their reeds  
 Put forth, and to a narrow vent applied  
 With nicest touch. Immediate in a flame,  
 But soon obscur'd with smoke, all heav'n appear'd, 585  
 From those deep throated engines belch'd, whose roar  
 Imbowell'd with outrageous noise the air,  
 And all her entrails tore, disgorging foul  
 Their devilish glut, chain'd thunderbolts and hail

586. —*deep throated engines*] So Shakespeare in Othello, act iii.

And oh, you mortal engines, whose  
 rude throats  
 Th' immortal Jove's dread clamours  
 counterfeit.

586. —*whose roar*

*Imbowell'd with outrageous noise  
 the air,*

*And all her entrails tore,]*

The construction seems to be,  
*The roar of which (engines) im-*  
*bowelled with outrageous noise tore*  
*the air and all her entrails.* So  
 in ver. 740, 741.

That from thy just obedience could  
 revolt,  
 Whom to obey &c.

*Thy for of thee*; and to this sense  
 the word *whom* refers. This  
 is common in Milton's poem.  
*Pearce.*

The most natural and obvious  
 construction is, *whose roar im-*  
*bowelled or filled the air with out-*  
*rageous noise*; but to this it is  
 objected, that it is as much as  
 to say that the roar filled the air  
 with roar. Neither do I see  
 how the matter is much mended  
 by saying, that the roar of the  
 cannon inbowelled with roar tore

the air &c. The cannon I think  
 cannot themselves be properly  
 said to be imbowelled with noise,  
 though they might imbowel with  
 noise the air. I would therefore  
 endeavour to justify this by other  
 similar passages. It is usual  
 with the poets to put the pro-  
 perty of a thing for the thing  
 itself: and as in that verse, ii.  
 654. (where see the note,)

A cry of hell hounds never ceasing  
 bark'd,

we have a *cry of hell hounds* for  
 the hell hounds themselves, so  
 here we have the *roar* of the  
 cannon for the cannon them-  
 selves; and the *roar* of cannon  
 may as properly be said to im-  
 bowel the air *with outrageous*  
*noise*, as a *cry of hell hounds* to  
 bark.

586. But to *imbowel* is not to  
 fill, but to *eviscerate*, to *deprive of*  
*the entrails*; as in Shakespeare,  
 K. Henry IV. part v. act i. sc. 9.

Imbowell'd will I see thee by and  
 bye, &c.

The sense of the passage there-  
 fore seems to be, the roar of the  
 cannon in consequence of the  
 outrageous noise imbowelled the  
 air, &c. *E.*

Of iron globes ; which on the victor host 590  
 Levell'd, with such impetuous fury smote,  
 That whom they hit, none on their feet might stand,  
 Though standing else as rocks, but down they fell  
 By thousands, angel on archangel roll'd ;  
 The sooner for their arms ; unarm'd they might 595  
 Have easily as spi'rits evaded swift  
 By quick contraction or remove ; but now  
 Foul dissipation follow'd and forc'd rout ;  
 Nor serv'd it to relax their serried files.  
 What should they do ? if on they rush'd, repulse 600  
 Repeated, and indecent overthrow  
 Doubled, would render them yet more despis'd,  
 And to their foes a laughter ; for in view  
 Stood rank'd of seraphim another row,  
 In posture to displode their second tire 605  
 Of thunder : back defeated to return  
 They worse abhorr'd. Satan beheld their plight,  
 And to his mates thus in derision call'd.

O friends, why come not on these victors proud ?  
 Ere while they fierce were coming ; and when we, 610  
 To entertain them fair with open front  
 And breast (what could we more ?) propounded terms  
 Of composition, straight they chang'd their minds,  
 Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,  
 As they would dance ; yet for a dance they seem'd 615  
 Somewhat extravagant and wild, perhaps  
 For joy of offer'd peace : but I suppose,  
 If our proposals once again were heard,

599. —*serried files.*] The Italian word *serrato*, close, compact.  
*Thyer.*

We should compel them to a quick result.

To whom thus Belial in like gamesome mood. 620  
 Leader, the terms we sent were terms of weight,  
 Of hard contents, and full of force urg'd home,  
 Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,  
 And stumbled many; who receives them right,  
 Had need from head to foot well understand; 625  
 Not understood, this gift they have besides,  
 They show us when our foes walk not upright.

So they among themselves in pleasant vein  
 Stood scoffing, highten'd in their thoughts beyond  
 All doubt of victory; eternal might 630  
 To match with their inventions they presum'd  
 So easy', and of his thunder made a scorn,  
 And all his host derided, while they stood  
 A while in trouble: but they stood not long;  
 Rage prompted them at length, and found them arms  
 Against such hellish mischief fit to' oppose. 636  
 Forthwith (behold the excellence, the power,  
 Which God hath in his mighty angels plac'd)  
 Their arms away they threw, and to the hills  
 (For earth hath this variety from heaven 640  
 Of pleasure situate in hill and dale)  
 Light as the lightning glimpse they ran, they flew;  
 From their foundations loos'ning to and fro

620. *To whom thus Belial*] Whoever remembers the character of *Belial* in the first and second books, and Mr. Addison's remarks upon it, will easily see the propriety of making *Belial* reply to Satan upon this occasion and in this sportive man-

ner, rather than *Beelzebub*, or *Moloch*, or any of the evil angels.

635. *Rage—found them arms*] *Furor arma ministrat.*

*Virg. Æn. l. 130.*

643. *From their foundations &c.*] There is nothing in the

They pluck'd the seated hills with all their load,  
Rocks, waters, woods, and by the shaggy tops 645

first and last day's engagement which does not appear natural, and agreeable enough to the ideas most readers would conceive of a fight between two armies of angels. The second day's engagement is apt to startle an imagination which has not been raised and qualified for such a description, by the reading of the ancient poets, and of Homer in particular. It was certainly a very bold thought in our author, to ascribe the first use of artillery to the rebel angels. But as such a pernicious invention may be well supposed to have proceeded from such authors, so it entered very properly into the thoughts of that being, who is all along described as aspiring to the majesty of his Maker. Such engines were the only instruments he could have made use of to imitate those thunders, that in all poetry, both sacred and profane, are represented as the arms of the Almighty. The tearing up the hills was not altogether so daring a thought as the former. We are in some measure prepared for such an incident by the description of the giants' war, which we meet with among the ancient poets. What still made the circumstance the more proper for the poet's use is the opinion of many learned men, that the fable of the giants' war, which makes so great a noise in antiquity, and gave birth to the sublimest description in Hesiod's works, was an allegory founded

upon this very tradition of a fight between the good and the bad angels. It may perhaps be worth while to consider, with what judgment Milton in this narration has avoided every thing that is mean and trivial in the descriptions of the Latin and Greek poets; and at the same time improved every great hint which he met with in their works upon this subject. Homer in that passage, which Longinus has celebrated for its sublimeness, and which Virgil and Ovid have copied after him, tells us, that the giants threw Ossa upon Olympus, and Pelion upon Ossa. He adds an epithet to Pelion (*υπερφύλλος*) which very much swells the idea, by bringing up to the reader's imagination all the woods that grew upon it. There is further a great beauty in singling out by name these three remarkable mountains, so well known to the Greeks. This last is such a beauty, as the scene of Milton's war could not possibly furnish him with. Claudian, in his fragment upon the giants' war, has given full scope to that wildness of imagination which was natural to him. He tells us that the giants tore up whole islands by the roots, and threw them at the gods. He describes one of them in particular taking up Lemnos in his arms, and whirling it to the skies, with all Vulcan's shop in the midst of it. Another tears up mount Ida, with the river Enipeus, which ran down the

Up-lifting bore them in their hands : Amaze,  
 Be sure, and terror seiz'd the rebel host,  
 When coming towards them so dread they saw  
 The bottom of the mountains upward turn'd ;  
 Till on those cursed engines triple-row 550  
 They saw them whelm'd, and all their confidence

sides of it ; but the poet, not content to describe him with this mountain upon his shoulders, tells us that the river flowed down his back, as he held it up in that posture. It is visible to every judicious reader, that such ideas savour more of burlesque, than of the sublime. They proceed from a wantonness of imagination, and rather divert the mind than astonish it. Milton has taken every thing that is sublime in these several passages, and composes out of them the following great image ;

From their foundations loos'ning to  
 and fro

They pluck'd the seated hills with  
 all their load,

Rocks, waters, woods, and by the  
 shaggy tops

Up-lifting bore them in their hands :

We have the full majesty of Homer in this short description, improved by the imagination of Claudian, without its puerilities. I need not point out the description of the fallen angels seeing the promontories hanging over their heads in such a dreadful manner, with the other numberless beauties in this book, which are so conspicuous, that they cannot escape the notice of the most ordinary reader. There are indeed so many wonderful strokes of poetry in this book, and such a variety of sublime ideas, that

it would have been impossible to have given them a place within the bounds of this paper. Besides that I find it in a great measure done to my hand at the end of my Lord Roscommon's Essay on translated poetry. I shall refer my reader thither for some of the master-strokes in the sixth book of *Paradise Lost*, though at the same time there are many others, which that noble author has not taken notice of. *Addison*.

643. See the extract from Roscommon's Essay given in the note on l. 909. *E*.

648. *When coming towards them so dread they saw*] Does not this verse express the very motion of the mountains, and is not there the same kind of beauty in the numbers, that the poet recommends in his excellent Essay on Criticism ?

When Ajax strives some rock's vast  
 weight to throw,

The line too labours, and the words  
 move slow.

648. There is a similar beauty in the following lines,

They saw them whelm'd, and all  
 their confidence

Under the weight of mountains  
 buried deep ;

The pause at *whelmed*, and the close of the next line with the monosyllable *deep*, admirably assist the sense by the sound. *E*.

Under the weight of mountains buried deep ;  
 Themselves invaded next, and on their heads  
 Main promontories flung, which in the air 654  
 Came shadowing, and oppress'd whose legions arm'd ;  
 Their armour help'd their harm, crush'd in and bruis'd  
 Into their substance pent, which wrought them pain  
 Implacable, and many a dolorous groan,  
 Long struggling underneath, ere they could wind  
 Out of such pris'n, though spi'rits of purest light, 660  
 Purest at first, now gross by sinning grown.  
 The rest in imitation to like arms  
 Betook them, and the neighb'ring hills up tore ;  
 So hills amid the air encounter'd hills  
 Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation dire, 665  
 That under ground they fought in dismal shade ;

656. *Their armour help'd their harm.*] Somewhat like that in Spenser, *Faery Queen*, b. i. cant. xi. st. 27.

That erst him goodly arm'd, now  
 most of all him harm'd.

661. —*now gross by sinning grown.*] What a fine moral does Milton here inculcate, and indeed quite through this book, by shewing that all the weakness and pain of the rebel angels was the natural consequence of their sinning! And I believe one may observe in general of our author, that he is scarcely ever so far hurried on by the fire of his Muse, as to forget the main end of all good writing, the recommendation of virtue and religion. *Thyer.*

662. *The rest in imitation &c.*] The rest of the Satanic host that were not overwhelmed by the

mountains, in imitation of the good angels, &c.

666. *That under ground they fought in dismal shade ;*] It was a memorable saying of one of the Spartans at Thermopylæ, who being told that the multitude of Persian arrows would obscure the sun, why then, says he, we shall fight in the shade." I suppose that Statius alluded to this story in the following bold lines. *Thebaid.* viii. 412.

Exclusere diem telis, stant ferrea  
 cælo  
 Nubila, nec jaculis arctatus sufficit  
 ær.

But what was a shade of arrows to a shade of mountains hurled to and fro, and encountering in mid air! This was *infernal noise* indeed, and making almost a hell of heaven. Such was the uproar in hell, ii. 539.

Infernal noise ; war seem'd a civil game  
 To this uproar ; horrid confusion heap'd  
 Upon confusion rose : and now all heaven  
 Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspread ; 670  
 Had not th' almighty Father, where he sits  
 Shrin'd in his sanctuary of heav'n secure,  
 Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen  
 This tumult, and permitted all, advis'd :  
 That his great purpose he might so fulfil, 675  
 To honour his anointed Son aveng'd  
 Upon his enemies, and to declare  
 All pow'r on him transferr'd : whence to his Son  
 Th' assessor of his throne he thus began.  
 Effulgence of my glory, Son below'd, 680

Others with vast Typhœan rage more  
 fell  
 Rend up both rocks and hills, and  
 ride the air  
 In whirlwind ; hell scarce holds the  
 wild uproar.

669. —and now all heaven  
 Had gone to wrack,]

It is remarked by the critics in  
 praise of Homer's battles, that  
 they rise in horror one above  
 another to the end of the *Iliad*.  
 The same may be said of Mil-  
 ton's battles. In the first day's  
 engagement, when they fought  
 under a cope of fire with burn-  
 ing arrows, it was said,

—all heaven  
 Resounded, and had earth been then,  
 all earth  
 Had to her centre shook.

But now, when they fought with  
 mountains and promontories, it  
 is said *All heaven had gone to*  
*wrack*, had not the almighty

Father interposed, and sent forth  
 his Son in the fulness of the  
 divine glory and majesty to ex-  
 pel the rebel angels out of  
 heaven. Homer's *Iliad*. viii. 130.

Εἴθε αἱ λαοὶ ἐπὶ καὶ ἀμαχίαν ἔργα  
 γίνετο,  
 Εἰ μὴ αὖ' εἴς ποτε σπυγὰς ἀνδρῶν τι θῆαι  
 τι.

674. —*advis'd*:] Is here a  
 participle adverbial, and very  
 elegant ; it means advisedly, de-  
 signedly ; the same with the  
 Latin *consulto* or *prudens*, as in  
 Horace, *Od. i. iii. 21*.

Nequicquam Deus abscedit  
*Prudens* Oceano dissociabili  
 Terras.

Richardson.

679. *Th' assessor of his throne*]  
 So the Son is called in some of  
 the Fathers, *παρίστας Θεοῦ*, *Dei*  
*assessor*.



Son in whose face invisible is beheld  
 Visibly, what by deity I am,  
 And in whose hand what by decree I do,  
 Second Omnipotence, two days are past,  
 Two days, as we compute the days of heaven, 685  
 Since Michael and his pow'rs went forth to tame  
 These disobedient : sore hath been their fight,  
 As likeliest was, when two such foes met arm'd ;  
 For to themselves I left them, and thou know'st,  
 Equal in their creation they were form'd, 690  
 Save what sin hath impair'd, which yet hath wrought  
 Insensibly, for I suspend their doom ;  
 Whence in perpetual fight they needs must last  
 Endless, and no solution will be found :  
 War wearied hath perform'd what war can do, 695

681. *Son in whose face invisible is beheld*

*Visibly, what by deity I am,]*

So the first editions have pointed the sentence; and the construction and sense of it is this; *Son in whose face what is invisible is beheld visibly, viz. what I am by deity.* Pearce.

*Invisible* here is a neuter adjective used for a substantive, and it is in allusion to these texts, Rom. i. 20. *The invisible things of God are clearly seen*; and Col. i. 15. *The image of the invisible God.*

691. —*which yet hath wrought Insensibly,]*

This word doth not seem well to consist with that alteration, which the angel had just before said that sin had wrought in the fallen angels. *Thyer.*

The same difficulty stuck with me at first; but, I suppose, the author meant that the manner in which sin wrought was *insensible*, not the effects.

695. *War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,]* And indeed within the compass of this one book we have all the variety of battles that can well be conceived. We have a single combat, and a general engagement. The first day's fight is with darts and swords, in imitation of the ancients; the second day's fight is with artillery, in imitation of the moderns; but the images in both are raised proportionably to the superior nature of the beings here described. And when the poet has briefly comprised all that has any foundation in fact and re-

And to disorder'd rage let loose the reins,  
 With mountains as with weapons arm'd, which makes  
 Wild work in heav'n, and dange'rous to the main.  
 Two days are therefore past, the third is thine ;  
 For thee I have ordain'd it, and thus far 700  
 Have suffer'd, that the glory may be thine  
 Of ending this great war, since none but thou  
 Can end it. Into thee such virtue' and grace  
 Immense I have transfus'd, that all may know  
 In heav'n and hell thy pow'r above compare ; 705  
 And this perverse commotion govern'd thus,  
 To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir  
 Of all things, to be Heir and to be King  
 By sacred unction, thy deserved right.  
 Go then thou Mightiest in thy Father's might, 710  
 Ascend my chariot, guide the rapid wheels  
 That shake heav'n's basis, bring forth all my war,  
 My bow and thunder, my almighty arms  
 Gird on, and sword upon thy puissant thigh ;  
 Pursue these sons of darkness, drive them out 715  
 From all heav'n's bounds into the utter deep :

ality, he has recourse to the  
 fictions of the poets in their  
 descriptions of the giants' war  
 with the Gods. And when *war*  
*hath thus performed what war*  
*can do*, he rises still higher, and  
 the Son of God is sent forth in  
 the majesty of the almighty Fa-  
 ther, agreeably to Scripture ; so  
 much doth the sublimity of holy  
 writ transcend all that is true,  
 and all that is feigned in descrip-  
 tion.

710. *Go then thou Mightiest*  
 &c.] The following lines in that

glorious commission, which is  
 given the Messiah to extirpate  
 the host of rebel angels, are  
 drawn from a sublime passage  
 in the Psalms. The reader  
 will easily discover many other  
 strokes of the same nature.  
*Addison.*

The Psalm here meant is the  
 xlvth, ver. 3, and 4. *Gird thy*  
*sword upon thy thigh, O most*  
*mighty, with thy glory and thy*  
*majesty : and in thy majesty ride*  
*prosperously &c.*

There let them learn, as likes them, to despise  
God and Messiah his anointed King.

He said, and on his Son with rays direct  
Shone full ; he all his Father full express'd 720  
Ineffably into his face receiv'd ;  
And thus the filial Godhead answ'ring spake.

O Father, O Supreme of heav'nly Thrones,  
First, Highest, Holiest, Best, thou always seek'st  
To glorify thy Son, I always thee, 725  
As is most just ; this I my glory' account,  
My exaltation, and my whole delight,  
That thou in me well pleas'd, declar'st thy will  
Fulfil'd, which to fulfil is all my bliss.  
Sceptre and pow'r, thy giving, I assume, 730  
And gladlier shall resign, when in the end  
Thou shalt be all in all, and I in thee  
For ever, and in me all whom thou lov'st :

[732. *Thou shalt be all in all*, &c.] We may still observe, that Milton generally makes the divine Persons talk in the style and language of Scripture. This passage is manifestly taken from 1 Cor. xv. 24. and 28. *Then cometh the end when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God: and when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.* And immediately afterwards when it is said,

— I in thee

For ever, and in me all whom thou lov'st :

this is plainly in allusion to

several expressions in John xvii. *That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us.* ver. 21. *I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that thou hast loved them, as thou hast loved me,* ver. 23. And when it is added,

But whom thou hat'st I hate,

is not this an allusion to Psalm cxxxix. 21. *Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee?* &c. And there are several other instances, which the pious reader will perhaps be better pleased to recollect himself, than to have them pointed out to him.

But whom thou hat'st, I hate, and can put on  
 Thy terrors, as I put thy mildness on, 735  
 Image of thee in all things ; and shall soon,  
 Arm'd with thy might, rid heav'n of these rebell'd,  
 To their prepar'd ill mansion driven down,  
 To chains of darkness, and th' undying worm,  
 That from thy just obedience could revolt, 740  
 Whom to obey is happiness entire.  
 Then shall thy Saints unmix'd, and from th' impure  
 Far separate, circling thy holy mount  
 Unfeigned Halleluiahs to thee sing,  
 Hymns of high praise, and I among them chief. 745  
 So said, he o'er his sceptre bowing, rose  
 From the right hand of glory where he sat ;  
 And the third sacred morn began to shine,

737. —*rid heav'n of these rebell'd,*] Of these rebellious, of these who have rebelled ; a remarkable expression.

746. *So said, he o'er his sceptre bowing, rose &c.*] The description of the Messiah's going out against the rebel angels is a scene of the same sort with Hesiod's Jupiter against the Titans. They are both of them the most undoubted instances of the true sublime ; but which has exceeded it is very difficult to determine. There is, I think, a greater profusion of poetical images in that of the latter ; but then the superior character of a Christian Messiah, which Milton has with great judgment and majesty supported in this part of his work, gives a certain air of religious grandeur, which throws the advantage on

the side of the English poet *Thyer*.

748. *And the third sacred morn &c.*] Milton by continuing the war for three days, and reserving the victory upon the third for the Messiah alone, plainly alludes to the circumstances of his death and resurrection. Our Saviour's extreme sufferings on the one hand, and his heroic behaviour on the other, made the contest seem to be more equal and doubtful upon the first day ; and on the second Satan triumphed in the advantages he thought he had gained, when Christ lay buried in the earth, and was to outward appearance in an irrecoverable state of corruption : but as the poet represents the almighty Father speaking to his Son, ver. 699.

Dawning through heav'n: forth rush'd with whirl-  
wind sound

The chariot of paternal Deity,

750

Two days are therefore past, the  
third is thine;  
For thee I have ordain'd it, and thus  
far

Have suffer'd, that the glory may be  
thine

Of ending this great war, since none  
but Thou

Can end it.

Which he most gloriously did,  
when the third sacred morn began  
to shine, by vanquishing with his  
own almighty arm the powers  
of hell, and rising again from  
the grave: and thus as St. Paul  
says, Rom. i. 4. *He was declared  
to be the Son of God with power,  
according to the Spirit of holi-  
ness, by the resurrection from the  
dead.* Greenwood.

749. —*forth rush'd with whirl-  
wind sound &c.*] Milton has  
raised his description in this book  
with many images taken out of  
the poetical parts of Scripture.  
The Messiah's chariot is formed  
upon a vision of Ezekiel, who,  
as Grotius observes, has very  
much in him of Homer's spirit  
in the poetical parts of his pro-  
phesy. Addison.

The whole description indeed  
is drawn almost word for word  
from Ezekiel, as the reader will  
see by comparing them together.

—*forth rush'd with whirlwind sound*  
The chariot of paternal Deity,  
Flashing thick flames,

*And I looked, and, behold, a  
whirlwind came out of the north,  
a great cloud, and a fire infolding  
itself.* i. 4. Or perhaps the author  
here drew Isaiah likewise to his  
assistance, Isa. lxvi. 15. *For be-*

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*hold the Lord will come with fire,  
and with his chariots like a whirl-  
wind.*

—wheel within wheel undrawn,  
Itself instinct with spirit, but con-  
voy'd

By four cherubic shapes;

*Also out of the midst thereof came  
the likeness of four living creatures,  
and their appearance was as it  
were a wheel in the middle of a  
wheel; and when the living crea-  
tures went, the wheels went by  
them, for the spirit of the living  
creature was in the wheels.* Ezek.  
i. 5, 16, 19, 20.

—four faces each

Had wondrous; as with stars their  
bodies all

And wings were set with eyes, with  
eyes the wheels.

*And every one had four faces, i. 6.  
And their whole body, and their  
wings, and the wheels, were full of  
eyes round about.* x. 12.

—the wheels

Of beryl, and careering fires between;

The beryl is a precious stone of a  
sea-green colour, and careering  
fires are lightnings darting out  
by fits, a metaphor taken from  
the running in tilts; *The ap-  
pearance of the wheels and their  
work was like unto the colour of a  
beryl; and the fire was bright, and  
out of the fire went forth lightning.*  
i. 16, 13.

Over their heads a crystal firm-  
ment,

Whereon a sapphire throne, inlaid  
with pure

Amber, and colours of the show'ry  
arch.

E c

Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,  
 Itself instinct with spirit, but convoy'd  
 By four cherubic shapes ; four faces each  
 Had wondrous ; as with stars their bodies all  
 And wings were set with eyes, with eyes the wheels  
 Of beryl, and careering fires between ; 756  
 Over their heads a crystal firmament,  
 Whereon a sapphire throne, inlaid with pure  
 Amber and colours of the show'ry arch.  
 He in celestial panoply all arm'd 760  
 Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,  
 Ascended ; at his right hand victory  
 Sat eagle-wing'd ; beside him hung his bow  
 And quiver with three bolted thunder stor'd,  
 And from about him fierce effusion roll'd 765

*And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creatures was as the colour of the terrible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above : and above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone : and I saw as the colour of amber, as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain. i. 22, 26, 27, 28.*

760. *He in celestial panoply all arm'd*

*Of radiant Urim,]*

All armed in complete heavenly armour of radiant light. *Celestial panoply* is an allusion to St. Paul's expression, Eph. vi. 11. *Put on the panoply, the whole armour of God.* The word was used before, ver. 527. *Urim* and *Thummim* were something in Aaron's breast-plate ; what they

were critics and commentators are by no means agreed ; but the word *Urim* signifies *light* and *Thummim* *perfection* ; and therefore Milton very properly gives the epithet of *radiant* to *Urim*. It is most probable that *Urim* and *Thummim* were only names given to signify the clearness and certainty of the divine answers, which were obtained by the high-priest consulting God with his breast-plate on, in contradistinction to the obscure, enigmatical, uncertain, and imperfect answers of the heathen oracles.

765. *And from about him fierce effusion roll'd*

*Of smoke and bickering flame and sparkles dire :]*

A furious tempest pouring forth smoke and fighting flame round about him. *Bickering*, fighting

Of smoke and bickering flame and sparkles dire :  
 Attended with ten thousand thousand saints,  
 He onward came, far off his coming shone ;  
 And twenty thousand (I their number heard)  
 Chariots of God, half on each hand were seen : 770  
 He on the wings of cherub rode sublime  
 On the crystalline sky, in sapphire thron'd,  
 Illustrious far and wide, but by his own  
 First seen ; them unexpected joy surpris'd,  
 When the great ensign of Messiah blaz'd 775  
 Aloft by angels borne, his sign in heaven ;  
 Under whose conduct Michael soon reduc'd  
 His army, circumfus'd on either wing,  
 Under their Head imbody'd all in one.  
 Before him pow'r divine his way prepar'd ; 780  
 At his command th' uprooted hills retir'd

and thence destroying, of the Welsh *Bicre* a combat. *There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured.* Psalm xviii. 8. *A fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him.* Psalm l. 3. *Hume.*

767. *Attended with ten thousand thousand saints,*

*He onward came, &c.]*

Jude 14. *Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints.*

And twenty thousand (I their number heard)

Chariots of God,

*The chariots of God are twenty thousand.* Psalm lxviii. 17. *I heard the number of them.* Rev. vii. 4. Let it be remarked, how much of his sublimity, even in the sublimest part of his works, Milton owes to Scripture.

771. *He on the wings of cherub &c.]* Psalm xviii. 10. *He rode upon a cherub &c.* Greenwood.

776. *—his sign]* The sign of the cross probably. Greenwood.

779. *Under their Head]* Rom. xii. 5. *We being many are one body in Christ.* Col. i. 18. *He is the head of the body.* Greenwood.

781. *At his command &c.]* We frequently read in the Scriptures of the hills and mountains trembling and moving at the presence or the command of the Lord : but it is generally, if not always, mentioned as the effect or proof of his high displeasure. Here the poet lays hold of the same thought, and applies it as an instance of his great goodness, to *renew the wonted face of heaven.* Greenwood.

Back to his place ; they heard his voice and went  
 Obsequious ; heav'n his wonted face renew'd,  
 And with fresh flow'rets hill and valley smil'd.  
 This saw his hapless foes but stood obdur'd, 785  
 And to rebellious fight rallied their powers  
 Insensate, hope conceiving from despair.  
 In heav'nly spi'rits could such perverseness dwell ?  
 But to convince the proud what signs avail,  
 Or wonders move th' obdurate to relent ? 790  
 They harden'd more by what might most reclame,  
 Grieving to see his glory, at the sight  
 Took envy ; and aspiring to his highth,  
 Stood reimbattled fierce, by force or fraud  
 Weening to prosper, and at length prevail 795  
 Against God and Messiah, or to fall  
 In universal ruin last ; and now  
 To final battle drew, disdaining flight,  
 Or faint retreat ; when the great Son of God  
 To all his host on either hand thus spake. 800

Stand still in bright array, ye saints, here stand  
 Ye angels arm'd, this day from battle rest ;  
 Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God

787. —*hope conceiving from despair.*] Imitated from Virgil.

Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem. *Æn.* ii. 354.

Or rather from Quintus Curtius. Lib. v. cap. 4. Ignaviam quoque necessitas acuit, et sæpe desperatio spei causa est.

788. *In heav'nly spi'rits could such perverseness dwell ?*

—Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ ?  
*Virg. Æn.* l. 11.

797. *In universal ruin last ;*] So it is in Milton's two first editions ; and if he wrote *last*, it must be understood the same as *at last* : but I was thinking whether it would not be better to read *In universal ruin lost*, when I found it so in Dr. Bentley's edition, but without any note upon it, or any thing to distinguish the alteration, as if it had been so printed in all the former editions.



Accepted, fearless in his righteous cause,  
 And as ye have receiv'd, so have ye done 805  
 Invincibly ; but of this cursed crew  
 The punishment to other hand belongs ;  
 Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints :  
 Number to this day's work is not ordain'd  
 Nor multitude ; stand only and behold 810  
 God's indignation on these godless pour'd  
 By me ; not you but me they have despis'd,  
 Yet envied ; against me is all their rage,  
 Because the Father, t' whom in heav'n supreme  
 Kingdom and pow'r and glory appertains, 815  
 Hath honour'd me according to his will.  
 Therefore to me their doom he hath assign'd ;  
 That they may have their wish, to try with me  
 In battle which the stronger proves, they all,  
 Or I alone against them, since by strength 820  
 They measure all, of other excellence  
 Not emulous, nor care who them excels ;  
 Nor other strife with them do I vouchsafe.  
 So spake the Son, and into terror chang'd  
 His count'nance too severe to be beheld, 825  
 And full of wrath bent on his enemies.

808. *Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints :*] To me belongeth vengeance and recompense, Deut. xxxii. 35. *Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord,* Rom. xii. 19.

826. *And full of wrath bent on his enemies.*] Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this verse as mean and superfluous. I suppose he understood it thus, *And full of*

*wrath bent his course, went on his enemies ;* this is said afterwards, ver. 831. *He on his impious foes right onward drove, &c.* But it may be understood thus, *He changed his countenance into terror, and bent it so changed and full of wrath upon his enemies ;* and I cannot see how this is either mean or superfluous. Or rather *bent* may be a participle

At once the Four spread out their starry wings  
 With dreadful shade contiguous, and the orbs  
 Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with the sound  
 Of torrent floods, or of a numerous host. 830  
 He on his impious foes right onward drove,  
 Gloomy as night; under his burning wheels  
 The stedfast empyréan shook throughout,  
 All but the throne itself of God. Full soon  
 Among them he arriv'd, in his right hand 835  
 Grasping ten thousand thunders, which he sent  
 Before him, such as in their souls infix'd  
 Plagues; they astonish'd all resistance lost,  
 All courage; down their idle weapons dropt;

in this construction—*his countenance too severe to be beheld, and bent full of wrath on his enemies.*

827. *At once the Four &c.]* Whenever he mentions the four cherubim and the Messiah's chariot, he still copies from Ezekiel's vision.

At once the Four spread out their  
 starry wings  
 With dreadful shade contiguous.

Their wings joined together  
 made a dreadful shade; and  
 Ezekiel says, *Their wings were  
 joined one to another.* i. 9.

—and the orbs  
 Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with  
 the sound  
 Of torrent floods, or of a numerous  
 host.

*And when the living creatures  
 went, the wheels went by them;  
 and when they went I heard  
 the noise of their wings, like the  
 noise of great waters, as the noise  
 of an host.* i. 19, 24.

832. *Gloomy as night;]* From Homer, *Iliad.* xii. 462: where the translator makes use of Milton's words.

—ἰ δ' αὖτ' ὡς ἐφύγετο φαιδριμος Ἑκτωρ,  
 Νῦντι δὲν ἀνέλαυντος ὑπὸ πτερίσιν.

Now rushing in, the furious chief  
 appears,  
*Gloomy as night!* Pope.

And again, *Odyss.* xi. 605.

—ἰ δ' ἄρ' ἵστην νῦντι ἰσχυρῶς.

*Gloomy as night he stands.* Browne.

833. *The stedfast empyréan  
 shook throughout,]* *The pillars of  
 heaven tremble, and are astonished  
 at his reproof.* Job xxvi. 11.  
*Hume.*

838. *Plagues;]* The pause  
 resting so upon the first syllable  
 of the verse makes this word  
 very emphaticul. The reader  
 may see beauties of the same  
 kind in iv. 350. and the note  
 there.

—others on the grass  
 Couch'd, and now fill'd with pasture  
 gazing sat.

O'er shields and helms and helmed heads he rode 840  
 Of thrones and mighty seraphim prostrate,  
 That wish'd the mountains now might be again  
 Thrown on them as a shelter from his ire.  
 Nor less on either side tempestuous fell  
 His arrows, from the fourfold-visag'd Four 845  
 Distinct with eyes, and from the living wheels  
 Distinct alike with multitude of eyes ;  
 One spirit in them rul'd, and every eye  
 Glar'd lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire  
 Among th' accurs'd, that wither'd all their strength,  
 And of their wonted vigour left them drain'd, 851  
 Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fall'n.  
 Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd

840. —*helmed heads*] He has the *helmed cherubim*, in the *Ode on the Nativity*, 112. Drayton has *helmed head*. Polyolb. s. viii. vol. ii. p. 800. *T. Warton*.

841. *Of thrones and mighty seraphim prostrate,*] Milton commonly pronounces this word, as we do, with the accent upon the first syllable. See i. 280. x. 1087, 1099. But here the accent is upon the last syllable, and so Fairfax uses it in his translation of Tasso, cant. i. st. 83.

He heard the western lords would undermine

His city's wall, and lay his tow'rs prostrate.

And Spenser, I think, commonly pronounces it in this manner, Faery Queen, b. ii. cant. viii. st. 54.

Whose carcases on ground were horribly prostrate.

And b. iii. cant. xii. st. 39.

Before fair Britomart she fell prostrate.

842. *That wish'd the mountains now might be again &c.*] So Rev. vi. 16. *They said to the mountains, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:* which is very applicable here, as they had been overwhelmed with mountains. See ver. 655. What was so terrible before, they wished as a shelter now.

853. *Yet half his strength he put not forth, &c.*] There is no question but Milton had heated his imagination with the fight of the gods in Homer, before he entered upon this engagement of the angels. Homer there gives us a scene of men, heroes, and gods, mixed together in battle. Mars animates the contending armies, and lifts up his voice in such a manner, that it

His thunder in mid volley; for he meant  
Not to destroy, but root them out of heaven :

855

is heard distinctly amidst all the shouts and confusion of the fight. Jupiter at the same time thunders over their heads; while Neptune raises such a tempest, that the whole field of battle, and all the tops of the mountains, shake about them. The poet tells us, that Pluto himself, whose habitation was in the very centre of the earth, was so affrighted at the shock, that he leaped from his throne. Homer afterwards describes Vulcan as pouring down a storm of fire upon the river Xanthus, and Minerva as throwing a rock at Mars; who, he tells us, covered seven acres in his fall. As Homer has introduced into his battle of the gods every thing that is great and terrible in nature, Milton has filled his fight of good and bad angels with all the like circumstances of horror. The shouts of armies, the rattling of brassen chariots, the hurling of rocks and mountains, the earthquake, the fire, the thunder, are all of them employed to lift up the reader's imagination, and give him a suitable idea of so great an action. With what art has the poet represented the whole body of the earth trembling, even before it was created!

All heav'n resounded, and had  
earth been then,  
All earth had to her centre shook.

In how sublime and just a manner does he afterwards describe the whole heaven shaking under the wheels of the Messiah's

chariot, with that exception to the throne of God!

—Under his burning wheels  
The stedfast empyrean shook through-  
out,  
All but the throne itself of God.

Notwithstanding the Messiah appears clothed with so much terror and majesty, the poet has still found means to make his readers conceive an idea of him, beyond what he himself was able to describe.

Yet half his strength he put not  
forth, but check'd  
His thunder in mid volley; for he  
meant  
Not to destroy, but root them out  
of heaven.

In a word, Milton's genius, which was so great in itself, and so strengthened by all the helps of learning, appears in this book every way equal to his subject, which was the most sublime that could enter into the thoughts of a poet. As he knew all the arts of affecting the mind, he knew it was necessary to give it certain resting places, and opportunities of recovering itself from time to time: he has therefore with great address interspersed several speeches, reflections, similitudes, and the like reliefs to diversify his narration, and ease the attention of the reader, that he might come fresh to his great action, and by such a contrast of ideas have a more lively taste of the nobler parts of his description. Addison.

Yet half his strength he put not  
forth, &c. This fine thought  
is somewhat like that of the

The overthrown he rais'd, and as a herd  
 Of goats or timorous flock together throng'd  
 Drove them before him thunder-struck, pursued  
 With terrors and with furies to the bounds  
 And crystal wall of heav'n, which opening wide, 860  
 Roll'd inward, and a spacious gap disclos'd  
 Into the wasteful deep; thè monstrous sight  
 Struck them with horror backward, but far worse  
 Urg'd them behind; headlong themselves they threw  
 Down from the verge of heav'n; eternal wrath 865

Psalmist, lxxviii. 38. *But he being full of compassion, forgave their iniquity, and destroyed them not; yea, many a time turned he his anger away, and did not stir up all his wrath. And it greatly exceeds Hesiod, who makes Jupiter upon a like occasion exert all his strength. Hes. Theog. 687.*

Οὐδ' αὖ' ἐνὶ Ζεὺς ἰσχύϊ ἐνὶ μῖναι· ἀλλὰ  
 το τούτῳ  
 Ἐδραε μαι μῖναις πλάνητος φέρουσι, ἐκ δὲ τι  
 παύει  
 Φαίης βίη.

856. —and as a herd  
*Of goats &c.]*

It may seem strange that our author amidst so many sublime images should intermix so low a comparison as this. But it is the practice of Homer; and we have some remarkable instances in the second book of the Iliad, where in a pompous description of the Grecians going forth to battle, and amidst the glare of several noble similitudes, they are compared for their number to *flies about a shepherd's cottage, when the milk moistens the pails*; and after he has compared Aga-

memnon to Jove, and Mars, and Neptune, he compares him again to a bull. But we may observe to the advantage of our author, that this low simile is not applied, as Homer's are, to the persons he meant to honour, but to the contrary party; and the lower the comparison, the more it expresses their defeat.

859. *With terrors and with furies to the bounds]* Job vi. 4. *The terrors of God do set themselves in array against me: and the fury of the Lord is a common expression in Scripture, Isa. li. 20. They are full of the fury of the Lord. And Virgil frequently uses furæ for such frights and disturbances of mind as drive persons to madness. See Georg. iii. 511. Æn. i. 41. iv. 376, 474, &c. And so the word seems to be used here.*

865. —eternal wrath

*Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.]*

The uncommon measure of this verse, with only one Iambic foot in it, and that the last, is admirably contrived to express the idea. The beauty of it arises

Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.

Hell heard th' unsufferable noise, hell saw  
Heav'n ruining from heav'n, and would have fled  
Affrighted; but strict fate had cast too deep  
Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound.  
Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roar'd,

870

chiefly from the *Pyrrius* in the third, and the *Trochee* in the fourth place,

Burnt after them tō thē bōtōmlēs  
pit;

and change them into *Iambics*, which some perhaps would think better, and it will lose its effect;

Burnt after them tō hēll's trēmē-  
dōus pit.

Milton himself was so sensible of this beauty, that he repeats it in *Paradise Regained*, i. 360.

—but was driven

With them from bliss to the bottom-  
less deep.

868. *Heav'n ruining from heav'n*,] *Ruining* is here used as a deponent; it is a beautiful way of speaking, and very expressive of the idea; it is founded on the notion of the Latin *ruina* from *ruo*. And Milton here followed the sense of the Italian word *rovinare* or *ruinare*, which in the dictionary *Della Crusca* is explained by falling headlong and violently from a higher to a lower place. *Pearce*.

Thus *Virgil*, *Georg.* i. 324.

—ruit arduus æther—

and *Æn.* i. 129.

*Fluctibus oppressos Troas, cælique  
ruina.*

Thus also *Silius Italicus*, i. 251.

—insanos imbres, cælique ruinam.

*Dunster.*

The word *ruining* in this place is the Italian word *ruinando* Anglicised, which expresses in the strongest manner the idea which the author wants to convey, as it denotes any thing falling down with ruin and precipitation. To give one instance out of a thousand. *Tasso*, *Gier. Liberata*, cant. ix. st. 39.

Come ne l' Apennin robusta pianta,  
Che sprezzò d' Euro, e d' Aquilon la  
guerra

Se turbo inusitato al fin la schianta,  
Gli alberi intorno *ruinando* atterra.

The following instance may be added too from *Marino*. *Adon.* cant. i. st. 36.

E *ruinando* dal' etherea mole.

*Thyer.*

871. *Nine days they fell*;) And so in book i. 50.

Nine times the space that measures  
day and night &c.

Thus in the first *Iliad* the plague continues nine days, and upon all occasions the poets are fond of the numbers nine and three. They have three *Graces* and nine *Muses*. What might at first occasion this way of thinking it is not easy to say; but it is certainly very ancient, and we are now so accustomed to it, that if here, instead of nine, Milton had seen ten days, I am persuaded it would not have had so good an effect. Possibly it

And felt tenfold confusion in their fall  
 Through his wild anarchy, so huge a rout  
 Incumber'd him with ruin : hell at last  
 Yawning receiv'd them whole, and on them clos'd ; 875  
 Hell their fit habitation fraught with fire  
 Unquenchable, the house of woe and pain.  
 Disburden'd heav'n rejoic'd, and soon repair'd  
 Her mural breach, returning whence it roll'd.  
 Sole victor from th' expulsion of his foes 880  
 Messiah his triumphal chariot turn'd :  
 To meet him all his saints, who silent stood  
 Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,  
 With jubilee advanc'd ; and as they went,  
 Shaded with branching palm, each order bright, 885  
 Sung triumph, and him sung victorious King,  
 Son, Heir, and Lord, to him dominion given,

was in allusion to Hesiod's description of the fall of the Titans. Theog. 722.

*Εἰς τὴν γὰρ καταστροφὴν αὐτῶν.*

*h. v. l.*

874. *Incumber'd him with ruin:]* This too, like the word *ruining* in ver. 868. must be taken in its Italian signification. *Ingombrato* is very poetical, and expresses the utmost embarrassment and confusion ; but *incumbered*, though plainly the same word, yet in its common acceptation has a meaning too weak and low for the author's purpose in this verse. *Thyer.*

876. *Hell their fit habitation—the house of woe and pain.]* Very like that in Fairfax's Tasso, cant. ix. st. 59.

Fit house for them, the house of grief and pain.

An instance this, and there are others, that Milton made use of the translation of Tasso, as well as of the original.

878. *Disburden'd heav'n rejoic'd,]* So Tasso when Michael has drove the infernal spirits to hell. Gier. Lib. cant. ix. st. 66.

*Liberato da lor quella sì negra  
 Faccia depone il mondo, e si rallegra.  
 The earth delivered from so foul annoy  
 Recall'd her beauty, and resum'd her joy.  
 Fairfar.  
 Thyer.*

878. *Disburden'd heav'n rejoic'd, and soon repair'd  
 Her mural breach, returning whence it roll'd.]*

*Returning* is to be joined in construction with *heav'n*, and not with *breach*. Heaven returned to its place : but the ex-

Worthiest to reign : he celebrated rode  
 Triumphant through mid heav'n, into the courts  
 And temple of his mighty Father thron'd 890  
 On high ; who into glory him receiv'd,  
 Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss.

Thus measuring things in heav'n by things on earth,  
 At thy request, and that thou may'st beware  
 By what is past, to thee I have reveal'd 895  
 What might have else to human race been hid ;  
 The discord which befel, and war in heaven  
 Among th' angelic Pow'rs, and the deep fall  
 Of those too high aspiring, who rebell'd  
 With Satan ; he who envies now thy state, 900  
 Who now is plotting how he may seduce

pression (as we noted before) is not very accurate, *Heaven repaired her mural breach, and returned whence it rolled.*

888. *Worthiest to reign :*] Alluding to Rev. iv. 11. *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power, &c.* and so making the angels sing the same divine song that St. John heard them sing in his vision.

893. *Thus measuring things in heav'n by things on earth, &c.*] He repeats the same kind of apology here in the conclusion, that he made in the beginning of his narration. See v. 573, &c.

By likening spiritual to corporeal forms, &c.

and it is indeed the best defence that can be made for the bold fictions in this book, which though some cold readers perhaps may blame, yet the coldest, I conceive, cannot but admire.

It is remarkable too, with what art and beauty the poet from the highth and sublimity of the rest of this book descends here at the close of it, like the lark from her loftiest notes in the clouds, to the most prosaic simplicity of language and numbers ; a simplicity which not only gives it variety, but the greatest majesty, as Milton himself seems to have thought by always choosing to give the speeches of God and the Messiah in that style, though these I suppose are the parts of this poem, which Dryden censures as the flats which he often met with for thirty or forty lines together.

900. *With Satan ; he who envies now thy state,*] The construction requires *him*, as Dr. Bentley says : or it may be understood, *He it is who envies now thy state.*



Thee also from obedience, that with him  
 Bereav'd of happiness thou may'st partake  
 His punishment, eternal misery ;  
 Which would be all his solace and revenge,  
 As a despite done against the Most High,  
 The once to gain companion of his woe.  
 But listen not to his temptations, warn  
 Thy weaker ; let it profit thee to' have heard

905

909. *Thy weaker ;*] As St. Peter calls the wife *the weaker vessel*, 1 Pet. iii. 7.

It may perhaps be agreeable to the reader to find here at the conclusion of this sixth book the commendations, which Lord Roscommon has bestowed upon it in his Essay on translated verse, and to which Mr. Addison refers in a note above. That truly noble critic and poet is there making his complaints of the barbarous bondage of rime, and wishes that the English would shake off the yoke, having so good an example before them as the author of *Paradise Lost*.

Of many faults rime is perhaps the cause ;

Too strict to rime, we slight more useful laws.

For that, in Greece or Rome, was never known,

Till by Barbarian deluges o'erflown :

Subdued, undone, they did at last obey,

And changed their own for their invaders' way.

I grant that from some mossy idol oak

In double rimes our Thor and Woden spoke ;

And by succession of unlearned times,  
 As bards began, so monks rung on the chimes.

But now that Phœbus and the sacred Nine

With all their beams on our blest island shine,

Why should not we their ancient rites restore,

And be what Rome or Athens were before ?

Have we forgot how Raphael's numerous prose

Led our exalted souls through heav'nly camps,

And mark'd the ground where proud apostate thrones

Defied Jehovah ! Here, 'twixt host and host,

(A narrow but a dreadful interval,)

Portentous sight ! before the cloudy van

Satan with vast and haughty strides advanc'd,

Came tow'ring arm'd in adamant and gold.

There bellowing engines with their fiery tubes

Dispers'd ethereal forms, and down they fell

By thousands, angels on archangels roll'd ;

Recover'd, to the hills they ran, they flew,

Which (with their pond'rous load, rocks, waters, woods)

From their firm seats torn by the shaggy tops,

They bore like shields before them through the air,

Till more incens'd they hur'd them at their foes.

All was confusion, heav'n's foundations shook,

Threat'ning no less than universal wrack,

For Michael's arm main promontories flung,

By terrible example the reward  
Of disobedience ; firm they might have stood,  
Yet fell ; remember, and fear to transgress. 910

And overpress'd whole legions weak  
with sin ;  
Yet they blasphem'd and struggled as  
they lay,  
Till the great ensign of Messiah  
blaz'd,  
And (arm'd with vengesnce) God's  
victorious Son  
(Effulgence of paternal Deity)  
Grasping ten thousand thunders in  
his hand  
Drove th' old original rebels headlong  
down,

And sent them flaming to the vast  
abyss.  
O may I live to hail the glorious  
day,  
And sing loud Pæans through the  
crowded way,  
When in triumphant state the British  
Muse,  
True to herself, shall barb'rous aid  
refuse,  
And in the Roman majesty appear,  
Which none know better, and none  
come so near.

END OF VOL. I.









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